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M. Burghers delin. et sculp.

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THE
General History
OF
ENGLAND

BOTH
Ecclesiastical and Civil,

FROM
The Beginning of the REIGN
OF
King WILLIAM I.

(Commonly called the Conqueror)

To the End of the REIGN

OF

King HENRY the Third.

Taken from the most Antient Records, Manuscripts, and Printed Historians.

V O L. II.

By JAMES TYRRELL, Esq;

L O N D O N,

Printed for W. Rogers at the Sun in Fleetstreet, Robert Knaplock at the Angel in St. Paul's Church-Yard, Andrew Bell at the Cross-Keys and Bible in Cornhil, and Thomas Cockerill at the three Legs and Bible over against Grocers-Hall in the Poultry. MDCC.

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MUSEUM
BRITANICUM
(Commons Library)

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VOLUME II.

By SAMUEL JOHNSON, Esq.

Printed for J. DODD, at the Sun in Pall-mall, and for J. HARRISON, at the Angel in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1781. Printed by J. HARRISON, at the Angel in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1781. Printed by J. HARRISON, at the Angel in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1781.

TO
His Most Sacred MAJESTY
WILLIAM III.

King of Great-Britain, France and Ireland,
Defender of the Faith, &c.

S I R,

HE that writes the **Lives and Reigns of Sovereign Princes**, and the **Affairs of Kingdoms and States** as becomes an **Historian**, ought to divest himself of all **private Affections**, and to be exact in recounting past **Transactions** with **Candor and Fidelity**.

A

I

The Epistle Dedicatory.

I would not have presumed to dedicate this History to Your *Sacred Majesty*, who hath as much reason to *love Truth* as most Princes have to *fear it*, were I not assured I had carefully observed that *Maxim*; and if I could not truly say, I have been strictly just to the most Authentick Accounts of those *Authors* from whom I have gathered my *Materials*; have represented the *Failings* as well as the *Merits* of the Persons herein mention'd; and endeavour'd, with utmost sincerity, to make the whole speak the *Truth* of their *Actions*, together with the various Events and Consequences of them.

The favourable Reception that *my First Attempt* of this kind has met with from One of Your Majesty's *Prime Ministers of State*, encourages me to lift up my Eyes to *the Throne*, and, through Your Permission, to lay with all Humility this *my Second*, and more perfect, *Performance*, at the feet of Your Royal Majesty.

Give me leave to add, SIR, That this Volume more peculiarly belongs to Your *Majesty*, since it commences at that Memorable Period with which the *Norman Race* of Kings began, the First of whom (Your Majesty's Great Ancestor) was of the same Name with Your Self, and is commonly stiled *THE CONQUEROR*; tho all must confess, Your most Excellent Majesty, by a much better Right, deserves *that Title*: for You have not only subdued Your *Enemies* by the Terror of Your *Arms*, but have overcome their *Passions* and
* their

The Epistle Dedicatory.

their *Prejudices*, whilst at home You *powerfully* reign in the Hearts of Your Subjects, by (*nobler Ways* than those of Force and Violence) a *steady Course* of just and gentle Government, by which a Throne is best established:

The Titles and Reigns of several of the Eight Princes (which is the Subject of this Volume) are particularly remarkable, and being here faithfully represented, may, I hope, be of publick Service and Advantage, were it only to shew, how much Your Majesty excels the best and most Illustrious of Your Royal Progenitors.

S I R,

The Eyes of all *Europe*, are now fixed upon Your Majesty, for You have been as a *Guardian Angel* to her Princes and States: and as it hath been *Their Glory* to commit both Themselves and their Interests to Your Care and Vigilance; so was it much more Your Majesty's, to use that Trust intirely for their Deliverance and Preservation.

Your Majesty hath rescued them from their *Fears*, I had almost said from their *Despair*, and restored them to their antient Rights and Dominions, by Your transcendent Courage and Conduct; and at last perfected a most *Glorious Revolution*, with such an *Honourable* and *Advantageous Peace*, as never any CONQUEROR yet attain'd, and which hath justly struck the World with Wonder and Astonishment.

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The Epistle Dedicatory.

May the Supreme Ruler make *Your Majesty* as
Glorious in *Peace*, as He hath in *War*; may You
still govern in the Affections of Your People,
the best and most certain way to secure Your Pow-
er and Greatness; and may They always, as it
is their Duty, with an intire Zeal and Fidelity,
continue to assist *Your Majesty* to the utmost of
their Power, in advancing all Your Pious and
Noble Designs, of maintaining our *Holy Religion*
and *Civil Liberties*, together with the common
Interest and Tranquillity of *Christendom*.

So most heartily prays,



May it please Your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most Humble,

most Obedient, and

most devoted Subject,

JAMES TYRRELL.

tick; for the Preface is to let the Reader know, that the Author is not yet born, nor will he till the perpetual Motion, and Philosopher's Stone be found out, to what purpose that for that, or any other, to give the

THE PREFACE

TO THE READER.

A *In the Preface to my last Volume, I undertook to give you an account of its main Design, and of the Writers and Authorities both in Print and Manuscript, which I there made use of; so I shall here pursue the same Method.*

BUT I shall first endeavour to remove some Prejudices against this Undertaking it self; as that I being a private Man, not famed for much Reading, or deep Learning, should almost unassisted with Materials from the present Historians and Antiquaries of the Nation, attempt to write a General History of England, out of my own private Reading, and Collections, without according to the late Idea of the French Jesuit, Father Le Moine, the Accomplishments necessary to make a Person fit for the performing such a great Design, are so various, and require so many several Talents, that he tells us, Such an Historian is a man not yet born, nor will be before the Year that discovers the perpetual Motion, and Philosopher's Stone; that is to say in plain terms, he looks upon it as an impossibility in nature to produce a complete Author in this kind.

AND another Modern Writer will have his Historian, not only a Soldier, a Statesman, and a Philosopher, but he must be also a Diviner, a Lawyer, an Orator, and a Poet; and beyond all this, a down-right honest Country Gentleman. At least he must be plentifully stock'd with Wit, on an Universal Disposition, and unbounded Spirit, that comprehends all that's Great and Glorious in the several States and Empires of the whole World; and to these intellectual Endowments, we must add the great Moral one of being FINEALETHES, a Person of that just Integrity, as not to be bias'd by Passion or Interest.

THESE are the Conditions and Accomplishments that I find laid down all together in the first page of the Preface of a late learned Author, who I hope, has published his two Treatises concerning our English History, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, now extant either in Print or Manuscript, (as the Title of the former of them testifies) out of a pure design to be serviceable to the Undertaking of a General History of this Kingdom, rather than out of any Ostentation to show his great Reading and Knowledge of Authors of this kind.

BUT to speak something in what these Reverend Gentlemen have said down, I can only say, that a great deal of it is merely Notional and Roman-

Mr. Nicholson,
Arch-Deacon
of Carlisle's
Preface to his
English Historical Library.

tick: for if the Person that is to set up for a Historian, is not yet born, nor will be till the perpetual Motion, and Philosopher's Stone be found out, to what purpose is it for that Writer, or any Body else, to give Instructions to One that can never exist, much less make the least use of them?

AND indeed these Gentlemen, after making the Qualifications of an Historian so difficult and hard to be met with, do very prudently not to give us any thing of their own, more than bare Collections; since if they should take upon them to write a History, they must at the same time own themselves those rare and most accomplish'd Persons, they before suppos'd almost impossible to be produced; that is, they must not be yet born, nor will be, till the perpetual Motion, and Philosopher's Stone be found out.

Id. in Pref.

BUT to help these seeming Impossibilities, and to mend the many unsuccessful Designs of some late Authors in undertaking to write a History of England, this worthy Writer last mentioned, proposes a noble Project indeed, of compiling a compleat body of English History, and which (says he) "can only be carried on with success, by a Club of Men of different Parts and Learning; some whereof he would have to be Masters of antient Languages, and others of the Modern; some vers'd in the Writings of the old Britains, Romans, Saxons, and Danes, and others thoroughly acquainted with the Historians since the Conquest; some that know the Geography, and others the Law of the Realm; some that have been bred at Court, and others in the Camp, &c.

AFTER this there follows an, &c. that may (for ought I know) take in Merchants, Sea Captains, and God knows how many Trades more, all whom he likewise requires, "shall be men of Leisure and Fortunes, as additional Accomplishments over and above all those already mention'd; or else he hopes to see a College of Historians, as nobly endow'd here, as that of the Antiquaries is in Sweden, whose Stipends I shall not trouble my self to set down; but only observe, that every one of this Club must take their particular part or task of this intended History; which being finish'd, he would have carefully perus'd by every particular Member of the Society, as well as by him whose peculiar Province it shall be to inspect and supervise the whole.

AND he farther tells us, "That it is to serve this Imaginary Fraternity, that he has drawn together the following Papers; to give the Reader as short, and as methodical an Abstract of a great many larger Collections on this Subject, as he could readily furnish himself with.

AND then he proceeds to give us a Catalogue of the performances of other Modern Writers of this kind, with the Names of our best and most antient Historians, as also those that have bin of late publish'd from Manuscripts in several Libraries and private hands, together with an Account of the late publish'd Catalogue of Manuscripts in both Universities.

NOW, tho I grant this to be useful and diverting enough for common Readers, yet that they can be of Benefit to that airy Fraternity for which he designs them, I must beg his pardon if I doubt, since besides some few fears I have upon me, that his Book will be out of Print before that Design will be reduced to Practice, it will be also needless upon other Accounts: for if the Persons he mentions be Men of such general Learning and great Accomplishments, as he supposes they ought to be, and so thoroughly vers'd in all the antient, as well as modern Historians, it will not be only an unnecessary Undertaking, but a great Presumption, to go about to instruct Persons already so well skill'd in what is supposed to be their particular Talent and Business;

or

or if they are not so without his Instructions, I doubt they will make but very mean Members of this Imaginary Society.

BUT to come to the main Business of this Preface, which is not to find fault with the Performances of others, but to apologize for my own; since I cannot expect to see such a Club as this Author proposes set up in my Time, and that I never yet saw or heard of any History, writ after such a manner; I cannot but still think, and am pretty well satisfied, that a History of England may succeed well enough without all these wonderful Conditions and Precautions this Author has laid down.

FOR we have seen in this present Age, a General History of France written by one *man's single Pen, without the help of any such Club of *Mr. Mezeray*. Antiquaries and Historians, and which has bin received with the Universal Applause of the Learned and ingenious World. And tho I will not take upon me to compare my Performances with that great Man's, yet this I think I may boldly affirm, that I have made it my business for divers years past, carefully to collect out of all our Historians, as well in Print, as in Manuscripts (that I could easily come at) whatever I thought worthy to be inserted into a general History of England.

AND, I think, whosoever truly considers the largeness of this Volume, in respect of the Time it comprehends, and the various Subjects herein treated of, will not say it wants sufficient matter for a just History.

SO that the main Question will be, whether these Collections are made with that Judgment as is requisite for a work of this nature; to which I shall only say, concerning the due choice of the Materials, that as I have taken all the Care I could, not to let slip any thing I thought worth the committing to Posterity, so have I also left out, whatever I found in our ancient Authors that was light and trivial, or savour'd of the Credulity of a superstitious Age; unless it be sometimes, and that too but rarely, to give the Reader a taste what stuff our Monkish Writers would have had men swallow in those dark Times.

AND tho for variety I have frequently intermixed things Ecclesiastical with Civil, and set down the most considerable matters relating to Church-Affairs under the same Years; yet it hath been chiefly when they are so connected, and dependent upon each other, that the one seems obscure and imperfect if the other be omitted. As for instance in that great Affair of Thomas Becket and King Henry the Second, which employed eight years of his Reign; and without a Relation of which, the Civil History of those times would be very dark and defective.

AND for the same Reason I have also inserted into this Volume the great Differences that fell out in the Reigns of King William Rufus and Henry the First, between the Pope and those Princes, about the Investitures of Bishops and Abbots with the Staff and Ring; which, tho a mere Ceremony in it self, yet was of main Consequence for the discharging of the Prelates of those times from all Dependence on the Civil Power. I have also given a full Account of that long Dispute between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York about Precedence, and the Oath of Canonical Obedience, which the former for many Years after the Conquest required of the latter, till they were freed from that Dependence in the Reign of Henry the Second, by a Bull of Pope Alexander the Third, as you will find in the following History.

I HAVE likewise taken notice of some of those many Disputes that happen'd between the Monks of Christ-Church in Canterbury, and their
Arch-

Archbishop, about the building and founding a Chapel for Regular Chanons first at Canterbury, and afterwards at Lambeth, which the Monks were jealous might in time become the Chapter of the Archbishop, and to rob them of their ancient Right of electing him.

But as for many other Disputes between the Archbishops of Canterbury, and those Monks, as also those of St. Augustin in the same City, I have purposely omitted them, being not willing to over-clog the Reader with things of this nature; for it is indeed almost an endless, as well as an unprofitable Labour, to set down all the Quarrels that happen'd between divers other Bishops who had Priors and Convents of Monks for their Chapters, as also those that frequently fell out between the Abbots of divers other Monasteries, or between them and the Bishops; or between the Bishops themselves about the particular Jurisdictions, Privileges, and Exemptions of their several Religious Houses and Secs, in an Age when these things were contended for, by frequent Appeals to Rome, as if they had been pro-
Aria & Recis.

So that for those Church-Affairs which I thought fit to insert here, they are either so mix'd and interwoven with the Civil History of those Times, that they could not well be separated; or else they may be instructive to such as are desirous to know the State of the Church (that is) of the Clergy) of those Times; but those that think such things insignificant, and not worth their knowledge, may (if they please) pass them over, since they are for the most part voted in the Margins, and commonly placed by themselves at the end of the Year.

And COME now to give you some Account of those many and various Authors, as well in Print as in Manuscript, out of whom I have drawn these Collections; that so the more curious Readers, who desire to have recourse to the Originals, may know where to find them; since I do not design by this performance to take off with an Appetite from reading those ancient Authors, but rather to excite them to it, as well for my own Justification, as for their better Instruction.

But I will now give you the names of the Writers here made use of: As for the Reigns of the three first Norman Kings contained in this Work, they are drawn in great part from those Authors mentioned in my last Preface, viz. the Saxon Chronicle, so often cited in the former Volume, and which is continued (though more briefly) as far as the Reign of King Stephen. Next to this follow William of Malmsbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Florence of Worcester, and Simeon of Durham; to all which I must also add Roger Hoveden, who he is but seldom made use of in the first Four Reigns, because he continually borrowed his matter from some of those already mention'd; and also Bedmerus a Monk of Canterbury, wrote only the Ecclesiastical History of England, during the Reigns of King William and Rufus his Son, and Henry I. yet there are also intermixt with it, several other Matters of great moment relating to the Civil History of those Times, which I have inserted into the following Volume, together with such Passages of Ecclesiastical History as may serve to illustrate the former; (such as are the frequent Synods and great Councils holden in those Times; the creation of new Bishops; and the recovery of their Lands from the Normans) and what else I have not in this

I HAVE also in my Reigns of those four first Kings, made use of some Foreign Writers, who tho' they chiefly design'd to write the History of Normandy, yet have likewise given us a great deal of that of England;

it being so nearly connected with their own. And notwithstanding I took divers Passages out of some of these in my former Volume, yet since they were not many, and that the Authors were Foreigners, I forbore mentioning of them until now; being these that follow.

THE first is Gulielmus Pictaviensis, i. e. William of Poitiers, * who * Ord: vitalis; was a secular Priest, and Arch-deacon of Lisieux, and for a long time P. 503. 504. Chaplain to William the Conqueror, and wrote the † four first years of † Id. ib. p. 521: his Reign, that is, as far as the year 1070. but of this we have not the first year left us entire. So that I could wish a more perfect Copy of this Author could be discovered in some of the Libraries in France or England, since it is very probable it would give us a far better account of this King's Reign, as far as this Author wrote, than we have from any other now extant.

NEXT to him follows in the same Volume of Norman Writers, another of the same Name with the former, viz. Gulielmus Gematicensis, i. e. William of Jumiege, a Monastery in Normandy, of which he was Abbot, and who wrote a History of the Dukes of that Province, from Rollo, to the end of King Henry the First. Vid. Scriptor: Norman. per And. Du Chesne, Pag. 1619.

AFTER whom follows Ordericus Vitalis, who was a Monk of the Abbey of St. || Evroul, and may be counted a Foreigner, not because of his Birth, for in that respect he was an English-man, but by reason of his Education, being carried over into Normandy, as he himself relates, when he was but a Child, and there lived to write the Ecclesiastical History of that Province, from the birth of Christ, to Anno Dom. 1141. the sixth year of King Stephen. || Called in Latin Cœnobium Uticense.

AND it is to this last Author I confess my self beholden for divers choice pieces of History, especially those relating to Normandy, during the Reigns of the first four Kings; yet in his Accounts of England he is sometimes mistaken, both in respect of Time, Place, and other Circumstances: but in this he is to be the more excused, if we consider him as a Foreigner by Education; as also some Allowances are to be made for his great credulity of Legendary Fables, and his making long winded Speeches: these being the common faults of the Age wherein he lived. But there is no Writer from whom we may receive greater Light concerning the Families and Descents of such of the Norman Nobility as first came over and settled here, having great Estates given them by William the First.

TO these I shall also add the Manuscript Chronicle of Robert de Monte, so called from his being Abbot of St. Michael's Mount near the Sea in Normandy; and who, tho he borrowed what relates to the Affairs of England, from Henry of Huntington, and other English Writers (as he himself acknowledges in his Preface) yet he has also added divers Passages of the Norman History, which he chiefly undertakes to write, that are not to be found elsewhere; his design being to continue the Chronicle of Sigebert, from Anno Dom. 1100. to the year 1182. being the 28th year of K. Henry II.

I TAKE the more notice of this Author for his rarity, having never seen any more than two Copies, the one whereof is preserved in the publick Library of the University of Cambridge, which is very antient, and seems to have been written about the time in which the Author himself lived; and the other is in that of Oxford, but of a much more Modern hand.

AND I must also let the Reader know, that this is the same Person who wrote the Chronica Normannia, that are printed at the end of the Scriptorum Normannici, and which in this printed Copy are very imperfect,

beginning but at Anno Dom. 1139. and ending at 1168. and tho they are continued by some other hand as far as the year 1259. being the 43d year of Henry the 3d. yet the Additions of this last Writer are very short and trivial; whereas the Author whom he continues, gives a much larger account of the Norman Affairs, as far as he takes upon him to write them: So that I wish that the learned Du Chesne could have had either of these Manuscript Copies last mention'd communicated to him, when he published that Norman Chronicle from a Manuscript Copy in the Library of St. Victor in Paris; which being imperfect, he was therefore fain to supply that defect from a far meaner hand. So that I shall only further take notice, that it is to this Chronicle that we owe a great part of the History of Normandy, during the Reigns of King Stephen, and Henry the Second, which are not to be found elsewhere. I should not have mentioned this Manuscript of Robert de Monte among the printed Authors, were he not the same who wrote the Norman Chronicle, as I have already said, and which being join'd with the Manuscript in the Original, cannot be well parted from it in this Place.

AS for the latter end of the Reigns of Henry the First, and the beginning of King Stephen, (besides those already mention'd) they are taken from the Continuators of Florence of Worcester, and Simeon of Durham; the latter of whom calls himself John of Hagulstad or Hexham, being a Monk of that Monastery, as was also Richard of the same Place and Name, who gives us a faithful account of many things done in the North parts of England in those times, and particularly that of the great Battel between the King of Scots and the Barons of the North, called the Battel of the Standard; in which the King of Scots with his whole Army were put to flight, and many of them killed, or taken Prisoners, by a much smaller Body of English: which Action is also described somewhat more at large by Alfred Abbot of Rievaulx in Yorkshire, in a Narrative entituled de Bello Standardi, printed among the Decem-Scriptores.

A GREAT part of the rest of this last King's Reign, is taken from Radulphus de Diceto, Dean of St. Pauls, and Brompton's Chronicle, or else that of Gervase a Monk of Canterbury, who all follow each other in the same Volume, and lived in the same or the next Age; and of whom as well as the rest of the Writers therein contained, since the shortness of this Preface will not permit me to speak particularly, I refer the Readers to the Introduction before that great Work, written by the most learned Mr. Selden.

BUT I must not omit taking notice of the great Assistance I have had in the Reign of King Stephen, from an Anonymous Writer of his Actions, who flourished in his time, and wrote his Actions under the Title of Gesta Regis Stephani, in which he gives us a more exact account of the Achievements of that valiant Prince, till about Anno Dom. 1147. (being the 11th year of his Reign) than is to be found in any other Author: and it is pity that so great a part of this History is lost; for it wants both the beginning and the Conclusion: but what remains is to be found in the Volume of Norman Writers, published by Du Chesne.

I MENTION this, because neither Dr. Brady, nor any other English Historian that I know of, have thought fit to take any notice of this Author, or to extract any thing out of him.

AS for the Reigns of King Henry the Second, and his Son Richard the First, besides Rad. de Diceto, and Gervase of Canterbury, I have chiefly

chiefly made use of the elaborate Collections of Roger Hoveden, who lived in the Times of those Princes, and was one of King Henry's Domestick Clerks or Secretaries, and was also (as appears from Walter of Coventry's Manuscript Chronicle, called *Memoriale Historiarum*) sometimes employ'd as an Agent or Commissioner from the King, and sent by him to visit the Convent of Norwich, and take an Account of their Receipts and Expenses after the death of their Abbot, as likewise to confirm their Election of a new one; which Commission he faithfully performed, not only in that Monastery, but in some others that were then vacant.

In Bibl. Cotton.

BUT as for this last King's Voyage to the Holy Land, besides what I have borrowed from the Authors last mentioned, I have been beholden not only to Roger Hoveden's, but also to an exact Relation of it written by Gaufridus de Vine Salvo, that is, Geoffrie Vinefauf, an elegant Author of that Age, which has been lately printed from an ancient Manuscript in the publick Library of Cambridge, among other Writers of our English Affairs, by the very learned Dr. Gale, the present Dean of York.

Vol. II. Edit. Oxon.

AND I hope the Reader will not look upon it as tedious or impertinent to our English History, if I have from these Authors given a brief Account of King Richard's Expedition to the Holy Land, with the principal Actions which he there performed: since his Reign would seem imperfect without it, yet it is omitted by Dr. Brady, and some of our other Writers, or at least they give but a lame Account of that Expedition.

I HAVE likewise taken divers considerable Passages relating to the Reigns of those Princes, from William of Newburgh, a Canon Regular of the Abbey of the same name in Yorkshire, who was also (I suppose from the smallness of his Stature) called Petyt or Parvus; and he deserves our notice, not only because he was the first who undertook to write an Epitome of our English History from the Conquest, as far as the latter end of the Reign of King Richard the First, but withal discovered the Forgeries of Geoffery of Monmouth, and had the Courage to write against them, not many years after they were published, and when they were most in vogue. I have likewise in this Period borrowed divers material things from the History of Roger of Wendover, augmented and continued by Matthew Paris; as also from Matthew Westminster's Chronicle, in the Relation of such things as are not to be found elsewhere; and I must not forget to add the Scottish Chronicle of Mailrois, from whom I often borrow the Succession of the Kings of Scotland, with other matters relating to that antient Kingdom.

BUT as for those Authors that remain still in Manuscript, either in the Cottonian or other Libraries; I have in the Reign of King Henry the Second, chiefly taken an Account of the actions of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, from his Life written by Fitz Stephens a Clerk of London, who flourished not long after; as also from the Quadripartite History of the same Person's Life, commonly stild *Historia Quadriloga*, as being a Collection out of four several Writers of it; which (tho it was printed in Germany) I never saw, and is more rare than the Manuscripts themselves, for they are in several Libraries both private and publick.

I HAVE chosen to confine my self to these few Authors, who lived and wrote not long after his Death: for if I should have made use of all those Manuscript writers of his Life, that yet remain in private or publick

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lick Libraries; and who either transcribe from each other, or else add fresh Legends of his Miracles out of their own heads, there would be no end of it.

AND I must here moreover mention, as to Civil Affairs, the exact Chronicle of Benedict Abbot of Peterburgh, who begins to write about the fourth year of Henry the Second, and carries his History as far as about Anno Dom. 1178. being the 24th year of his Reign: and I wish he had continued it farther, he being a Judicious and a Faithful Writer, and from whom Roger Hoveden has borrowed a great deal of his History word for word, tho without owning where he had it: which, by the way, is a fault in this Author, he having done the like by Simeon of Durham.

BUT for other Manuscript Historians, who have wrote of the Reigns last mentioned, I know of none considerable besides Richard of the Devizes, who begins his History a little before the Conquest, and ends with King Richard the First's Imprisonment, in his return from the Holy Land. In him I could observe little worth noting but what was related by others, until the Reigns of Henry the Second, and Richard the First, in both which I have found divers remarkable Transactions, not to be met with elsewhere: and it is pity he did not draw down the Reign of this King longer; for he was so considerable an Author, that I find Roger Hoveden hath borrowed some things from him too. But I shall slightly mention some other Manuscripts, since I have been but little assisted by them, such as John of Tinmouth's Historia Aurea, whose chief Design was to write the Lives of our English Saints: but there are intermix'd in it several curious Remarks of our Civil History, collected from divers antient Manuscript Chronicles, not now Extant; some of which I have inserted into this Volume.

I HAVE likewise borrowed somewhat out of the Manuscript Chronicle of the Abbey of Chester, a Copy of which is now in the Custody of the Right Reverend and most Learned Dr. Lloyd, the present Lord Bp of Worcester.

AS for the Reign of King John; the Three first years of it are almost wholly taken from Roger Hoveden, with some Additions from Matthew Paris's History, which is chiefly owing to Roger of Wendover, as far as the end of the year 1235. being the 19th year of Henry the Third. But as to the remaining part of this King's Reign, it is of Matthew Paris's own composing as far as the latter end of the year 1259. being the 43d of this King, when our Author ceased to write, and indeed not long after to live. And it is much to be lamented that he did not live to finish that King's Reign, his History being the most exact Collection of all Affairs, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, which happened in his time, that perhaps ever was wrote of any Kingdom, or State. To whom I may also add the Annals of the Monastery of Burton, publish'd in the first Volume of English Writers printed at Oxford by the care of the most Reverend Dr. Fell late Bishop of that Place. And it is to these Annals that we owe several Transactions of great Moment, during the Reigns of these two last Kings.

THE rest of King Henry's Reign is partly extracted from William of Rishanger, Matthew Paris's Continuator, tho he was no ways equal to him whom he undertakes to continue, either in respect of the Exactness or Truth of his Collections; being guilty of a great many gross mistakes, besides the omission of divers material Actions, during the Tears he takes upon him to write of: therefore I have supplied those Defects and Omissions from the Chronicle of Thomas Wikes, a Chanon of Osney near Oxford, as also from the Annals of the Abbey of Waverly, to which I may add the

Chronicle

Chronicle of Walter Hemingford, called Walter of Gisbourn, a Monastery in Yorkshire, where he was a Chanon Regular, and flourished till towards the middle of the Reign of King Edward the Third.

BUT we owe the publishing of these three last Writers to the great Care and Charge of the Reverend Dr. Gale, who caus'd those Authors to be printed from such Manuscript Copies of them as are to be found in the Cotton-Library, or else in those of Trinity and Bennet College in Cambridge, as also out of his own private Treasury.

BESIDES these great Accessions to our English History, which have been hitherto scarce made use of by our Modern Writers, I have also been beholden for divers choice Passages in the Reigns of King John and Henry the Third, to the Manuscript Chronicle of Radulph Abbot of Cogshal, who continued the short Chronicle of Radulph Niger a Benedictine Monk, that flourished in the Reign of Henry the Second, and upon whom when dead he was very severe; but as for this his Namesake and Continuator, he began with the Reign of King John, and goes no farther than the beginning of that of Henry the Third.

AND also for the first ten years of this King (besides the Authors abovementioned) I own my self much beholden to the Manuscript History of Walter, a Monk of Coventry, who tho he borrowed most of his Collections of the former Reigns from Henry of Huntington, Roger Hoveden, and others, yet when he comes to write of his own time, viz. that of King John and Henry the Third, he relates several curious Passages of his own knowledg, not to be met with any where else. This Chronicle is extant in Bennet College Library, as I have already said, under the Title of Memoriale Historiarum; and there is also a fairer Copy of it in the Cotton-Library, tho under another Title; but that it is one and the same Work, any one may find who will take the pains to compare them, as the learned Dr. Gale has remarked in a Note before it.

BUT as for the briefer Chronicle which is in the same Library, that goes under the name of this Author, it is none of his; for besides that his Name which is prefix'd to it, is of a very Modern hand, it likewise appears from Leland's History of British Writers, (which is in the publick Library at Oxford, and will shortly be published by the Learned Mr. Tanner, Fellow of All-Souls College there) that this Author died sometime in the Reign of Henry the Third, and therefore what follows can be none of his; and I could further prove this from divers other Circumstances, if they were needful to be here inserted.

BUT as for the last Thirteen years of the Reign of King Henry the Third, besides the printed Authors already mention'd, I have also been beholden to divers choice Manuscripts, (particularly to the Annals of St. Augustin of Canterbury) whose Writers have given us a most exact Account of the Barons Wars during this King's Reign. These Annals end with the Reign of King Edward the First, being, I suppose, continued by another Hand.

TO these I must also add an old Chronicle or Book that belongs to the City of London, now in the Custody of the worthy Mr. Goodfellow, the present Town-Clerk there, which is stil'd Liber de Antiquis Legibus, the perusal of which I obtain'd by the especial favour of the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, and the Right Worshipful the Court of Aldermen: where among the several By-Laws and Customs of that antient Famous City, are recorded divers particular Accounts of the Civil and Military Transacti-

ons that happened in the Reigns of this King and his Son Edward the First; and it is from these two last rare Manuscripts that I think I have been able to give a more particular account of what happened in the Reign of Henry the Third, especially relating to the Affairs of London, after the time that Matthew Paris left off Writing. And without this Assistance, as also of the printed Chronicles of Burton, Wikes, Waverly and Hemmingford, the latter end of this King's Reign would have been very obscure and imperfect, as any one may see that will but take the pains to compare the History of that time contained in this Volume with any other of our Modern English Historians.

** Vid. Sir Will. Dugd. Chronica Series, p. 23, 25, &c. at the end of his Origin. jurid.*

TO all these I must likewise add the Annals of Nicholas Trivet, Son of Sir Thomas Trivet, * whom we find to have twice rode One of the Justices Itinerant, in the latter end of the Reign of King Henry the Third; but this Nicholas was Prior of a Monastery of Dominican Friars in London, and died about the year 1328. This learned Frier wrote a General History of Europe, beginning Anno Dom. 1136. with the Reign of King Stephen, and ending 1361. being the 35th year of King Edward the Third; in which he gives us an exact Synchronism of Popes, Emperors, and Kings, in the Order in which they lived: but as he is more large and exact in the Affairs of England than of other Countries, I have therefore extracted from him divers curious Passages relating to our History, which are not to be found in other Authors. And tho this Chronicle is now printed at Paris in the 8th Tome of the learned Father Dacherie's Spicilegium; yet it being very scarce, I have made use of a choice Manuscript of it, that formerly belonged to the Abbey of St. Edmunds-Bury, and which is now in the hands of the Reverend Dr. Halton, Provost of Queen's College Oxford, who did me the favour to afford me the use of it.

THERE are likewise some other Historians, who borrowing chiefly from those that wrote before them, I have only taken a few Passages from them, which I could not meet with elsewhere; such as are Ranulph Higden (a Monk of St. Werburg's in Chester) in his Polychron; and Thomas of Walsingham his Ypodigma Neustria, who, tho he there has a more particular regard to the Affairs of Normandy, giving an Account at large of that Dukedom, from the time it first came into the hands of Rollo and his Danes, down to the sixth year of Henry the Fifth; yet the Reader will there find many other Occurrences not to be pick'd up from any Author besides: but as for these two last Writers, as also the History of Henry de Knighton, Chanon of Leicester, I hope they will prove more useful in my next Volume, in which Period they come to treat of the Affairs and Actions of their own times.

I HAVE also omitted a great number of Manuscript Annals and Chronicles, some with, and some without names, which lie hid in the Libraries already mention'd; such as are the Annals of Hide near Winchester, John Castorius alias Fiber, or Bever, a Monk of Westminster, who wrote a Chronicle that is still extant in some of our English Libraries; John Shepshvet, who wrote a Chronicle mostly relating to Henry the Third's time, which is in the Library of the Heralds Office, as also in that of Sir John Cotton; to these I may add John Rofs or Rous of Warwick, who wrote a short History of our English Kings, to the end of the Reign of King Henry the Sixth: but of these last, being chiefly either short Accounts of Actions, or else brief Collections out of other Historians, I have made but little use, tho what I may do hereafter I know not.

I SHALL now conclude with a short Censure of one printed Historian, and that is Polydor Virgil, whom for the same reason, as also for his great Ignorance and Mistakes in our English Affairs, I have avoided citing as much as I could, unless it were in some particular things omitted by others, and which he may very well be supposed to have taken from Manuscript Writers, tho now they are lost: for besides what he borrowed out of the Publick Library at Oxford, without taking any care to restore them; he likewise pillaged the Libraries of Religious Houses at his pleasure, and, at last, (as they say) sent over a whole Ship-load of Manuscripts to Rome; which if true, we are not like to be much the better for them.

BESIDES the Authors abovementioned, I have also been as careful as I could, to look into those who have written the Histories or Annals of France, during the Reigns of these Princes I have here treated of; such as are Sugerius Abbot of St. Denis, Rigordus, and Gulielmus Brito, or William the Breton, and Paulus Æmilius; from all whom I have taken several considerable Passages, not only for the Augmenting, but Illustrating these Annals. And I have also endeavoured sometimes to rectify their mistakes, when I thought without any just Cause they differ from our English Historians.

THE like I have done in respect of Scotland, from Johannes Major, Hector Boethius, and especially Buchanan, who tho he was justly a celebrated Historian, yet he often runs into the same mistakes with those that went before him, out of his too great partiality to his own Nation: so that whoever undertakes to write a General History of the Affairs of this Kingdom, as they have a near Relation to, and Connection with those of our Neighbours, either in respect of the Alliances or Wars that have happen'd between them, it is absolutely necessary that they should consult the Histories of those Nations with whom we were then concern'd.

AND the Reader may also take notice, that I have extracted the Affairs of Wales, as far as they relate to our own, out of Dr. Powel's Welsh Chronicle, which is indeed but a translation from Caradoc of Lancarvan, a much antienter Author; and he likewise extracted his History from two antient Welsh Chronicles, the One of which belonged to the Abby of Conway in North-Wales, and the Other to that of Stratfleur in South-Wales; and are both extant, the one in the Exchequer, the other in the Cotton Library.

BUT since the narrow limits of this Preface will not allow a larger Account and Character of the Authors, both in Print and Manuscript, from whence this Volume is collected, I shall therefore refer those that desire farther Satisfaction on this Subject, to a Modern Treatise, called the English Historical Library, a Book I have already quoted at the beginning of this Preface, written by the Reverend Mr. William Nicholson Arch-Deacon of Carlisle, who it must be confessed has been very diligent in his Collections, tho he hath not put down all that are extant, and which may be necessary for a Work of this nature; for I my self have made use of some, which he has not had the good luck to light upon: but this I impute not to his want of Skill, but Opportunity, by reason of his living in the more remote parts of England, which has hindered his being personally conversant in the most noted Repositories of these kind of Rarities.

HAVING now given you as brief an Account as I could of the Authors from whom I extracted my Materials, and where you may also find them, if you please; I think I need say no more, but that I hope these Col-
lections;

lections (for I will not presume to give them the Title of a Complete History) being Register'd in a due and exact Order of time, may at least deserve the name of Annals. And as such may prove useful in time to some abler Pen to compile out of them a complete Body of English History, at least with the help of such Additions and Alterations as may be judged necessary for so great a Work.

BUT before I quit this Subject, I must say somewhat concerning the Abstract of Laws at the end of each King's Reign, in which I have follow'd the Model proposed by the Lord Bacon, that learned Chancellor, and which I have added, to give the Reader a short History of our Laws, as also to excite our young Nobility and Gentry, who shall happen to peruse this Work, to a more diligent Reading of our Antient, as well as Modern Statutes, without a competent knowledge of which it is impossible to understand the true antient Constitution of our English Government.

I SHALL add to this an Appendix at the end of this Volume, wherein I have given exact Transcripts of such Charters of our Kings, as relate to the antient Privileges and Liberties of the Clergy and People of England, beginning at William I. and ending with the Great Charters of Liberties granted by King John, and confirmed by his Son Henry the Third; to which I have also added such Charters, or Records, out of the Rolls in the Tower, as may any way serve to illustrate and confirm several material Passages in the ensuing History.

THE first of these, tho already printed, I have transcribed for two Reasons; the One, to shew the Reader that I have fairly translated those Charters in my Collection of the Laws of those Kings; the Other, to confute Dr. Brady's rash Assertion in the beginning of his Preface before his complete History, That all the Liberties and Privileges the People can pretend to, were the Grants and Concessions of the Kings of this Nation, and were derived from the Crown: whereas it appears from Matthew Paris, as well as other Historians, that most of them were claimed before, as the Laws of King Edward, which William surnamed the Conqueror, did take a solemn Oath faithfully to observe; and in pursuance of which, there is this remarkable Clause in the Charter of Liberties granted by Henry I. *Lagam Regis Edwardi vobis reddo cum illis emendationibus, quibus Pater meus eas emendavit Consilio Baronum suorum, i. e. I restore to you the Laws of King Edward, with those Amendments that were made by my Father with the Advice of his Barons.*

Pag. 252.

* Id. p. 254.

AND therefore Matthew Paris tells us, that when the Clergy, Nobility and People of England demanded the Restitution of their antient Liberties from King John, they did not ask them as new Favours, but as the antient Laws and Liberties of King Edward, together with some other Liberties granted by his Great Grandfather King Henry the First, which they then required to be confirmed; and therefore the same * Author says in the next Page, that the Heads of the Laws and Liberties, which the Great Men then required King John to confirm, were partly contained in the former Charter of King Henry the First, or were partly drawn from the antient Laws of King Edward, as that Author says he will shew us in his following History, that is, from the very Charter it self which he there gives us. And that the People of England had divers great Liberties and Privileges under the Saxon Kings precedent to those Laws, I think I have sufficiently made out in my Introduction to the former Volume, and could also add more upon that Subject, were I not sensible that it would make this Preface too prolix.

*

BUT

BUT that these Laws and Liberties were never lost or forfeited by Dr. Brady's pretended Conquest, I hope I have sufficiently proved in the ensuing Introduction, and therefore need say no more upon that head; nor yet prove that it was for more than a bare relaxation of the Rigour of the Feudal Laws, concerning Knight's Service, that the Clergy, Nobility and People took up Arms in the Reigns of King John and Henry the Third, as the Doctor would in both his Prefaces make his Readers believe; there being several other Clauses in those Great Charters relating to the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, that are of a much different, and more important nature, which being too long to be noted in this Preface, I refer the Reader to the Charters themselves, both in English and Latin.

BUT as for the Doctor's next Assertion, concerning the Ordinary People, or Bulk of this Nation, that they were in most things of the same Condition, as well before the Conquest as after, and their Quality was not different, tho under the Normans they were obnoxious to greater Rigor, and more Severities in the same way of living, or as we now would call it, Servitude.

I MUST beg the Doctor's pardon, if I cannot come up to the height of his Notions: for, tho I grant, that the Condition of the Ordinary or Vulgar sort of People was not in all points so easy and Free as it is at this day, since Freehold Estates have become more common; yet that their condition (I mean of such as were Freemen, and not Villains) was never such as would bear the Title of Servitude, either before or after his Conquest, I think I have sufficiently proved in my Introduction to the former Volume; and that they were not so afterwards, even before the granting of Magna Charta, will plain enough appear by divers Passages in this Volume; and I shall take occasion to say somewhat more concerning this Subject hereafter, and had not said so much of it in this Preface, but only to justify my self for inserting so many printed Charters in the Appendix; for I do not design to imitate the Doctor, who, besides Authorities from Manuscripts and Records, has for the most part stuf't his Appendix with Epistles, Pope's Bulls, and Ecclesiastical Canons, with other pieces that are for the most part printed in Eadmerus, Spelman's Councils, Roger Hoveden, Matthew Paris, and other Authors not much harder to come by, than the Doctor's Compleat History.

BUT as to the rest of the Collections in the Appendix to this Volume, they are chiefly such things as relate to the antient Authority of our Great Councils or Parliaments, and the Members whereof they antiently consisted; concerning all which you will find sufficient references in the History it self; and I shall make further use of these Records, if ever it shall please God to give me another Opportunity of handling that Great and Noble Question, concerning the Antiquity of the Commons, their appearing and sitting in Parliament, as a Constituent Part and Member thereof.

BUT as for Transcripts of Leagues and Treaties, tho I could have given you a large Collection of that kind, yet I have rather chosen not to do it, because I would not intrench upon another Gentleman's Province.

AND I am very well inform'd, that the Learned and Ingenious Mr. Rymer, his Majesty's Historiographer, designs to give the World a large Collection of Leagues, Treaties, and Articles of Peace between the Kings of England and other Foreign Princes, collected not only from printed Authors, but also from that hidden Treasure of Originals and Records, at this day deposited in the old Chapter-House of the Abbey of Westminster; and therefore

Moment: So that the whole consider'd, perhaps I may without Offence affirm, that his Performance falls very short of (what he calls) a Compleat History.

BUT the things that are wanting to make it deserve that Title, are chiefly these two, Sincerity and Diligence; I say, Sincerity, in not fairly representing the true sense of his Author, without wresting and mistranslating their Words and Expressions; or omitting and passing by what he did not like, or thought would not suit well with those Notions and Opinions he design'd to advance; and indeed the Passages omitted, are often of great importance for the right understanding the ancient Constitution of the Kingdom, and the true State of Affairs at that time.

TO instance in particulars, they are mostly such as * relate to the King's ^{* See Dr. Brady's Preface to the Reader, before his Complete History, f. 1, 2.} supposed Prerogative, in raising Money and making Laws during the Period he writes of; both which he would in effect make us believe our Kings could heretofore lawfully do by their sole Authority; and that if it be otherwise now, it proceeds wholly from their gracious Condescensions: † And that as to the Charters of King William and Henry the First, they were never meant or intended for the Benefit of the English, but only the Norman Bishops and Noblemen; and for those of King John and Henry the Third, none had any share in them, but the Community of the Kingdom; and that (according to his Notion) only consisted of the Tenants in Capite, and their Feudatory Tenants by Knight's Service: to all which I shall speak more at large in another Place, this being none fit for Controversy; therefore will now only observe, that the Doctor takes all Occasions, as well in his Prefaces, as in the Body of his History, to shew his Partiality, whilst he endeavours to represent the English Nation as Slaves by Conquest, thereby to advance an Arbitrary Power to an unreasonable Height, and at the same time to depress the ancient Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and diminish (as far as he is able) the ancient Power and Authority of the Great Council, or Parliament, in making Laws, and redressing the Grievances of the Kingdom. And to this end he does all he can to conceal or excuse the Faults and illegal Actions of our former Princes, and their Ministers, especially in the Reigns of King John and Henry the Third.

THE Doctor likewise shews his Insincerity, as well as Partiality in omitting the greatest part of those Grievances and intolerable Oppressions under which the Nation then groan'd, and which caused the greatest part of the Clergy and Laity to take up Arms against them, and by which means it must be acknowledged, they first obtain'd the Great Charter of Liberties and Forests; not that I will go about to vindicate all such taking up of Arms from a just imputation of Rebellion, especially in the War begun and carried on by Simon Montfort, and the Barons of his Party, in the latter part of the Reign of Henry the Third.

LET whatever Historian does not fairly represent as well the Errors, Failings, and Violence of Princes, and their Ministers, as the Wilfulness, Obstinacy, and Rebellion of their Subjects, will never be able to render his History so useful to Posterity as it ought to be; since neither the Former can thereby receive any notice or warning, how to avoid the like Mismanagements for the time to come; nor can the People learn what Breaches have been formerly made upon their ancient Rights and Liberties, so that they may not think it a thing strange and unheard of, if the like should happen again in their Times.

AND

AND besides all this, the Doctor hath conceal'd (whether ignorantly or wilfully I will not here determine) divers Passages in our antient Historians and Records, which may any ways serve to prove, that long before the 49th of Henry the Third, there was another sort or State of Laymen, which being neither Lords, nor Tenants in Capite, must be called Commons; and for whom I have collected several Authorities from our antient Annals and Historians in the ensuing Volume; as also from some Records in the Appendix to it, which I shall leave to the Consideration of the Judicious and Impartial Reader.

AND indeed the Doctor's wilful (I doubt) Omissions in this kind, as also in the points abovementioned, are so many and frequent, that tho I will not say he deserves the Title of a false Witness in History, yet he has all the Artifices of an Advocate that writes or pleads for a Party; and who conceals and suppresses the main Evidence that makes against the Cause he maintains; or else wrests and misconstrues the words that chiefly make against him. And for the truth of this, I need but refer the Reader to the following Introduction, as also to divers Passages which I have noted in the History it self, and are too many to be here particularly mention'd. And indeed the Doctor's faults in both these kinds are so considerable for Weight and Number, that I once design'd, before I undertook this Work, to have written some Animadversions upon his History; but finding it would be like to make a large Treatise, I thought it a more grateful (tho not an easier) Task to new write the whole as far as he had undertaken it.

BUT I cannot pass by another great Omission of the Doctor's, especially in the Reign of Henry the Third; and it is of divers of those great Grievances and Oppressions which the Nation lay under during his Reign, by reason of the Pope's usurp'd Power in disposing of Bishopricks and Benefices at his pleasure; or in exacting Money both from the Clergy and People, by new and unheard of Methods; or else in combining with the King in imposing such involuntary Contributions, upon condition that his Holiness himself should have a large share out of them; many of which Frauds and Abuses, together with the severe Reflections Matthew Paris (who then lived) makes upon them, the Doctor has for some Reasons, best known to himself, thought fit to overlook: tho, whoever will take the pains to consider the time when his History was published, and the Prince to whom it is dedicated, may very well guess upon what grounds he did it: but I shall say no more upon that Head, because I will avoid, as much as possible, all personal Reflections.

THEREFORE leaving this ungrateful Subject, I shall now come to the next point of my charge against the Doctor, and that is, his want of Diligence in Collecting all the Materials that may be necessary for so great a Work, to make it deserve the noble Title it bears of a Compleat History. And for proof of this, besides the Omissions of several considerable Passages of great moment I could instance in, and which might have been necessary to the right understanding of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Affairs that happened during the Reigns he writes of, which he might have taken from those very Authors he quotes; He has likewise omitted what he might also have added out of the Annals of Mailros and Burton, which are printed in the first Volume of English Writers published at Oxford, unless it be in one or two Passages in the latter, concerning the Statutes or Provisions made there, and the manner how they were obtain'd; which, I suppose, he did put in, because he thought it served his purpose, viz. to shew the stubborn and restless

restless Humour of the English Nobility and People at that time; but without fairly putting down the great Provocations which induced them to prescribe that Remedy, which indeed proved more fatal to the publick Peace than the Disease it self, they pretended to cure.

BUT as for those *Chronicles and Annals* abovemention'd, which are published by the learned Dr. Gale, in his second Volume of English Writers (printed at the same place with the former, and which I need not particularly name, having already mentioned them) Tho Dr. Brady may perhaps endeavour to excuse himself, by saying that these Authors were not published when he wrote his History; yet this excuse will not serve him, since they were then extant in Manuscript, and to be found in the Cotton or other Libraries in London, or else in those in the Doctor's own University, to all which he very well knows he had free access whenever he pleas'd; but as for such Authors as remain still in Manuscript in the places last mention'd, the Doctor has given us such a slender Account of them, that out of all that vast Treasure which belonged to divers Monasteries, or else those composed by other Authors, he has made use of but three Writers, and those only in the Reign of King Henry the Second, which are these that follow, Fitz-Stephens's Life of Thomas Becket, and the *Historia Quadriloga* or *Quadripartite History* of the same Person's Actions; and Abbot Benedict's Chronicle of part of the Reign of Henry the Second, which are but a very few in Comparison of many other Authors, from whom it seems the Doctor did not think it worth while to borrow any thing that might render his History more compleat and useful, in which whether he has done well or ill, I must leave to the Judgment of the Readers.

I SHALL now conclude my Animadversions upon the Doctor's Performance, and could have willingly been excused from so invidious a Task, had it not been to justify the Convenience, if not Necessity, of new writing this Volume of History, which contains those eight Kings, whose Reigns the Doctor hath so partially represented, that the Reader cannot without some better Light truly understand what sort of men those Princes were, what Alterations happened in their times, nor what were the true causes of them.

I WOULD not be thought to pass this Censure out of any particular prejudice to, or dislike of, either the Doctor's Person, or his Opinions, since as I have not the Fortune to be acquainted with the former, so have I no other disgust to the latter, but only as they are contrary to Truth, and not only derogatory to the antient Rights and Privileges of the whole Body of the Clergy and Laity of this Kingdom, (for both their Liberties are founded upon the same Bottom) but also may prove highly prejudicial both to the Prince and People, by inducing the former to believe that all the Rights, Privileges, and Liberties the People of this Nation enjoy, are but the Spoils of the Crown, and Encroachments upon the Royal Prerogative: and at the same time inducing unwary Readers to think, that it was a Sin to defend them when ever they happened to be illegally attack'd: and if both were once possessed of such false Notions, I leave it to any indifferent Person to judg how long they were like to continue.

BUT I expect it may now be asked me, What course I intend to steer to avoid the like Rocks? To which my answer is very short, That it shall be by going (as near as I can) between the two opposite extreams, of neither defending those Kings whose Reigns I write, in their wilful and violent Breaches upon the antient Rights and Liberties of the People, nor yet in justifying the latter in their Encroachments upon the King's just Prerogatives;

gatives, and rendering his Government wholly precarious and insignificant, as it proved in the latter end of Henry the Third's Reign, by the factious Intrigues of Simon Montfort and his Accomplices.

IN short, I shall endeavour strictly to observe that antient Rule, which comprehends the chief Duty of an Historian, *Ne quid falsum audeat, ne quid verum dicere non audeat*; that is, neither to tell lies for a Party, nor yet to conceal any Truth fit to be known on that or any other Account. And I hope I shall have no temptation to do otherwise in this Volume, the Persons I write of being so long since gone off the Stage, that we need have no other Concern for them than what their own Merits, or the justice of the Cause may require.

BUT as for the composition of this Work, since I chiefly designed to do it by way of Annals, in imitation of the Learned and Impartial Thuanus, I have therefore taken the utmost Care I could to register Things and Actions in a due order of Time; and for this end, where our Historians differ about it, I have always followed the most approved Authors, when the Reason and probability of the thing will allow it; not that I blindly tie my self to any one in particular whenever I find them guilty of a mistake.

AND therefore I have taken the pains to correct several Errors in Chronolgy, in our Modern English Chroniclers, not excepting Dr. Brady himself, who has not bin so careful as he ought in this point; As for instance, when following the Authority of the Norman Chronicle, he places the Actions he relates from thence about a year sooner than they really happened, according to the Account of our best English Historians, whom I take to be much more exact in reckoning the years of our Lord; but from whence this mistake in this French Writer should proceed, I will not take upon me to determine, tho I am sure it could not be from beginning the year at our Lady-day, whereas the old English Chroniclers begin ours at Christmasts, since according to this way of reckoning, it is not the French Account, but Ours, that would get the start of the other.

BUT to say somewhat more concerning the choice of the Materials; as I have gathered them out of the most antient and authentique Writers I could find; so I have been as careful to peruse not only those that are printed, but whatever I could meet with considerable in Manuscript either in London, or both the Universities, besides what I have borrowed of private Persons; but I can never sufficiently acknowledg the Obligation I have to that worthy Patron, as well as Master of all choice Literature, Sir John Cotton Baronet, to whose Library (that great Store-house of Antiquities) I have not only had the Honour of a free Access, but had also lent me whatever I wanted or desired to borrow from thence; and I hope this Volume will shew that I have made the best use I could of that noble Favour, as I have done also in other Libraries, whose Manuscripts I have had the liberty to peruse, without omitting any thing I thought might serve to render this Work either more pleasant or useful to the Readers.

AND if any learned Person will do me the Kindness to shew me any considerable Error I have committed, or any Omission of any thing material and fit to be known in this Volume, I shall not only make a particular Acknowledgment of it, but I will cause it to be amended in the next Edition, if ever I live to see another come out; for I do not pretend to write without Faults, for that is almost impossible in so great an Undertaking; and

therefore all that can be required of Writers in this kind, is, that they take the best care they can, and when that is done, he deserves best, who is found guilty of the fewest Failings. And I hope I may say of this Performance, that as it is not without any at all, so there are none that are directly contrary to Truth; but only such as may concern the names of Men, or mistakes of Days or Months, or some smaller circumstances of Actions, which may sometimes happen, either through the carelessness of the Printers, or the inadvertency of the Amanuensis, and which will often escape, notwithstanding the strictest Examination.

AND as for the manner of the Composition, as I have not endeavoured at a lofty and florid Style, which is not at all proper for an Historian; so I hope I have avoided a mean and abject way of Writing, below the dignity of the Subject. And because meer Historical matter of Fact will not generally please alone, I have imbellish'd this Work with such Relations, as may any way serve to make it more agreeable to the Reader; to which end I have also added short Characters of the Kings, Princes, and other most considerable Persons whom I have had occasion to mention; which I have not taken at random, but either drawn them from the most exact Historians that lived in those times, or else from the chief Actions they perform'd; which by the way is, I think, the truest method of judging the Tempers and Principles not only of Princes, but private men.

TO this I have also added here and there, as the Subject would afford, some political Observations, that maybe of use to such Readers, as not being conversant in State-Affairs, may perhaps not be able to make 'em themselves; and without these two last mention'd Qualifications, Histories, tho never so faithfully written, will prove but dry, and no more instructive than our ordinary News-papers and Gazettes.

TET the giving such just Characters, is not so easy a Task as may be at first imagined, since writing the Actions of those who lived many ages ago, I am forced to take their Characters, not from my own Observation, but the Relation of other Writers who often differ among themselves in the Descriptions they give us of those Princes and Great men; and this too frequently proceeds not so much from the partiality of the Historian, as from the uncertain and variable nature of those Persons they undertake to describe; and therefore it proves very difficult to give a just Character of those Prince, who tho they were endued with divers Vertues and good Qualities, yet were they also attended with no less, or perhaps greater Vices and failings: for there being in such Persons matter sufficient, either to be praised and commended, or else justly blamed and censur'd; it often gives Historians a liberty of taking notice of the One, and passing by the Other, according to the particular Inclinations and Affections of those who undertake to write their Lives.

THUS William commonly called the Conqueror, is represented by foreign Historians, (such as are Willielmus Pictaviensis, and Gemiticensis) as also by our own William of Malmesbury, as a Prince of great Piety, Justice and Moderation; whereas divers other Monkish Writers of our own Nation, make him appear in many of his Actions (if truly related) as Sacrilegious, Cruel, and Avaritious, and no true observer of his Oaths and Promises, when contrary to his own private Interest. And both these Characters of him are in a great measure true, since that King was endued with many singular Vertues, tho allayed with as great Faults, and ill Qualities, as you may find at the end of his Reign, where both the one and the other are fairly,

and at once laid open to your view. The like I may say of his Son Henry the First, and Great Grandson Henry the Second, who tho they were Great and Wise Princes, yet had the Fate either to be enveighed against, or else as immoderately praised according to the various Tempers of the Monks who wrote the Reigns.

AND indeed had they always fairly represented their good as well as their evil Qualities; they had not done amiss, since we can scarce find a Great man, either in Antient or Modern Times, who was both Valiant and Ambitious, but was also endued with as many Vices as Vertues; since as it is hard for such men to be perfectly vertuous, so it is impossible for them to be wholly wicked, and yet to succeed in their Designs.

BUT to return to our own Princes: those have commonly been most favourably (if not partially) dealt with by the Monks (then almost the only Writers of History) who shewed themselves most indulgent to the Church (that is, the Clergy) by being wholly govern'd by them, and by conferring on them the largest Privileges, or by building them the richest Monasteries: nor is this the fault of that Age alone, but would prove the same in ours, were the Talent of writing History possess'd, as it was then, by only one Sort or Order of Men.

I SHALL advertise the Reader but of one thing more, which is, That in great part of this History, especially in the two last Reigns, where Dr. Brady and I have been forced to have recourse to, and translate the same Authors, I have made use of the Doctor's own Words and Expressions, only with some alterations in the Stile and connection of the Matter, which I did not out of laziness, or to shew my self a Plagiary of the Doctor's Labours, but rather for his as well as my own Justification: for his, to shew wherein he is not to be found fault with; and for my own, that the Reader, upon comparing them together, may find, that I have not only (as well as the Doctor) exactly followed the true sense of those Authors, but have also altered him in some places, and added to him in many more; divers Errors and Omissions of which kind, when of any considerable moment, I have made bold to take notice of; and therefore having all along compar'd his Performance with the Original, I hope in whatever we agree, the Reader may accept it as Money twice told; and wherever we differ, as we sometimes do, either in the sense of an Author, or a plain matter of fact, I leave it to his Judgment to follow which he pleases, provided he will first consult the Originals. And now I shall only desire him to take notice, that throughout all this Work I have shortned the military or fighting part as much as I could, unless it be in K. Richard's Expedition to the Holy Land, and in the rest of his Reign after his Return; and this I have done, that I may have the larger Scope for Civil and Ecclesiastical Affairs, which I look upon as the more necessary and instructive of the two; and to be equally large in both, would be more than what this Volume would well bear.

TO conclude, That I may as little as can be, derogate from Dr. Brady's laborious Work, I must own my self much beholding to him for the assistance he has given me in the Writing of this Volume, were it only, that by seeing those faults he has committed, I might the better avoid falling into the like; tho I must also acknowledg my self obliged to him for his industrious Collections out of the Records of the Tower, the Heads of which I have inserted in their proper places, but have forbore transcribing the Originals, unless it be one or two in his Appendix, or from the Introduction

to his English History, (and which I shall hereafter make use of for another purpose) because I would enter as little as I could upon another man's Labours, and also desire to leave his Work as beneficial as possible, for those who shall think fit to make use of, or consult it.

AND I am so far from discouraging the Doctor's performances in this kind, that I hope we may ere long see the second Volume of his History, which (as I hear) he has given the World some hopes he will shortly publish; and which if it be written with that Faithfulness, Impartiality and Diligence as it ought, I shall then desist from the further prosecuting my present Design of writing it anew. And as for what I have now said of him, I hope he will pardon it, since it wholly proceeds from my zeal for Truth, and a tenderness for the antient Liberties and Government of my Country, which ought to be of the highest Concern to every honest Englishman, and which in my Opinion his Writings have too much endeavoured to undermine.

BUT if we should both happen to write again upon the same Subject, I hope the World will only look upon it as a generous Emulation, who shall do the best and most faithful Service to his Country: and they may at least reap this Benefit by it, that as the Doctor and I have different Notions of things, and consequently different Prospects in writing, which will also produce Collections of a different nature; so it may happen hereafter that some other Pen indued with a better Talent for such a Performance, may out of both our Works, compile a compleat Body of English History; a Title, which tho I will not presume to give to my own Endeavours, yet is a thing so much to be desired by all Ingenious Men, that if what I have already written on that Subject may any ways contribute to so noble a Design, I would not grudge if both this and the former Volume should happen to be esteemed little better than waste Paper, so that Posterity might know that I had been any ways a Contributor to so great and publick a Benefit.

BUT before I make an end of this Preface, I cannot forbear taking notice of a late imperfect endeavour towards an Epitome of English History, which tho written in the French Tongue, and consequently cannot find very many Readers till it be translated into ours, yet however I think fit to warn our English Gentlemen that they read it with Caution, and not to be so transported with the elegance of the Style, or the artificial Composition of it, as to swallow the Errors of the Author (who writes himself Father D'Orleans, before two Volumes of a History of the Revolutions in England) as not to discover the malignity that lies hid under a smooth and taking piece of Oratory.

BUT since the narrowness of this Preface will not permit me to make Animadversions upon the whole, I shall only observe some of his grossest mistakes in this History; passing by those of lesser Consequence, and of which I could give you a great many instances, tho some of them are rather ridiculous than fatal to the Truth of the History; such is his calling King Edward the Elder, Son to King Alfred, Edward le Vieux, (i.e.) the Old, because (says this Author) he had White or Greyish Hairs from his Childhood; a reason, which, I believe, never any one thought of before Father D'Orleans, whereas indeed this Prince had this Surname given him by after-Writers, only to distinguish him from two other Edwards, who were both his Descendants and Successors, that is, Edward called the Martyr, and Edward surnamed the Confessor. But perhaps this Author thinking such Mistakes not to be of any great moment to the Truth of his History, may

commit them on purpose to render it more agreeable to *Vulgar Readers*, which if so, I shall not envy him that small Satisfaction.

* Pag. 74.

BUT we come now to the next Book, which begins with the Conquest, wherein, as well as in those that follow, I find some things that may better deserve our Censure, as particularly, when he tells us, * That William the Conqueror introduced the Laws of Normandy into England, yet nevertheless intermix'd with them some of the Laws of the antient Saxon Kings; and that out of this Collection he made one Body of Laws, to which he gave the Title of *Norman*.

IN which Assertion each of the Propositions are either False, or Mistaken: for in the first place, tho I do not deny but that this King introduced some of the Laws of his own Country, yet that the greater part of them were so, I am sure is a notorious Mistake, and to which I shall say no more, than that the Reader may find it sufficiently confuted in the following Introduction: but that he gave to this Collection the Title of *Norman Laws*, is altogether false; for we neither have now, nor ever had any Body of Laws that were so called.

I NOW come to the Second Book, wherein I shall not trouble my self to confute what he says to prove Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, both a Saint and a Martyr; for that he could not be so, I need but appeal to the Original of his Troubles, and the cause and manner of his Death, as this Author himself has related them, and as they may be seen more at large in the following History, being faithfully collected out of those very Writers of his Life, who flourished and wrote not many years after. But as for the great Testimony brought by this Author, to make this Prelat a Saint (to wit) the Miracles said to be done at his Tomb, it is very well known that the Church of Rome has never wanted such Testimonies, (whether Real or Pretended, it matters not) when ever she had a mind to Canonize any Persons who had lost their Lives, I do not say for the Christian Religion, but to advance her Temporal Grandeur, which was the case of this Prelate; and certainly his Gift of Miracle-working was grown very much out of Date in the Reign of Henry the Eighth, when this man's Miracles were declared to be Impositions, and his Bones burnt as a Traytor's.

I CANNOT also omit taking notice, that this Author does all he can to detract from the Worth and Grandeur of some of our Greatest and Best of Princes, as may be seen in the partial Account he gives of King Henry the Second, and Richard the First his Son, especially the Latter, whose Actions he falsly represents in many Instances that I could give, but none so Remarkable as when he casts all the fault of the War between him and King Philip of France upon the former, tho it plainly appears even by the Testimony of the French Historians of that time, that Philip began to make War upon our Richard during his Imprisonment with the Emperor, and that contrary to that King's own Oath and the Pope's Declaration against his Proceedings. So that the truth of the case was no more than this; King Philip had without any just Cause, or Demand of Satisfaction from King Richard, invaded his Territories, and taken several of his Towns and Castles, and yet it is represented by this Father as meer Obstinacy and love of War, when he would not be contented tamely to sit down a Loser, but endeavoured to recover his just Rights by Arms; and therefore this Father's Reflection is very unjust, (and perhaps may better belong to a certain Prince now living some where in the World) † when upon King Richard's raising of great Taxes on the already too much oppress'd People;

† Pag. 210.

People, to carry on the War against France, he makes this Reflection; That a false Ambition transported him more to ruin his Kingdom, than not to extend his Dominions; and that he chose rather to impoverish his greatest Towns, than to want one of the least of them.

BUT as for the Instance this Author gives us, to prove his obstinate Passion and Concern for War, it is, that Richard having heard King Philip had taken a Town in Normandy, thereupon swore that he would never turn his Face from that Province, until he had arrived there, and given his Enemy Battel; and that to this end, he made the Wall in the Room where he then was, and which look'd towards Normandy, to be presently beaten down, that he might go out at the Breach, without turning his Back on that Province; which tho it be related but by one * Historian, and he too * Bromton's Chron. Col. 1259. a Writer that lived long after this King's time, yet is it set down by this Author as an unquestionable Truth; however impossible it was for this Prince to have executed any such thing, tho he had never so much resolved, nay and sworn to do it.

I COME now to the Reign of King John, in which there are several Mistakes, tho of less moment; † as when he calls the Princess of Wales † Pag. 244. the Daughter of the King of Scotland, whereas she was indeed the natural Daughter of King John himself, as all our Historians agree.

BUT I confess I cannot find fault with this Author so long as he follows so good a Guide as Matthew Paris, as he does pretty well, till towards the latter end of this King's Reign; and then, without the Authority of any Writer that I know of, he relates, "That Lewis, Son to Philip King of France, having been sent for over into England by the Barons, in opposition to K. John, he adds, that this Prince was received triumphantly at London, and that some days after his Entry, every one being impatient to see him mount that Throne to which he was called, he was thereupon solemnly Proclaim'd and Crown'd King of England, with the accustom'd Ceremonies.

THIS is so remarkable a Transaction, that I could have wished this Father would have told us where we might find it. As for my own part, I have search'd all the Historians, both French and English, to see if I could light upon this Passage, but all in vain; nor do I know where it may lie hid, unless it should be among that unknown Collection of Manuscripts in the French King's Library, from whence Monsieur Varillas had his Memoires for the writing the History of our Reformation, which hath bin so handsomly confuted and expos'd by a || Learned Pen: but since it is inconsistent with the Volubility and Freedom of the French Writers, to cite any Authors in the Histories they compose, I think it may seem very suitable to our English Phlegme, not to be over-hasty to believe what they write in this kind, farther than we can find they are able to produce their Vouchers for what they say.

AS for what this Father has written concerning the Reign of Henry the Third, I have not much to object against it, so long as he follows the Author abovenamed, without adding anything of his own, which whenever he does, it is most commonly false, or grounded upon no good Authority; as when he says in the beginning of this King's Reign, That the greatest part of our Historians make him the Author of his own Misfortunes, by introducing the Institution of Parliaments: whereas I know none of them that say any such thing; but indeed our Author will not shew himself altogether so credulous, and therefore acknowledges that the Assembly of

Dr. Burnet;
now Lord Bishop
of Salisbury.

of the Barons (which in his Reign began first to be called a Parliament) was often called by the greatest part of his Ancestors. But if he had said by all of them since the Conquest, he had been much more in the right: But as for what immediately follows, he is as much in the wrong, viz. That our Histories make no mention of the Chamber, or House of Commons, but so long after him, (that is, King Henry) that one cannot say who was the Author of it, which (by the way) is a notable Reason, that the Original of a thing should be more obscure for its being Modern.

BUT as to the matter of Fact, this Author speaks like a Stranger; for had he lookt into our Statutes, Records, and Manuscripts, or even into our printed Historians, as he might have done, he would there have found the Commons mention'd in the Writs of Summons in this King's Reign, as also in some of our antient Statutes, both in his and in his Son Edward the First's Reign, and I could produce several express Testimonies for that purpose, which I shall recite in another place: but indeed this Author is not so much to be blamed in this Affair, as some of our own Nation, who I suppose gave him this false Information. But when he farther lays it down as his own Opinion, That after having read what the most antient Historians have writ on this Subject, he is perswaded that the Parliament of England is so far from being the Product of the Royal Authority, that it is a Tribunal insensibly erected by it self to counterballance it, and to give it Bounds. Which is so False and Precarious, that if a man should say so of the Assembly of the Estates of France, before the time of Lewis the Eleventh, I doubt not but any knowing and intelligent Frenchman would laugh at him for his pains: and I think it may be as easily proved, that our Parliament does not challenge to it self any greater Power, either as to raising Taxes, and making Laws, than what was exercis'd by their Assembly of Estates, before that Kingdom became (instead of a Limited) an Absolute Despotick Monarchy.

BUT this Author is much more to be blamed for his Censure of their Good King St. Lewis, who (he says) rather hearken'd to the tenderness of his own Conscience, then his true Interest in yielding up so many Rich Provinces (which his Grandfather had Conquer'd) to a Rebellious Vassal, (viz. our Henry the Third) and that Lewis can never be pardoned in History this so ill grounded a Scruple; for none of their Kings have found the secret of putting France out of danger from the unquietness of the English, as that Prince who expell'd them thence, and made the Sea the Bounds between them and France.

THO I grant this may be a very good Reason in Policy, yet I am sure it can be none in respect of Conscience, and I doubt not but King Lewis was then very well convinced, that his Grandfather Philip's Title to Normandy, and those other Provinces he had wrongfully taken from King John, was grounded upon no better Right than that of the Sword; for as to the pretended Forfeiture of them by that Prince's non-appearance at the Court of Peers at Paris, to answer for the Murther of his Nephew Duke Arthur, I have shewn in the ensuing History, that neither that King nor his Court of Peers had then any Right to pass so severe a Sentence.

BUT it is well this Author published his History before his own so much admired King's late Peace with the Confederate Princes, by the Restitution of so many large and rich Provinces: for if ever this Father is put upon writing his History, he will do well to inquire, whether his Master's Con-

science was not well inform'd when he restor'd them to their just and antient Owners; for sure it must not be suppos'd that so great a Monarch, who took upon him to give Peace to Europe, should act any thing from such mean motives as Fear or Constraint.

YET I shall easily pardon our Author this slip, since it may be so well turn'd upon himself, and it must be confessed, that in all the parts of this History, he shews himself so true a Frenchman, that he never fails upon all occasions to extol the Valour, Justice and Conduct of the Kings of France, as well as of the People, above those of England; and therefore I shall leave it to the consideration of the impartial Reader, whether he truly observes those Rules he has laid down in his Preface, as essential to a just Historian; not to favour nor vilify one Nation or Party, only to flatter and oblige another.

TO conclude; Tho I will not dissuade any one from reading this History, as if it were time cast away, yet I hope I may venture to advise him, not to trust this Writer further than he is supported by good Authorities. And since he never cites any at all, I think I have given sufficient Instances to prove that he is not to be trusted farther, than what he writes is confirmed by those Authors from whom he borrows his Collections, or at least by some of our best English Chronicles that faithfully extract from them; otherwise you will never be able to distinguish Truth from Falshood in his Relations: of which I shall say no more at present, (tho perhaps I may hereafter); for being come to the end of this Period, with which I conclude the ensuing History, I will not follow him farther, but reserve what I have to remark upon the succeeding Reigns to another Volume, if I find sufficient Encouragement to proceed in this Undertaking.



THE

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THE INTRODUCTION.

HAVING in the Introduction to my first Volume of the General History of England, laid down a large and true Scheme of the *English Saxon* Government, as it stood before the coming in of the *Normans*; and being now to commence a new Period of Time, and a Succession of Princes of another Race and Nation, I shall here pursue the like Method as before, and show how far the same sort of Government was continued during the Reigns of these eight Kings, which I have here undertaken to write, except in such particulars as I shall in their due place take notice of.

THIS may perhaps seem unnecessary to some, upon a supposition that we are not to look beyond the pretended Conquest of King *William the First*, since (as they say) by his subduing of *Harold* and the whole *English* Nation at the Battle of *Hastings*, he thereby put an end to the old *Saxon* Government and Laws; so that no man at this day can claim any Right to their Liberties or any kind of Property, but what must be own'd as wholly derived from the Laws, Concessions and Charters, that have been from time to time granted by Him and the succeeding Kings of this Realm.

BUT I must beg these Gentlemens pardon, if I cannot rest satisfied with their Suppositions, since they being greater Friends to the Arbitrary Power of Kings, than to the Laws and Liberties of their Country, lay down this Hypothesis of a Conquest, thereby to confer on the Prince an absolute Power to break all our Laws, and seize upon our Liberties and Properties at his pleasure, and thereby reduce this Kingdom to the same miserable State of Slavery with some of our Neighbouring Nations; upon the aforesaid pretence, That all the Liberties and Privileges we now enjoy, being at first derived from the Concessions of former Kings (and those in great part wrested from them by Force) their Successors may, whenever they shall think it conducing to the greater safety of the Kingdom, (of which they are to be the sole Judges) reassume them, and thereby make themselves absolute Masters of the Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes of their Subjects, as they suppose their Conqueror and his Son *William Rufus* to have been during their Times. Nor may any body question or resist such Princes if they shall think fit so to do, since they have by this supposed Conquest of their Predecessors, an Absolute and Indefeasible Right to the Crown of *England*, paramount to all Laws, Compacts, and Coronation-Oaths, the Interpretation of which must lie wholly in their Breasts, as being responsible to none but God, if they either wrest, or wilfully break and transgress them.

BEFORE I come to answer directly the foregoing Pretences, I would here ask those Gentlemen, What Advantage can accrue to a

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King

King by maintaining such Opinions as resolve his Right to the Crown into mere Force and Conquest; since then it may be as natural for the People likewise to inquire, Whether it be not lawful for them to repel Force with Force, and thereby to defend their Liberties and Properties (which from all times immemorial have belonged to them) whenever they find them invaded, or are like to be deprived of them, under the false Notion of an unbounded Prerogative.

AND when those Bonds and Obligations of Oaths and Laws shall be once broken and disannulled on the Prince's part, I doubt it will be a hard matter to persuade the Subjects, that the Oaths they have taken to him, and the Laws that are made for his Advantage, must still bind and continue in full force against them, notwithstanding all the Breaches and Exorbitances committed by him. I shall not determine who is in the Right in this Dispute, but it is most likely that this Doctrine is the ready way to make the People always to stand upon their Guard against their Prince; and whensoever it comes to a *Civil War*, it has been found by too dear bought an Experience, that it has seldom ended to his Advantage, but rather to his Ruin; nor have we found those so much cried up Doctrines of *Passive-Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*, to have had that general Effect, even upon those who pretended most to maintain them, of which I could give sufficient Modern Instances were there occasion.

NOW if any shall doubt, whether this *Hypothesis* of their resolving the King's Power and Prerogative into a Right by Conquest, have any just grounds, I desire they would consult not only the late Writings of Dr. Brady, Dr. Johnston, and others, but those that were written in defence of the Cause of King Charles the First, against the long Parliament, by Dr. Fern and Mr. Dudley Diggs: in both which latter it is laid down and maintained, "That the King's Power is superior to all Others on the account of the Absolute Conquest of England, made by King William I. whereby he acquired to Himself and his Successors an Absolute Dominion over all men's Persons and Estates, which was not to be question'd or limited any farther than he should think good."

AND to the same End and Design several of Sir Robert Filmer's Treatises were written and publish'd in those times, as well as after in our own, by Persons in love with such Arbitrary Principles, tho they tended to the betraying and giving up of the Laws and Liberties of the Nation.

BUT since I do not take upon me to write as a Casuistical Divine, I shall not much meddle with any Arguments that appertain to that Faculty, but confine my self to what may be said upon this Subject either from the Law of Nature or right Reason, or else as an Historian or an Antiquary, whose Business it is to look into the truth of matters of Fact, and the Original of Customs and Laws; in order to which I shall divide what I intend to say against this supposed Conquest of King William I. and that Absolute Despotick Power pretended to be from thence derived to him and his Successors, into these three Heads:

FIRST, I shall examine the Right on which the Gentlemen of this Opinion found this Title by Conquest.

SECONDLY,

SECONDLY, I shall look into the matters of Fact, and from thence observe how far King *William* by his Actions and Dealings with the *English Saxon* Nobility and People, either actually did, or intended to claim and exercise an absolute Dominion over the Lives and Liberties of all his Subjects.

AND Thirdly, I shall answer the chief Arguments and Objections that are or may be urged by Dr. *Brady*, and others, in maintenance of this Opinion.

BUT before I proceed further, I desire the Reader to take notice, that it is not my Intention, neither will the narrow limits of this Introduction permit me, to treat of the Rights of Princes to such Kingdoms or Territories as they have gain'd by Right of War or Conquest, as it is now commonly called; or what Power such Princes may, by the Law of Nature and Nations, exercise over the Persons of a vanquish'd Nation or People: but I shall refer those who are desirous to inquire into the determinations of these Questions, to the learned *Grotius*, *de Jure Belli & Pacis*, and the sagacious Author of the late two Treatises concerning Government; in the * former of which he will find, that the Victors or Conquerors in an unjust War acquire nothing, but are bound to make Restitution of all they have thus unjustly seized upon, or taken away from the conquer'd and subdued Prince or People.

* L. 3. c. 10.
L. 3. 4. 5.

L. 3. c. 8. f. 1.
& in Annot.

BUT tho it is not my Business here to determine how far an Unjust War may give the conquering Prince or State a Right to detain the Dominions so unjustly acquired; or how far the Vanquish'd Prince or State are obliged to sit down contented with their Losses, without endeavouring to be restored; or how long their Right shall last and continue to them and their Posterity; or what shall be allowed to be such a perfect Conquest or Acquisition, as that the Subjects shall have no longer any Right to resist or endeavour to establish the former Prince or his Posterity, supposing they have sufficient Protection and Security under the present Possessor; yet thus much I think I may safely affirm, (since *Grotius* himself admits this Distinction) that whatever Rights absolute Princes or Commonwealths by Conquest, may claim over each others Subjects and Dominions, where a Prince possesses one share in the Government or Legislature, and the Clergy, Nobility, and People, have a Right of granting Taxes, and of joining in the making and enacting of Laws; in case such a King shall enter into a War with any Neighbouring Kingdom or Commonwealth, without the Consent of his Great Council, or Estates, who represent the whole Body of the People, tho he himself may be vanquish'd in that War, and be outed of his Dominion; yet do not the People thereby lose their Right to those Liberties and Properties which they before had and enjoyed; since those were not derived from the Prince at first, nor have the People done any thing against the Conqueror whereby to forfeit their Right to them.

AS for Instance, in the Second *Dutch* War, in the Reign of King *Charles the Second*, which he began with the States of *Holland* without any just Provocation, and before he had taken the Advice, Approbation or Assistance of the Parliament, that was then in being; let us suppose that the *State's* Fleet had not only beaten us at Sea, but landing upon *England* and totally routing the King's Forces, had either expell'd or kill'd him: I think no reasonable man will affirm, that this

*

Conquest

Conquest had given the *Dutch* an absolute indefeasible Right over the Lives, Liberties and Fortunes of the *English* Nation.

I HAVE given this Instance, because it will very much influence and govern this Case of the pretended Conquest of *England* by *William* Duke of *Normandy*, in his conquering *Harold* and his Army, at the Battle abovemention'd: Therefore I shall now come to the first Question propos'd, and consider how far the Duke could claim any Right by Conquest to this Kingdom; in order to which, it will be requisite to state the Case, and to give a short Account of his Pretensions, as I have laid them down in the former Volume of my History.

KING *Edward* called the *Confessor* dying without Issue, there were no less than three Competitors that laid claim to the Crown; the First was *Edgar Atheling*, as next Heir by Blood, being Grandson to King *Edmund* surnamed *Ironside*, by his Son *Edward*, called the *Out-Law*, and Great Nephew by the Half Blood to the *Confessor*; but this Prince being under age when his Uncle died, there was no great Account then made either of Him, or his Title.

THE Second was *William* Duke of *Normandy*, as being *Edward's* nearest Kinsman by Queen *Emma* his Mother, Sister to *Richard* the Second, Duke of *Normandy*, Grandfather to Duke *William*; and from this match between King *Ethelred* and this Lady, *Henry* of *Huntingdon* says, the *Normans* claim'd, and obtain'd the Crown of *England* according to the Law of Nations. Yet this Title, if examined, could signify nothing, for *Edgar Atheling* was more nearly related to the Crown of *England*, than He by the Male side; whereas Duke *William's* Relation being only by the Mother's side, he could lay no claim to it by Right of Blood; so that the Duke's best Title was a Testament or Will, (said to be made by King *Edward* long before his Death, by which he constituted him his Heir) and the Election of the Great Council of the Kingdom in pursuance thereof.

THE Third was *Harold*, Son to Earl *Godwin*, being after his Father's death highly in the King's Favour, and also a Man very powerful, popular and valiant; and his Sister *Edithe* being married to King *Edward*, it is very probable that by her Persuasions, as well as his own Inclinations, he might upon his Death-Bed bequeath the Kingdom to him; by virtue of which, and his being also elected by the Clergy and Nobility, and then solemnly Crown'd, he had for the present the strongest Title, viz. possession of the Throne.

YOU may also read in the former Volume, the Story of Earl *Harold's* going into *Normandy*, his being there kindly received by Duke *William*; and how the Earl promised him to marry his Daughter, and secure the Kingdom for him, when-ever King *Edward* should decease; and that upon *Harold's* taking it to himself, Duke *William* thought he had a good Title to the Crown by King *Edward's* Will or Designation, or at least a much better than *Harold*, who was no way related to it. And you may add to this, that the Duke had also a just personal Quarrel against *Harold*, for breach of his Oath, who, instead of securing the Crown for the Duke, had put it upon his own Head.

WHEREFORE Duke *William* appeal'd to the Pope, and having received his Approbation, rais'd an Army, came over into *England*, fought *Harold* and kill'd him, with the total rout of his whole Army; and so was shortly after Elected and Crowned King. This being the

case, it is plain, that the Duke could have no just cause of War against any Body but *Harold*, and his Adherents, since they only had injured him: As for the *English* Nation, or People, admitting they did elect *Harold* King, yet could not the Duke have any just cause of War against them on that Account; since it does not appear that they were ever made acquainted with his Title to the Crown; much less of *Harold's* secret Agreement to secure it for him, after King *Edward's* decease; and therefore had King *Edward* on his Death-bed appointed *Edgar Atheling* to succeed him, and the Great Council of the Kingdom actually made him King, (as they ought to have done) I cannot see how Duke *William* (notwithstanding any former Will and Designation of King *Edward*) could have had any just cause of making War upon *England*, since he could have no Right to the Crown by Inheritance; and as for the Will or Designation of the late King, the Law of Nations, as well as the Civil Law, declares, that it may be alter'd and revoked at any time during the Life of the Testator.

SO that, I say, this being the case, it is evident that Duke *William* could obtain no Right to *England*, and consequently to the People's Allegiance, but by the abovemention'd Testament or Designation, confirm'd and ratified by the People's Election, and his subsequent Coronation: for (as I have already proved) these were the solemn and essential Forms of making a King according to the antient *English* Saxon Constitution: so that the Duke by his Victory only conquering *Harold* and his Adherents, (who were very far from being the whole Body of the Nation,) it was They, and They alone, that could justly forfeit any thing by this Conquest. For we do not find that he ever consulted the People of *England* in any *Wittena-Gemot*, or publick Council, or so much as desired their Approbation and Assistance to carry on the War against the *Norman* Duke, and therefore (according to the Distinction already laid down) *Harold*, not having the sole and entire Power or Dominion over the Kingdom of *England* in his own Person, as an absolute Monarch, could not lose or forfeit any thing but what belonged to himself; and that therefore the Duke upon his Victory, could obtain no Right by Conquest over the whole Nation or People, so as to seize their Estates, and annul their Liberties; for the greater part of them immediately after his Victory coming in, and being received by him upon Terms of Pardon and Protection, he thereby renounced all Right of Conquest; as appears by this Passage in *Flower of Worcester*, where he relates that Archbishop *Aldred*, with *Edgar Atheling* and the two Earls *Edwin* and *Morchar*, with most of the chief Citizens of *London*, waiting upon Duke *William* at *Barkhamsted*, submitted themselves and swore Fealty to him; and that upon their delivery of Hostages, he made a League or Covenant with them, (for so I understand those words *fœdus pepigit*, made use of by our Author, to signify;) and granted or agreed, that they should be no longer treated like Enemies, but as Friends and Subjects: and if so, he was no more a Conqueror but their lawful Prince. And I conceive this is a far more natural Interpretation of the sense of these words, than what the * Doctor will have them to signify, viz. no more than, that he made a Truce with them.

* Answ. to
Arg. Antinor-
man.

BUT what more certainly fixes this matter, and must, I think, forever bar not only King *William*, but all his Successors under his Title,

Title, from any Claim by Conquest, is, That at his Coronation he took the same Oath as *Edward the Confessor*, and the former *English Saxon* Kings had done before him; the substance of which was, *That he would defend the Church, with its Governours or Rulers; and justly and with Royal Prudence govern the People subject to him; and make and observe just Laws; and prohibit Rapines and unjust Judgments.*

TO which *William of Malmesbury* also adds, *quod equo Jure Anglos & Francos tractaret*, that he would treat both the *French* and *English* with equal Right or Justice. And farther, (says our Author) so long as he observed that Temper towards his Subjects, *Aldred* Archbishop of *York* (who put the Crown upon his Head, and administered that Oath to him) loved him as his Son, and honoured him as his King; but when this Archbishop afterwards saw he broke it, and imposed an insupportable Tax upon his Subjects, he cursed him; which I only mention here, because I have related it more at large in the following History.

BUT I cannot here omit * *Dr. Brady's* trifling Objections against the validity of the abovementioned Coronation-Oath; as first, That neither *William Pictaviensis*, *Ordericus Vitalis*, *Henry Huntington*, nor *Matthew Paris*, make mention of any such Oath taken by him at his Coronation; and yet at the same time the Doctor owns it to be related by *Simeon of Durham*, and *Roger Hoveden*, who here transcribes it from him; but yet he leaves out the Testimony of *Florence of Worcester*, who wrote first, and relates this Oath in the same Terms as *Simeon* also gives it us, who was an Author cotemporary with the former. But why the Doctor in his History omits the Testimony of *Florence*, and *William of Malmesbury* above-cited, tho of better Authority than those he has made use of, as writing their Histories before either of them, I know not; only I think I may safely affirm, that he cannot pretend Ignorance or Forgetfulness of those Passages; for that he must needs have read them both in *Florence*, and *William of Malmesbury*, appears, by his there citing divers things from the former; and that this very place of *Malmesbury* lay before him, when he wrote this Reign of King *William the First*, is plain, because in the very next Leaf but one, * the Doctor repeats the same Passage concerning Archbishop *Aldred's* cursing King *William*; which manifestly shews, that he wilfully conceal'd these words of the Oath immediately precedent, viz. *Quod se modeste erga subditos ageret, & equo Jure Anglos quo Francos tractaret*: which is a full Evidence that by this Oath he was no more a Conqueror over the one than the other; and the Doctor is the less to be excused for this wilful Omission, because he so severely charges those he writes against with the like unfair dealing.

BUT as for the Doctor's last Evasion, whereby he would excuse King *William* from Perjury, in dealing with the *English* as a Conqueror, because (forsooth) there is not one word mentioned of King *Edward's* Laws in the Coronation-Oath, this seems very frivolous and trifling; as if there had been any necessity for the inserting that Clause there, before it was certainly known whither he would break them or not; but when it was found he did, then Abbot *Frederic* taking up Arms against him, made him, some few years after, swear upon the Relics of *St. Alban*, faithfully to observe those Laws. And as to what the Doctor adds, that the Oath he took was the same with that when he was installed

De Gest. Pontif. p. 154.

Complete History, p. 190.

* Pag. 193.

Mat. Paris, in vit. Abbat. St. Alban. p. 48.

* Vid. Script. stall'd Duke of *Normandy*, * the place he cites for it will not prove it; Norman. p. 1050. the Oath there mention'd being set down without any Date when it was made, and not being word for word with that used in *England*, it seems more likely to be borrowed from This, than Ours from That.

BUT admitting it had been as the Doctor supposes; What good will this do him, unless he could prove that the Duke was an absolute Sovereign in *Normandy*, before he came over hither, and might break their Laws, and take away their Liberties at his Pleasure? The direct contrary to which was true, as farther appears in the next page to that above cited, (*viz.* p. 1051. of the same Volume,) where the Duke of *Normandy* at his Entrance into *Rouen*, is among other things to swear, *That he will guard and defend the Church and its Ministers, with the Nobles and People of his Dutchy of Normandy, in their Rights and Privileges, Liberties, and Franchises.*

NOW that a Prince who has sworn to govern his People justly, to establish good Laws, and to prohibit Rapines and unjust Judgments, and also to treat the English and French Subjects by equal Law or Right, can afterwards have any Right to claim as a Conqueror; and, contrary to that Oath, take away all their Laws, and the English-men's Estates, and give them to *Frenchmen*, for no other Crime but because they were *English*: whither, I say, he could do all this, and not be guilty of Perjury, I leave it to the Judgment of the unprejudiced Reader to determine.

THIS may be, I think, sufficient to shew the Doctor's Partiality as an Historian, whose Duty it is not only to write nothing but Truth, but also to conceal nothing that is fit to be known. Tho indeed (to give the Doctor his due) when he cannot evade the matter of Fact, that King *William* took the Coronation-Oath, the substance of which is abovemention'd, it being urged so home by the Ingenious Author of *Argumentum Antinormannicum*, that he cannot conceal nor deny it; he has, in his Answer to that Treatise, no way left to excuse his Conqueror's Perjury, but by downright confessing it; and which (says

† Answer to Arg. Antinorman. p. 241.

† he) "May receive this easy Answer, from an English Proverb, that there is *never an Oath but is either broken or kept*; and so his Adversarie's Proof from the Conqueror's taking an Oath signifies nothing, unless he can also prove that he kept it. More Conquerors than one have used fair Pretences, and made smooth Promises, and dealt cunningly with the People to carry on their Designs, and have at first taken plausible Oaths, and broken them afterwards; nay took them when they intended not to keep them, and knew they could not: And for Oath-breaking, *Harold* in his Answer to him, (*viz.* Duke *William*,) when he demanded the Kingdom, had given him an Example, that || *Stultum Sacramentum est frangendum*, a foolish Oath is to be broken; and that is (says he) the reason that this Author, *viz.* his Antagonist, omitted these words in the Answer of *Harold* to Duke *William*, lest it should have defeated the Force and Consequences of the Duke's Oath, which he made use of in favour of his Assertion.

|| This is part of Harold's Answer to Duke William, as it is related by William of Malmesbury.

"MANY specious Oaths, Protections, Vows, and Covenants were contrived and taken by Crafty and Designing men, in the times before mentioned, and imposed upon the People contrary to the Oaths of Allegiance they had before taken, for no other

" ends

“ ends than to cheat them into Rebellion, and make them the Authors
“ of their own Slavery; which was discovered too late, and when
“ they were under the power of an Army, and could not help them-
“ selves.

WHICH Paragraphs I have here transcribed *verbatim*, that so the Reader may see how miserably the Doctor is put to it, when he finds he has no way to evade the Breach of a just, lawful, and spontaneous Oath, but by this mean Shift, *that many Conquerors have broke theirs, and that (as it seems) without any blame, provided they did not intend to keep them.* And now I leave the Doctor himself in cold Blood to judg, whether this might not be as good an Excuse for a certain modern Prince's breaking his Coronation-Oath to protect and defend the Church of England, and observe the Laws of the Nation, as any Jesuit about him could furnish him with; nor can I see in the present case of King William, how Harold's Answer of *Stultum Sacramentum est frangendum*, could take off the Force and Obligation of King William's Oath to his People, since it was not his after-Breach of it, but the Obligation he lay under by it, that was, and is the main Subject of the Dispute between the Doctor and those of the contrary Opinion: for If the Non-observance of a Coronation-Oath may give Princes a Right of Conquest, I cannot see what Nation (where such an Oath is taken) can be secure from their Prince's setting up for a Conqueror, whenever he has Power, or thinks he may safely put it in Practice.

BUT the Doctor has no way left to amuse the Reader, and extenuate the Perjury of his Conqueror, but by falling into a long and impertinent Digression (which takes up no less than eight Pages) in setting forth the Falshood and the Perjuries of Oliver Cromwel, the Scottish Covenanters, and the long Parliament's Ordinances and Declarations, only to make out this wonderful Mystry, *That designing men will often Promise, Protest, Vow, and Covenant, and all falsely, that so they may cheat the People into Rebellions, and at last make them Slaves to their own arbitrary Power and Dominion:* all which being nothing at all to the purpose, I shall not trouble my self to transcribe, since I need make no other Answer to it, than that I do not see how the Perjury of Cromwel, and the Long-Parliament, can be any Excuse for the like Proceedings of King William the First, above six hundred years before, or of any after him: for either the Actions he instances in were lawful, or they were not; if the former, then the same pretences will justify Cromwel and the Ramp, as well as his Conqueror; but if the latter, to what Purpose does he make use of this Argument, unless he can prove, that Monarchs have a Dispensation to break their Oaths, which Subjects have not? This indeed would prove very comfortable Doctrine to a Friend of his, but I hope to no body else.

THE Doctor, after this long Digression above mention'd, returns Ib. p. 254, to King William's Coronation-Oath, and to lessen the validity of it, he urges first, “ That neither *Galienus Pictaviensis, Eadmerus, Ord-*
“ *ricus Vitalis, Henry Huntingdon, nor Matthew Paris,* do write of any
“ Oath taken by him: *Florence of Worcester* is the first (says he) who
“ mentions it, and *Simeon of Durham, and Roger Hoveden* transcribed
“ it from him. Then the Doctor sets down the Account given of the
“ Oath,

Oath, *Se velle Sanctas Dei Ecclesias, &c.* Which since I have already given you in *English*, I need not here repeat.

BUT in answer to this, he tells us, The Oath was conceived in general words, and such as were of a great latitude, and he might by the power and help of his Sword expound, or interpret them in almost what sense he pleased, and make them far more easily correspond with his Actions, than if it had consisted of many strict particulars.

BUT the Doctor's Objections, both against the reality of this Oath, and against its Obligation (in the sense in which the words ought naturally to be taken) may be easily answered. As to the first, That no ancient Author but *Florence* mentions it; this, if true, is but a negative Argument, and proves little, since the Oath might be taken, and yet none of those Authors he mentions, thought fit to record it; and as for *Edmerus*, and *Odericus Vitalis*, they being Ecclesiastical Historians, their chief business was to relate Church-Matters, and Civil-Affairs only by the by: and one main end of the Coronation of Princes being to oblige them by an Oath to govern justly, it was look'd upon as a matter of Course, and which was so generally known that it might be thought unnecessary by some of our Historians to record it: but *Florence* was an Author too diligent and near those times, to be deceived, or imposed upon in a matter of that Moment; and lived long before the three last Authors mention'd by the Doctor. And the same I may say of *Simon*, who, tho he often copied *Florence*, yet lived at the same Time; nor would so judicious an Author as *Hoveden* have transcribed from one of those, what he had not look upon as an undoubted Truth.

AS for the Doctor's next Objection, The general Terms in which this Oath was administred, and which his Conqueror might, by the power and help of his Sword, interpret in what sense he pleased, &c. It is well the Doctor has added *the power of the Sword*, which I grant is a notable Interpreter, not only of Laws, but Scripture too in some Countries; and we see those Princes that exercise it to the height, have in our Times expounded their own Leagues, confirmed by solemn Oaths, in what sense they pleased; and I could bring Instances of the like in Coronation Oaths too; and that in our own or Father's Memories; but I suppose this will not give such Princes a Right to perjure themselves, or make them Conquerors by their so doing.

THEREFORE I think I may still affirm, that King *William* was as much bound by this Oath to observe the antient Laws and Customs of the Kingdom, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, as were the *English Saxon* Kings his Predecessors; the Oath above mention'd being no more, but the same that was taken by them, tho in other words, as any body may see, that will compare the substance of that King's Oath with the form supposed to be taken by King *Ethelred* and his son *Edward the Confessor*, which is cited by Mr. *Selden* in his *Titles of Honour*, and which I my self have transcribed from a very antient Manuscript in the *Cottonian* Library, and is inserted in the *Introduction* to my former Volume. So that if the *English Saxon* Kings were thereby bound to preserve and defend the Liberties of the Church, so was King *William*; if they were bound to govern all their Subjects justly, so was he; and if they were bound by their Oath to prohibit all Ra-

pines and Injustice in all sorts of men, so was he: were they obliged to prescribe Equity and Justice in all their Judgments? so was he. And if all this be true, I desire to know (granting the matters of Fact, as the Doctor will have them) what Right King *William* had to alter the antient Laws of the Kingdom, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, by his own single Authority; or how it could any ways consist with the genuine and literal sense of this Oath, to take away the Lives, Liberties and Estates of his *English* Subjects for no fault at all, but because they were *English*? Nothing but the Doctor's great Interpreter, *the Sword*, can cut this *Gordian* Knor; which Instrument, tho I am sensible it too often ties up men's Tongues and Pens from either speaking or writing Truth; yet I am sure can never alter the nature of things, and make Right and Wrong, Justice and Injustice, to be all one.

BUT to proceed; The Doctor confesses that his Author (*viz.* the Gentleman he writes against) hath added one extraordinary necessary Article at that time, from *William of Malmesbury*, which is, *Quod a quo Jure Anglos quo Francos tractaret*: and the Doctor has no way to take off the force of this Authority, but by confessing it; yet thinks he wholly destroys it, by shewing from the same Author, that when Archbishop *Aldred*, who crown'd King *William*, and administred the Coronation Oath to him, heard how severely he used the *English* (in laying a great Tax upon them) he cursed him and his Progeny for it. This Passage being omitted by his Adversary, the Doctor thereupon triumphs, as if it had been done on purpose, because (as he thinks) it would have destroyed the whole Argument from King *William's* Coronation-Oath, as being a pregnant Testimony he never kept it: whereby the Doctor runs into the same Error as before, in making the Obligation of the Oath to consist in the Taker's keeping, or not keeping it; which is not the matter in Dispute, but whither he did not stand oblig'd to keep it, and was barr'd by it from ever claiming as a *Conqueror*?

BUT his *Antagonist* having taken upon him demonstratively to evidence, that it was not so much *Conquest*, or the *Sword*, that King *William* first relied upon when he was settled in his Throne, as his Claim to the Crown of *England*, *Jure Hereditario*, by Right of Inheritance, and proves this from some of his own Charters, as well as from others of his two Sons, *William Rufus* and *Henry the First*. But the Doctor thinks to evade this Argument by confessing and avoiding it (as we say in a *Law-plea*) and affirms, "That this Hereditary Right was only the Donation of *Edward the Confessor*, as Mr. *Selden* explains it, who thereby admits and approves it as a Lawful Title: yet that by this the *Conqueror* was no more than an Epistolary or Testamentary Heir by Queen *Emma* his Aunt. And then the Doctor produces a Clause from a Charter of King *William* (cited by his Adversary) wherein he calls *England*, *Regnum mihi cum providentia Dei destinatum, & Beneficio Cognati mei Gloriosi Regis Edwardi Concessum*: the Kingdom design'd him by the Providence of God, and granted to him by the Beneficence of his Kinsman, the Glorious King *Edward*; and the Doctor himself cites divers other Charters of this King, wherein he calls himself Heir, and adoptive Heir to King *Edward*.

FROM whence (says he) it is plain, that whatever his *Hereditary Right* was, yet whither he relied more upon that than his *Sword* and *Conquest*,

Conquest, is left to the indifferent Reader to judge by what hath been said, and shall be further deliver'd in his ensuing Answer, viz. to *Argumentum Antinormannicum* above mention'd.

BUT the Doctor would have done well to have shewn us any Charter or Law of this King, wherein he stiled himself *Conqueror* of the *English*, or that he ever pretended to claim by the *Sword*; whereas he himself cannot deny but that in all his own, as well as his Son's Charters, which are yet extant at this day, his Title to the Crown is set forth quite another way; which, whither he ever waved, and only claimed by the *Sword*, (as the Doctor here supposes) shall be farther inquired into by and by: for it is not King *William's* great Severity, or indeed the Cruelty which he sometimes used towards the *English*, or his bare and open seizing their Estates, that can shew he acted as a *Conqueror*, since he might inflict this as a just Punishment upon Rebels and Traytors: as when he destroy'd the Inhabitants of *Yorkshire* and *Northumberland*, for killing Earl *Robert* and Bishop *Walcher*, and took away the Estates of a great many of the chief Nobility for their actual Rebellion, or (at least) conspiring against him. But I do not find the Doctor to give us any sufficient proof, that he dispossessed any of the *English* of their Estates, only because they were such; but of this I shall say more hereafter.

THE point of Right being now (I hope) fully settled, that King *William* by his Victory over *Harold* and his Army, could acquire no just Title either to himself or his Successors, over the Persons, Estates and Liberties of the *English* Nation; I come in the next place to the matter of Fact: and since I find the Doctor, and those of his Opinion, divide their Arguments for it into these following Heads, I shall pursue their Method, and examine each of them in this Order.

1. THE first is, That King *William*, some time after his Entrance, took away all the Lands of the *English* Nobility and Gentry, and gave them to his *Normans* and other *Foreign* Followers; and in short distributed almost all the Lands of *England*, then in Lay-hands, to those that had served him in his *Conquest*, according to their Deserts, and his own Will and Pleasure.

2. THAT upon this Distribution, he introduced a new Military Tenure from *Normandy*, called *Knight's Service*, with all its Dependences, of Wardship, Marriage, and Relief of the Heir; and this upon all the Lands of *England*, except some small matter that was held by *Socage* Tenure, which was but a small part in comparison of the rest: all which could not have been done had he not acted like a *Conqueror*; and that at one time or other he thus disposed of most of the Lands of *England*.

3. THAT not only in this, but in divers other Points he alter'd the old *English* Laws, called the Laws of King *Edward*, and introduced divers others more severe and rigorous, and that by his sole Authority, without the Consent of the *Great Council* of the Kingdom.

4. THAT, as another Badg of this *Conquest*, he drew up and made his first Body of Laws in the *French* or *Norman* Tongue, and constituted *Normans* to be Judges in his Courts, and ordered all Pleadings there to be in that Language, which continued till the 35th year of *Edward the Third*.

THAT

THAT, as an *Absolute Conqueror* over this Kingdom, he at his Death bequeathed it to *William Rufus*, his Younger Son, passing by *Robert* his Eldest, which all Writers agree may be done in *Patrimonial* Kingdoms that are conquer'd by the *Sword*, and do not descend by Right of Blood, unless the Conqueror please so to appoint.

TO begin with the first Instance in relation to the Lands; In answer to this, I think I may positively assert, that no Person, during this King's Reign, was outed of his Estate, meerly because he was an *English* man, without any other Crime laid to his Charge: not but that it is certain, and very natural to suppose, that after such a Victory, and before things could be settled, there were great Outrages and Oppressions committed by the Conqueror's Officers and Soldiers, as likewise many false Accusations laid against innocent Persons, for being of *Harold's* Party, or for being concerned in those other Plots, Conspiracies, and Rebellions which were frequently raised by the *English* Nobility during this King's Reign; whereby several of them possibly might be thrown out of their Estates, as also many Usurpations made upon other men's Rights, which might be afterwards again recover'd by the true Owners; and this was done not only in the Lands and Possessions of private Persons, but in those of Bishops, Abbots, and other Ecclesiasticks, over whom that King could pretend no Right by *Conquest*; as appears by those Relations of the Tryals and Recoveries of several of their Lands and Mannors (which we shall mention by and by) when things grew more settled, and that the Laws came again into their Old Channel.

AND as for the Possessions of private Persons, we have the unquestionable Authority of *Gulielmus Pictaviensis*, who, in his History of the beginning of this King's Reign, says expressly concerning his rewarding his *Norman* and *French* Followers, *Nulli tamen Gallo datum est, quod Anglo cuiquam injustè fuerit ablatum*: "Nothing was given to any *French* man, that was unjustly taken from any *English* man.

AND if *Ingulph*, Abbot of *Croyland*, complains of the Violence and Invasion of the Rights and Lands of his Abbey, by *Ivo de Talboys*, and which could never be fully recover'd, notwithstanding all his Complaints; this is to be imputed to the Iniquity of the Times, and the great Power which several *Norman* Lords had in some Counties.

BUT such Instances as these are not sufficient proofs of *Conquest*; for there are few Countries in the World, where Favourites and men in Power, having the King's Ear, and representing men's Persons and Merits falsely to him, do not sometimes oppress and injure others, and that often without any Redress; and thereby make good that old *English* saying, that *Might overcomes Right*.

BUT the Doctor being urged with these Authorities, in his Answer to *Argumentum Anti-normannicum* * above mention'd, is fain to distinguish, that the Question is not there fairly put by his Antagonist, viz. "Whither Duke *William* obtain'd the Crown of *England* by the *Sword*, and made an *Absolute Conquest* of the Nation at his first Entrance; but that it ought to have been thus: Whither, in process of Time, and by degrees, he did not, by Force and Artifice, make an *Absolute Conquest* of the Nation. For we are not so much to consider (*says he*) what he did upon his first Invasion of *England*,

“ or some short time after, as to take notice of the manner of his Establishment and Government when it was wholly under his Power, and that by the daily Accession of *Normans* or other *Foreigners*, and by building very many Castles and Forts in all parts of the Nation, and placing Garisons in them, he had secured himself and those that came with him. For (*proceeds the Doctor*) we seldom or never read of any one, who designed to Conquer a Nation or People, who told them before hand, that he would deprive them of their Estates or Fortunes, and give them New Laws, or abridg their Antient Liberties; and especially if he had any pretence of a Title, as Duke *William* then had to *England*.

“ HENCE it is that *Gulielmus Pictaviensis*, and *Ordericus Vitalis*, do sometimes mention *William* the Conqueror's smooth Behaviour towards the *Englisch*, and his equal and just Dealings with them upon his first entrance into the Kingdom, and for four or five years afterwards. And, to give the Doctor his due, he is so fair as to repeat the former of those Author's own words, when he says, “ That after this King's Coronation at *London*, he ordered many things prudently, wisely, and justly, &c. And he adds from the same Writer, this remarkable Passage above mention'd, *Nulli Gallo datum est quod Anglo cuiquam injuste fuerit ablatam*: so that tho the Doctor allows all this to be true for the first Four years of this King's Reign (*viz.* till the year 1070.) yet he excepts against this Author last mention'd as an incompetent witness, concerning the means King *William* made use of for his Establishment; that being for the greatest part finish'd and perfected after the time that *Gulielmus Pictaviensis* left of writing his History, which ended with the year 1070. as appears from the Testimony of *Ordericus Vitalis*.

I SHALL, in answer to the Doctor's Instances and Objections, make bold to begin with the last in the first place. As for his Exception against the Testimony of *Gulielmus Pictaviensis*, it is not material; for we have no more than one year and half of his writing of this King's Reign, *viz.* as far as his first return out of *Normandy* into *England*, the rest being lost; which if we could recover, perhaps we might draw from thence some other Arguments, that he never intended to set up for a Conqueror: tho what we have left of this Author is sufficient to prove it; since if he had intended to Claim by that Title, he ought to have done it at first, and not after he had barr'd himself from it by so many solemn Oaths to the contrary.

P. 104, 105.

BUT however, the Doctor cannot except against *William* of *Malmesbury*'s Testimony, who all along imputes King *William*'s severity to the *Englisch*, not to any Right by the *Sword*, but to their frequent Plots and Rebellions against him. And sure the Doctor cannot deny, but during the first Four years of his Conqueror's Reign, he had brought the whole Kingdom under his Subjection, and that there was no place left but what was in his Power; for as to the Rebellion in the Isle of *Ely*, that was not till the Fifth year of his Reign: so that one would believe, that if he ever had any Right to claim as a Conqueror, he would then have exerted it; since a Conqueror (as far as I can observe from all Historians) is One, who, having no Right to a Kingdom or Country but by the *Sword*, as soon as he is once possess'd of it, deals with

with the Inhabitants as his Slaves and Vassals, and immediately makes himself Master of their Estates and Liberties, without any precedent Oath or Compact; as the Saxons dealt with the Britains.

BUT indeed the Doctor hath found out a nice distinction between Duke William's Conquest of England, and his Settlement in it; so that, it seems, according to his pleasant Notion, a Monarch is never well settled in his Throne, till he has made himself master of the Liberties and Estates of his Subjects; and thus the most Rightful King, if he had found any Resistance from the People in his obtaining the Crown, might upon this pretence, set up for a Conqueror; and notwithstanding his Coronation-Oath to observe and maintain the Laws of the Kingdom, might take away the Estates, not only of his Enemies, but of all others; and so King Edward the Fourth, upon this Author's Principles, might have set up for a Conqueror, as well as William the First.

BUT tho the Doctor does not pretend to assert that King William took away all the English men's Estates at once, and made them absolute Vassals during the first Four years of his Reign: however he still insists, That whatsoever those Historians may say of him in the beginning of his Reign, yet whoever attends to his Actions, as his drawing his Army about Westminster-Abbey at the time of his Coronation, his building Fortresses within the City of London, and placing Norman Garrisons and French Governors in divers Castles in the Country, his carrying the chief of the English Nobility with him as Hostages into Normandy, (which was but an Honourable Imprisonment) and his dictating new Laws; cannot but believe he intended to rule as a Conqueror, and by the Sword, from the very beginning. And some Pages after, to obviate the Objection of Duke William's Quarrel to Harold, as being rather Personal than National, and tho he was victorious over him, yet he was no Absolute Conqueror, the Doctor here puts some Questions to his Adversary, and asks him, why, after Harold was slain, he did not then disband his Army? &c. and why he so often sent for fresh Forces out of several Nations? why he appointed Odo Bishop of Bayeux, and William fitz Osberne (both great Normans) his Lieu-tenants, to govern the Nation, when he return'd into Normandy, and carried with him all the prime Saxon Nobility within less than six Months after this Battel of Hastings?

I HAVE already shewn from the manner of King Harold's coming to the Crown, that Duke William could have no just Quarrel against the English Nation, for crowning his Competitor, and therefore could not upon that account have any Right to take away their Estates: But since the Doctor has been pleased to make use of these Instances, to shew his Claim and Intentions to act as a Conqueror, from the very beginning; I shall desire that he would be pleased to shew us any Seal of this King, wherein he styles himself *Willielmus Conquestor*, or any of his Charters wherein he sets forth his Title by Conquest; whereas I can produce several Charters, wherein he claims as Heir, *Jure Hereditario*, to King Edward the Confessor.

BUT to come to the Doctor's Queries, concerning the matters of Fact in order. To the first I answer, that there was no reason for him to disband his Army so long as the Earls Edwin and Morcar continued in Arms against him.

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TO the Second, that his building Fortresses in *London*, might be very well justified without any pretence to *Conquest*; since that City had so lately shewn it self very averse to give him Entrance, and would also have set up *Edgar Atheling* against him. And the same distrust he could not but have of most of the *English* Nation; of whom so great a number had lately fought with, and near overcome him: and this might very justly make him trust the command of his Garisons only in the hands of *Normans* and *Frenchmen*. The like distrust of the *English* Nobility (the greatest part of whom had been against him) might very well justify his leaving only *Normans*, as his Lieu-tenants in his Absence; as also his prevailing with the prime *English-Saxon* Nobility to go over with him; for all Princes will secure the quiet possession of what they have once obtain'd by all the wise and politick Methods they can. And if King *William* was then their lawful Prince, he might also very well require their Attendance upon him into *Normandy*, and that without making them Prisoners, as the Doctor will needs have it.

AS for his giving the *Normans* great Estates, that might likewise very well be answer'd for; since perhaps it was done out of the confiscated Fortunes of such as had fought against him at the Battel of *Hastings*: all which he might justly do, supposing his Title to be Just. As for his sending for fresh Forces from other Nations, I do not find he did so during the first Four years of his Reign, to which the Doctor confines this present Inquiry; tho if he had done so, he might very well have justified it, without intending to make an *Absolute Conquest* of the Kingdom; for several of his *Norman* Souldiers left him, and returned home at the beginning of his Reign, and therefore it was necessary that he should send for fresh Recruits either from *Normandy* or other Countries.

THESE Answers, I hope, may serve to prove, that what King *William* acted in the beginning of his Reign for his own Security, and the common Peace of the Nation, might very well be defended upon those Grounds; without resolving the Actions into *Conquest*, or *absolute Arbitrary Power*. As for his dictating new Laws, I know of none, but such as were made by him with the common Consent of the *Great Council* of the Kingdom, as his own Laws themselves set forth.

HAVING thus dispatched the point of *Right*, I come to those of *Fact*, and shall now examine the truth of his first Assertion, "That King *William* took away all the Lands of the *English* Nobility and *Gentry*, and gave them to *Normans* and other *Foreigners*; and, "in short, distributed almost all the Lands of *England*, then in Lay-hands, to those that had served him in his *Conquest*, according to his "Will and Pleasure.

IN the first place therefore it is allowed on all hands, that King *William* never took away the Lands of the Bishops and Abbots of *England*, much less those that belonged to Deans, and Chapters, or to private Churches; and if his Nobles or Followers had unjustly dis- seized any Bishop or Abbot of their Estates, we find that upon Complaint, the King caused them to be restored, as appears by many Pre- cedents of this kind, which are to be found in *Ingulphus*, and *Eadme- rus*; besides the old *Leiger-Books* of the Churches of *Rocheſter*, *Ely*, and other Monasteries.

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THIS being premised, let us see in the next place what proportion the Lands that then belonged to the Church did bear to the rest of the Lands in *England*: now you may find in the old *Leiger-Book*, cited by Mr. *Selden* in his *Titles of Honour*, and particularly from a Manuscript *Leiger* call'd *Secretum Abbatis* (formerly belonging to the Abbey of *Glastenbury*, and now in the Library of the University of *Oxon*) that there were, some years after the supposed Conquest, sixty thousand two hundred and fifteen Knight's Fees in *England*, of which the Bishops, Abbots, and other Churchmen then enjoyed twenty eight thousand and fifteen. Yet since we are not sure but that this Account might not be taken till above 150 years after the Conquest, during which time a great deal of Land might be bestowed upon the Church by King *William* and several other Kings, as also by divers Bishops and Noblemen's founding of several Religious Houses endow'd with great Revenues, I will not reckon the Church-Lands of *England* to have amounted (not long after the supposed Conqueror's Entrance) to above twenty thousand Knight's Fees; which nevertheless will make near a third part of such Lands, as were then held by Military Tenure, the number of which was about sixty thousand Knight's Fees, as *Ordericus Vitalis* reckons them to have been. Now if King *William* did not dispossess the Bishops and Abbots, &c. of their Lands, you may say the same of their Tenants, whose Estates the King had nothing to do with, and the better sort, and greater number of these then came to hold their Estates by Knight's Service, in Fee, or at least for Lives (Leases for years being not then in use) and many of those Tenants were great and powerful men in their Countries; hence we read in the antient Histories and *Leiger-Books* of Abbays and Cathedrals, of the many Barons and Knights that held of the Bishops and great Abbots, several Examples of which you will find in Sir *Henry Spelman's* Glossary, Title *Baro*: as also in the *Leiger-Books* of *Ely* and *Abingdon*, of which I shall make further use by and by.

ALL that I know can be urged to the contrary, is, that many of the Tenants of these Bishops and Abbots, &c. might either take part with *Harold* at the Battel of *Hastings*, or else rebell'd afterwards against the King, who might seize those Lands (as forfeited) for Treason; to this it may be answer'd, that supposing it to be so, yet they could not be very many, for we read of no Bishops, and not of above three or four Abbots, who were with King *Harold* at that Battel; and if they were not there in Person, it was not likely that many of their Tenants should, contrary to their Lordship's desires (who most of them privately sided with King *William*) without any necessity, concern themselves in so dangerous a Quarrel.

BUT to counterballance these, it is also certain, that few of the Tenants in *antient Demesne*, and *Gavel-kind* in *Kent*, (which in those times made above two thirds of the Lands of that County) were dispossess'd of their Estates at the Conqueror's Entrance, since they were not in those times forfeitable for Treason.

AND to these we may also add all such *Norman* Noblemen and Gentlemen, who having settled themselves in *England* during the Reigns of King *Ethelred* and his Son *Edward*, would not side with *Harold* against Duke *William*; and these were so numerous and considerable

able that we find amongst the Laws of this King, one particularly inserted for their enjoying all the Rights and Privileges of Natural Englishment; by all which (when reckon'd up together) it will appear, that King *William* could not dispossess so much as one Half of the English Gentry and ordinary People of their Estates; so that the matter will amount to no more than this, that this King, for some years after his first Entrance, disposed of no more Lands than what were thought legally forfeited to him by the death or flight of those who were at the Battel of *Hastings*, or else had rebelled against him by seizing the Isle of *Ely*, or had joined with the *Danes* in the North, or were concern'd in the Rebellion of *Ralph Guader* and *Roger Bigot*: in all which, tho I grant a great many Noblemen and Gentlemen lost their Estates, yet he took them not away upon pretence of *Conquest*; but as a Lawful Prince may deal with those that he supposes either had conspired, or else had actually rebelled against him.

HAVING thus stated the matter of Fact, as it really was during this King's Reign, I shall now say something to the Authorities which *Dr. Brady* and Others produce, to make good the contrary Assertion; and I shall begin with that famous Passage in the black Book of the *Exchequer*, supposed to be written by *Gervase of Tilbury*, about the 23^d of *Henry the Second*, which the Doctor so much insists upon, and therefore I shall give you a true Translation of it (for the Doctor's is not so exact as it should be) leaving the Reader to compare it if he please with the Latin Original. The English runs thus:

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 " other Affairs, if in process of time by an humble Submission they
 " could gain the favour of their Lords, they then had the liberty of
 " possessing somewhat in their own Persons, but without any hope of
 " leaving it in Succession; their Children enjoying it only at the Will of
 " their Lords; to whom when in after times they became odious, they
 " were driven from their Estates, neither would any restore what
 " they had taken away.

" WHEREUPON, when a general Complaint of the Natives
 " came to the King, informing him that being hated by all, and spoiled
 " of their Fortunes, they must be forced to go over to Strangers:
 " At length, upon Consultation about these matters, it was order'd
 " that what they could obtain of their Lords by their deserts, or by
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“ tion possess'd Lands, or such like, obtain'd them not as if they
 “ were their Right by Succession, or Inheritance, but as their Merits
 “ acquired, or else by some intervening Agreement.

FROM whence we may observe, that according to this Author, the *English*, who thus forfeited their Estates, are divided into three Classes, or Divisions. The *first* is of such who had actually fought against the King; and as for these, both they and their Heirs lost all their Estates. The *Second* is, of those, who tho they did not fight against him, yet the former Propriety and Dominion of their Lands were taken from them, and they were only allowed to enjoy some part of their Estates, and that only for term of Life. The *Third* is the Children of these, who were turn'd out of their Estates at the will of their Lords, and that without any Redress, till at last they were allowed to enjoy what they could obtain from their Lords by Purchase, Favor, or Money; so that, according to this Author's Account, by the latter end of the Conqueror's Reign, few or none of the *English* were Tenants *in Capite*, or had any more than some small Estates left them, which were held of *Norman* or *French* Lords.

AND the Testimony of this Author is farther confirmed from the Catalogue of all the Tenants names * who held Lands of this King in every County of *England* when it was surveyed, and the whole Nation was then divided between the Conqueror and his Followers, so that whosoever held any Lands, Mannors, or Towns, held them of the Persons there named, who were all Strangers, except some very few Bishops, Abbots, or Church-men, who had their Lands restored to them by the Mediation of Archbishop *Lanfranc*, or else such *Taini*, or *Ministri*, Rural Servants, or other small Officers that had served *Edward the Confessor*, and were afterwards retain'd by the Conqueror.

* Dr. B's
 Answ. to Arg.
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 p. 270. and
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in the Cottonian Library, as also in that of Bennet College, in both which there is a short Historical Account concerning the Kings of England, from Edward the Confessor to his own time, no Credit would be given to him; for in that Treatise there are such gross Errors concerning the History of those Princes that had flourish'd not an Age before his own time, that no man who understands any thing of English History, but will conclude him to have been very Ignorant or at least Careless of what he wrote concerning the Affairs of his own Country.

P. 371, 372. And that I have good Warrant for what I say, the Reader may find this fragment I now mention, printed in the Third Volume of the old French Historians, publish'd by Andrew Du Chesne, after certain excerpts out of the same Author concerning the Kings of France. And that I may further give the Reader a taste of this Writer's Ignorance in our English History, as to the Pages above cited, he there says that K. William the First, after his being made King, married Harold's Sister, when as K. William had a Wife of his own then alive; He also supposes William Rufus to have been the Elder Brother, and Duke Robert the Younger; and that Stephen, Earl of Boloigne, was by his Uncle King Henry appointed to be King, during the Minority of his Grandson Henry, Son to the Earl of Anjou; a Title which no Body ever knew or heard of, before this Author; besides divers other gross Mistakes, of which I have only given these for a Taste, that so he may be as little credited, as to what he here says concerning the English their being turn'd out of their Estates by their Norman Lords: tho as to what relates to those that took part with Harold, I suppose may be true enough; but I deny that it was so with all the rest, who had never join'd with him, nor had given him any Assistance: but admitting the whole matter of Fact should be granted to have been as this Author supposes, yet would not this make King William a Conqueror, since he took away the Estates of the English, either because they were Traytors to him, or else because they were English-men. Now if it were for the former cause, it might be very well justified, it being no more than what all Princes do at this day; but if for the latter, he could not act as a Conqueror, but as an Usurper of the Rights of his Subjects, and in direct violation of his Coronation-Oath, by which he stood obliged to treat both the English and French with equal Law or Right, as has been already said.

P. 659. Y E T it cannot be denied but that he used the English too severely, and sometimes might take away their Estates without any just Cause. Accordingly Ordericus Vitalis makes this King, (as being touched in Conscience upon his Death-bed for his Cruelty and Injustice) to have begg'd God's pardon (among his other Sins) that he had too much hated the natural-born Subjects of this Kingdom; that he had cruelly oppress'd both the Nobles and vulgar People; had unjustly disinherited many, and put to Death vast multitudes in Yorkshire by the Sword and by Famine. The truth of which dying Speech, tho I will not take upon me to assert, since it looks as if it were made out of this Monk's Fancy, yet it gives us a true Idea of what the indifferent men of that Age thought of these Actions, as no way justifiable by Law or Equity.

B U T as to the Authority of the Doomesday-Book, I confess that would be undeniable, were it as the Doctor cites it: for tho I grant that

that at the time of the making of that Survey, the *Norman* Lords and Gentlemen held a great part of the Lands of *England*, yet that there were divers very considerable men of *English* Extraction, who were Owners of considerable Estates at the time of the making this Survey, appears by that Catalogue the Learned Mr. *Armo* has given us of them in his *Jus Anglorum ab Antiquo*, extracted out of *Doomsday Book*; and that only in running over fifteen Counties of the Thirty surveyed in that Book, most of which Persons by their names, and want of Surnames, seem to have been *English*: and They or their Ancestors held their Estates T. R. E. which signifies *Tempore Regis Edwardi*, that is, held the same Estates in the time of King *Edward the Confessor*. And I doubt not but that there were many more *English* Proprietors, who having Surnames with *De* put before them, cannot be now distinguished from *Frenchmen* or *Normans*; as for Example, it appears from the same Survey in *Surrey*, that *Hugo de Port* was a very great Proprietor, as may be seen under the Title *Terra Hugonis de Port*; many Mannors he had, as appears, in this as well as other Counties; and yet it is certain he was settled here before the Conquest.

Vid. Jus Anglor.
glor. per W.
A. p. 80.

TO whom I may likewise add, from the Authority of Sir *William Dagdale*, in his Description of *Warwick-shire*, *Turekil of Warwick*, who was so called from being Governor of that Castle under the Earl: This Man, having never given any Assistance to *Harold*, held a great many Mannors in this County immediately of the King, for which I appeal to *Doomsday-Book* it self; and I could give several other Instances of the like nature, in this as well as other Counties, would the narrowness of this Introduction allow me to be more particular.

P. 302.

THEREFORE I shall take notice but of one more, that is allowed by the Doctor himself, and that is of the famous *Hereward*, who notwithstanding all his opposition of King *William* in the Isle of *Ely*, yet was afterwards restored to his Estate, which consisted of divers Mannors in *Lincolnshire*, all which he held till he long after died in Peace, as *Ingulphus* himself informs us: and of this *Hereward's* Actions, there is at this day a large History still extant in Manuscript in an ancient *Leiger-Book*, which formerly belonged to the Abbey of *Peterborough*, and is now in the keeping of the Dean and Chapter of that Church, wherein he is called *Hereward Le-Wake*; and this I take notice of, that the Reader may see, how far the Custom of the *Norman* Surnames then prevail'd in that Age; so that it is difficult to distinguish by that Mark the *English* from the *Norman* Nobility.

THESE being the most considerable Authorities alledg'd by Dr. *Brady*, to prove, that King *William* took away far the greatest part of the *Englismens* Estates; his other Quotations are of less moment, and may be more easily answered; as first that of *Ordericus Vitalis*, who relates, that King *William* having circumvented *Edwin* and *Morchar*, the two great Earls of *Northumberland* and *Mercia*; after the former was slain, and the latter imprisoned, he began to shew himself, and gave his Assistants the best and most considerable Counties in *England*, and made rich Colonels and Captains of very mean *Normans*: to which the Doctor adds, "That he thus disposed of whole Counties to divers Great Men, appears by *Doomsday-Book*, wherein it seems as if the whole County of *Chester* was bestowed by the Conqueror on *Hugh Lupus* a *Norman*: as that of *Torkshire* was to *Alan* Earl of

" *Bretaign*,

" *Bretaign*, and so likewise the greatest part of *Shropshire* to *Roger de Montgomery*.

" AND that further he took away from the *English* their Estates, and gave them to his *Normans*; even from his first Entrance: for *Fitz-Osbern* was made Earl of *Arundel* and *Hereford* at his first coming in; and being Lord of *Betteville* in *Normandy*, established the Laws of that Town at *Hereford*: the same Earl *Alan* had all Earl *Edwin's* Lands given him at the Siege of *Tork*, about three years after the Conquest. And the Doctor further mentions the 795 Mannors which *Robert* Earl of *Moreton* held in *Normandy* and *England*; and that *Geoffrey* Bishop of *Constance* had 280 Mannors given him by the Conqueror, besides many other Lands of the *Saxon* Earls, Thanes, &c. which were all given to *Normans* or *French-men*, who had no other Title than King *William's* conquering Sword.

SO that the Doctor thinks it very evident, that this King had distributed most of the Lands of the Nation to his *Normans* long before the Survey was begun; and that by that infallible Record it is clear that he gave near all the Lands of the Nation to his Followers, and very little or none to the *English*, who held what they had by a new Title and new Services from the Conqueror or his great Lords, or became Tenants or Drudges upon their own Lands; as we learn from *Bracton* and *Fleta*, who expressly tell us, that divers old *English* Proprietors being thrown out of their Estates, by powerful men, presently after the Conquest, were fain to take them again upon performing Villane Services, tho they themselves remain'd Freemen.

HAVING thus fairly represented Dr. Brady's Arguments and Authorities, I think they may be easily answered. In the first place, I shall not deny the matter of Fact to be in great part true, but not as the Doctor has laid it; for *Ordericus* does neither say, that King *William* disposed of the Lands of several whole Counties to the *Norman* Lords there mention'd; nor yet does he date those large Grants from the time the Doctor supposes, as you will see more at large in the ensuing * History. However it will not follow, that because King *William* bestowed great Estates upon the *Norman* or *French* Noblemen above mentioned, he therefore dispossessed far the greater part of the *English* of their Estates, much less that therein he always intended to act as a Conqueror. For in the first place the Lands here instanc'd in, will not amount to a tenth part of those of *England*; and as for the 795 Mannors, which the Earl of *Moreton* had in *Normandy* and *England*, the Doctor should have told us how many of these he held in *England*, for as to those in *Normandy* they signify nothing to the matter in Dispute; and it appears by *Doomsday-Book* in *Surrey*, *Quod ipse Comes (scil. Moretonia) tenuit Estreham T. R. E. viz.* That this Earl held this Mannor of *Estreham* in *Tenrige* Hundred in the time of King *Edward*: and tho he had very great Possessions granted him by King *William*, yet I believe that if this Book were diligently search'd, we should find that the same Earl held also other Lands in *K. Edward's* time. Nor is the Doctor less mistaken when he supposes, that *Hugh Lupus*, and *Roger de Montgomery*, and those other *Norman* Lords on whom King *William* is said to have bestowed whole Counties, had by those Grants a right to oust all the *English* Proprietors, and that they bestowed those whole Counties among their *Norman* Vassals and Tenants;

* P. 44.

Vid. Jus Anglor. p. 81.

nants; since it is evident by the manner of those great Earldoms falling to the Crown, *viz.* by the attalinder of their Owners, that only they themselves, and not their under Tenants or Feudataries forfeited their Estates: and it appears by the very time of King *William's* bestowing them, that he did it not as a Conqueror, but as a lawful Prince, since the Lands of *Edwin* were not disposed of till after his Rebellion at *Tork*; and those of *Morchar* could not be bestowed, till after his last Defection, *A. D.* 1071. which was in the 5th year of this King's Reign. And as for the other great Conspiracy of the Earls *Ralph de Guader, Waltheof, and Roger Bigot*, That did not happen till five years after, *viz.* in the 10th year of this King, whose Lands being likewise forfeited for Treason, he might lawfully dispose of them without claiming them by Conquest.

AND as Dr. *Brady* in his History sets forth, it appears that he did P. 197i not then act as a Conqueror: for when the Doctor, tho falsely, dates this King's division of the Lands of the whole Nation among his Assistants and Followers from the 5th year of his Reign; it plainly appears that he did not do this as a Conqueror; for then he should have taken away the English men's Estates at his first entrance. And it is plain by many Passages in *Doomsday-Book* it self, that divers of them are there mention'd to have forfeited their Lands for Treason against the King; which had been altogether needless, had he claim'd a general Right by Conquest over the Lands of the whole English Nation. But indeed the Doctor's main Mistake lies in supposing, that when King *William* seem'd to bestow whole Counties, or the greatest part of them to his Favorites, that they had presently all the Lands in these Counties to dispose of at their pleasure, and that they turned out all the old Proprietors. But that it is certain they did not, I could prove to you by several Instances of antient English Families, who have to this day held their Lands, and enjoyed the same Seals they had in the Conqueror's time: So that there is a great deal of difference between the Grant of all the Lands of a whole County, and that of the County: what is meant by the former is plain, but as for the latter, it generally implys nothing else than the Government of that County; or at least no more than those Demesnes and Mannors that were annex'd to that Dignity.

THUS whereas the Doctor would have it, that the greatest part of *Shropshire* was given to *Roger de Montgomery*, yet *Doomsday Book* only says, that He had the City of *Shrewsbury*, & *totum Comitatum*: but that is soon explain'd by what follows, & *totum Dominium, quod Rex ipse tenebat*; where it is plain, that by *Dominium* is meant no more than that Power to govern it, which King *Edward* had, for otherwise the Grant of *totum Comitatum* had been sufficient.

BUT the Reader may take notice, that in this Controversy I have not made use of the famous Instance of *Edward of Sharnburn*, tho inserted by Sir *Henry Spellman* in his *Glossary*; and also recited by Sir *William Dugdale* in his *Baronage of England*, who both give credit to it: For upon the perusal of the History of that Family, I find it to have been of no great Antiquity, and that *Sharnburn's* name is not to be found in *Doomsday Book*: and the Owners of *Sharnburn* are there only *William de Warenn*, *Odo Bishop of Bayeux*, *Bernerius Arbalistarius*, and *William de Pertenac*, without any mention of *William de Albiney*,

binney, under whom *Sharnburn* was supposed to hold. There is likewise another Authority made use of by the Doctor from *William of Malmesbury*, and *Henry Huntington*, who both positively affirm, that in their times, *viz.* in the Reign of *Henry I.* and King *Stephen*, there was no *English* man, Bishop, Abbot, or Earl in *England*; but that Strangers gnawed and devoured its Bowels, that is, enjoyed its chiefest Riches and Preferments.

THIS being so express a Testimony, and that also of two such grave Authors of that very Age, I will not go about to deny it; but however it does not prove the Point in question: for tho' admitting that at that time when they wrote, there had been no *English* man in any Great Office either in Church or State, but the *Norman* Nobility were then possessors of the chief Honors and best Estates of the Kingdom; yet this does not prove that there were no *English* men of Note, who then possess Estates of any considerable value; much less that this Alteration proceeded from Conquest; since *William Rufus* and *Henry the First* (who both pursued this Method of Government) succeeded to the Crown; the One partly by his Father's Testament, and partly by Election of the Bishops and Nobility; and the Other without any Right at all but that of their Free choice, as I shall shew further by and by. But that even in the Reign of King *William*, until the Rebellion of Earl *Waltheof*, divers *English* men continued, or else were created Earls, I have already hinted, and may be further seen at large in the following History; and the *English* might have continued longer possessed of that Honour, had not the Rebellion of the Earls *Ralph* and *Waltheof* so provoked him against the *English*, that (as *William of Malmesbury* relates) he was to be excused, if he were more severe to them than otherwise he would have been, because he scarce found one of them faithful to him.

BUT what if the *Normans* did enjoy the chief Dignities and Offices in Church and State? what is this to their possessing all the Lands of the Kingdom? As suppose King *James the First* had made home but *Scott* men Earls, Barons or Bishops, and that his Son and Grandsons had taken the same course; I say, would this have taken away the Lands of all the *English* Gentry?

BUT the Doctor has also urged another notable Authority from *Matr. Paris*, in his Life of *Frederic* Abbot of *St. Alban*, where, after he has related how that Abbot, joining with *Edgar Atheling*, and a great Army of *English*, had compell'd King *William* (soe against his will) to swear upon the Relicks of *St. Alban*, that he would for the future observe King *Edward's* Laws; they thereupon being all very well satisfied, departed to their own homes. See what follows in the same Author.

THEN the King craftily concealing his Intentions, within a few days, privily and suddenly surprized them, when single and dispersed, whom being united in a Body he could not overcome; many he put to death, from others he took their Estates, and many more he banished; violating the Law he had sworn to observe, taking away their Estates at his own pleasure, without any Judicial Proceedings, thereby impoverishing the natural *English*, and enriching his *Normans*: And as for *Edgar Atheling*, he was forced to fly into *Scotland*, and Abbot *Frederic* into the Isle of *Ely*, where he soon after died.

I WILL not much dispute the truth of this Story, tho it is found in no other Author, and indeed does not well agree with the Time of *Edgar Atheling's* going into *Scotland*, whither, according to the *Saxon Chronicle*, and *Florence of Worcester*, he retired in the year 1068. and continued there for four years, and did not return into *England* till 1072. which was the year after the Surrender of the Isle of *Ely*; and so consequently he could not be in *England*, when himself and Abbot *Frederic* are supposed to have made this Resistance in the year 1069. nor could the Abbot have taken Refuge in that *Island* at all. Not, I say, but that the substance of the Story may be true for all this; and yet the Monkish Writers may too much aggravate this King's Severity towards the *English*: But *William of Malmesbury* is more favourable, who makes him to have dealt gently with his Subjects, and sharply only with those that had rebelled against him.

BUT let the Doctor make the best of this Authority of *Matthew Paris*, and say that this King dispossest a great many *English* of their Estates; yet will not his Perjury, and Breach of his Coronation-Oath, as also this last, which he had so solemnly taken, make him a Conqueror over the Nation, but rather a Tyrant and Usurper of the Antient Rights and Liberties of his Subjects.

I HAD not dwelt so long upon this Subject, were it not for the Doctor's improving even King *William's* Violence and Perjury into a Right by Conquest, and that he had a just Pretence to do so: and I wonder the Doctor does not by the like reason draw an Argument, from this King's robbing of the Monasteries of their Plate, Money and Ornaments, as our Historians relate he did in the 4th year of his Reign, to prove that his Conquest would likewise give him a Right to commit Sacrilege, and that he design'd to do it from his first Entrance into *England*; for I know no more Right he had to turn his Subjects out of their Estates, without any Crime, and without any legal Tryal, than it was for him to plunder Monasteries and Churches.

AND that the *English* Nobility and Gentry had a considerable share in the Lands of *England* in *William Rufus's* Reign, appears from the *Saxon Chronicle*, lately publish'd at *Oxford* by the Learned Mr. *Gibson*, the Writer of which liv'd (as he himself says) at that very time, who after he has related the Treason and Rebellion of the *Normans* against *W. Rufus*, headed by *Odo Bp of Bayeux*, and *William Bp of Durham*, and the mischief they did in *Kent* and other places, proceeds thus; That then *K. William* sent for the *Englishmen*, and declar'd to them his necessity, and promised them, if they would give him their Assistance, better Laws than ever they had had before, and granted to his Subjects their Woods, and free hunting in them. But this did not hold long; nevertheless the *English* assisting the King their Lord, marched towards *Rocheſter*, intending to take *Bp Odo* Prisoner, &c. Which Story is also related by *Florence of Worcester* to the same effect, tho much shorter; viz. that the King hearing of these things, gathered together as many as he could of the *Normans*, but most of the *English*, and with an Army of Horse and Foot marched towards *Rocheſter*. But *Simeon of Durham* is more particular than either, and says, that King *William* hearing of these things, call'd together the *English*, and declaring to them the Treason of the *Normans*, desired them to help him, and in this his necessity to stand by him; and if they would do so, they should have what

Chron. Sax.
P. 194.

Laws they would chuse; and he also would forbid all unjust Taxes, and grant them their Woods and Hunting, and upon these terms the *English* faithfully helped him: which is almost the same words as the *Saxon Chronicle* hath given us before, from whence I suppose it was borrowed.

* Qui adhuc
erant residui.

BUT *Will. of Malmesbury* relates this matter more briefly, and says, that this King finding most of the *Norman* Lords to have conspired against him, and taken part with his Brother D. *Robert*, sent by his Letters for the honest and stout *English* (men of Estates) * who yet remained, to whom he complained of the Injuries done him by the *Normans*; and by promising them good Laws, ease from Taxes, and free hunting in their Woods, he gained them to his party. From all which plain Authorities it appears, that the *English*, notwithstanding all the Oppressions they had lain under in this King's Father's time, had still Lands and Woods left them in which they might hunt; and that they then made a considerable Figure and Interest in the Nation.

P. 8, 9, 10.

BUT the Doctor finding himself gall'd by these so plain proofs, has no way left to evade them, but instead of untying, to cut this Gordian knot; and therefore in his *Glossary* at the end of the Introduction to his *English* History, he has found out a very notable way of doing it, by confounding these Names, *Angli*, *Angligena*, *Normanni*, and *Franci*, which, notwithstanding the plain different import of the words, must all (in the Doctor's sense) signify only *French-men* or *Normans*, and not an *English-man* among them; so that these *English* and *French*, tho put under as distinguishing Characters in these our Historians, as words are able to express them, yet (if the Doctor's word may be taken) they were all of them no other than such Persons as were born in *Normandy*, or other places beyond Sea: But by the *Angli* and *Angligena*, were meant only such *Normans* and *Frenchmen*, as were either born here, and so enjoy'd their Father's Estates, or else were the very same who first came over with the *Conqueror*, and had Estates given them for their good Service and Merits.

P. 6, 7, 8.

I SHALL now fairly give you the Doctor's Reasons and Authorities for thus straining the literal Construction of these words, beyond what our Dictionaries can teach us. However in the first place I cannot deny, but the Doctor has truly set down in his *Glossary* the very same Quotations in Latin out of those very Authors whom I have now made use of; but yet to blind the eyes of the ignorant or unwary Readers, he takes care not to translate them fairly, for then his imposing upon them would be easily discovered. Thus, when he cites the passage above-mentioned out of *Simeon of Durham*, *Convocari fecit Anglos, & ostendit eis traditionem Normannorum*; these last words he omits in his Translation, and only renders it, The King (meaning *Rufus*) call'd together the *English*, and asked help of them, &c. and yet at the same time fairly translates the Passage of *Florence of Worcester*, already cited, *Congregato quantum potuit ad prasens Normannorum, sed tamen maxime Anglorum, equestri ac pedestri exercitu, tendere disposuit Roueceastream*; i.e. he gathered together as many as he could of the *Normans*, but chiefly of the *English*, and with an Army of Horse and Foot marched toward *Rocheſter*. By which the Doctor allows that this Army consisted most of mere natural *English-men*, because these being lookt upon as only mean mercenary Fellows, cannot do his Nation any great harm.

YET notwithstanding this his Civility to the Common Souldiers,

*

how-

however as to the Chief Men of the *Engliſh*, whom as the *Saxon Chronicle*, *Simeon of Durham*, and *W. of Malmesbury* relate, he cauſed to be aſſembled; and whom the laſt Author ſays, he ſent for by his Letters; theſe the Doctor will not allow to be really *Engliſh*-men; and tho he truly tranſcribes the Paſſage in *Malmesbury* already cited, yet he does not think fit to put theſe words into *Engliſh*: *Rex videns Normannos panè omnes in unâ Rabie conſpiratos, Anglos probos, & fortes viros qui adhuc Reſidui erant invitatoriis ſcriptis arceſſit.* “ The King ſeeing almoſt all the *Normans* “ conſpired together in the ſame madness, by invitatory Letters ſends “ for the honeſt and valiant *Engliſh*, who yet remained. Since this Author here makes ſo plain a diſtinction between the *Normans* that had conſpired againſt the King, and the honeſt *Engliſh* men whom he ſent for, therefore the Doctor takes care to leave this Paſſage untranſlated, and only gives us in ſhort what immediately follows concerning the King’s drawing off from his Enemies, *Roger Earl of Shrewsbury*, by which he broke the Party; becauſe this *Roger* being a *Norman*, it would help to countenance his preſent Fancy, which you will ſee by and by.

FOR the Doctor finding the *Engliſh* Authors not at all favorable to his Notion, flies off from them to a *Norman* Writer, viz. *Ordericus Vitalis*, whoſe words he indeed fairly gives us both in *Latin* and *Engliſh*, becauſe he hopes to pick ſomething out of them that may ſerve his preſent purpoſe: the paſſage ſtands thus, That King *William*, ſo ſoon as he ſaw the *Norman*’s contrivance againſt him, *Lanfrancum Archiepiſcopum cum Suffraganeis Praſulibus, & Comites*, F. 666. *Angloſque naturales convocavit, & conatus Adverſariorum & velle ſuum, expugnandi eis, indicavit; i. e.* He call’d together *Lanfranc* the Arch-Biſhop with his Suffragan Biſhops, and the Earls and natural *Engliſh*, and ſhewed them the Deſigns of his Adverſaries, and his intention to fight them: but as for the next paſſage from the ſame Author (being much to the ſame purpoſe) I ſhall only give it you in *Engliſh*; then all the Biſhops of *England*, with the *Engliſh* faithfully aſſiſted the King; *Hugh Earl of Cheſter*, *William Earl of Warren* (in *Normandy*) *Robert Fitz-Haimon*, and others, too many to be here recited; only it is certain that they were all *Normans* by birth or extraction. From which two places put together, the Doctor hopes to make out, that this Author muſt here needs mean by *Naturales Anglos*, meer *Normans* and *French*-men, diſguiſed under the name of *Engliſh*, and therefore in the next page he proceeds thus with great confidence;

“ ACCORDING to the Sound of the word *Angli*, and a ſuper-Gloſſ. p. 8.
“ ficial reading of the Authors here cited, moſt men would think
“ they were only *Saxon Engliſh* intended, and expreſſed by that
“ word; but upon due obſervation of the Hiſtorians and Perſons
“ who were by them call’d *Angli*, it cannot be ſo; for the *Primates*
“ *Angliae* on both ſides, the Chief men of *England*, who favour’d both
“ the Duke and the King, were *Nobilioreſ Normanni*, the more Noble
“ *Normans*; and as it is clear by the particular enumeration of the
“ Perſons, that they were ſo on the Duke’s ſide; ſo it is evident they
“ were *Normans* who aſſiſted King *William*, and kept the Crown
“ upon his Head: He called together the *Engliſh*, ſays *Malmesbury*,
“ and *Simeon of Durham*, and promiſed them the beſt Laws they
“ ſhould chuſe, and eaſe in their Taxations, the enjoyment of their
“ Woods or Foreſts, and the Privilege of Hunting.

NOW

“ NOW certainly (says the Doctor) these were Great Men
 “ that He called together, *Englisch* Earls and Barons, and not men of
 “ the middle or ordinary Rank; for *They* could never have met in such
 “ numbers, as was requisite for them to do, to protect and defend
 “ King *William*, had *They* not been headed by such, as if they had
 “ either Arms, or Power, or Estates that depended not upon the
 “ *Normans*: and if any man (says he) can shew me an *Englisch Sax-*
 “ *on* that was either Earl or Baron, or that had any Power or Share
 “ in the Government, or many that had considerable Estates,
 “ that did not hold them of the *Normans*; or that at this time had
 “ great Woods, Forests, and Privilege of Hunting in them, I will
 “ confess I am mistaken: 'Tis true, *Malmesbury* says, *Rufus* called to-
 “ gether *Anglos probos, & fortes viros qui adhuc Residui erant, &c.*
 “ But by these were meant none but the *legitimi, & maturi Barones*,
 “ such as *Ordericus* tells us of, that came in with his Father, ran many
 “ hazards with him, and first settled themselves here after the Con-
 “ quest; such as petition'd King *William* for favour toward their
 “ Country-men shut up in *Rocheſter* Castle; as many of these (that
 “ were alive) as he could, he fixed to his Interest by the Promises be-
 “ fore mention'd, &c.

I HAVE here given you the Doctor's own words, tho somewhat
 prolix, because I would not be thought to curtail or misrepresent such
 doughty Arguments; to confute which there scarce needs any more
 than the bare repeating them, since all their force lies either in wrest-
 ling or misapplying the words of the Authors he makes use of: for if
 the Doctor allow that they, *viz.* the *Englisch*, of mean or ordinary
 Rank, could meet in such numbers as to protect and defend King *Wil-*
liam; he is to prove that those *Englisch* the King then also wrote to, or
 summon'd to come to his Assistance, were of another Nation from those
 that made up this Army, fought for him, and kept the Crown upon his
 Head; and for this I appeal to the Authors themselves already cited.

FOR can any one believe that the Writer of this part of the *Saxon*
Chronicle (who was himself an *Englisch* Monk) should in all this Re-
 lation concerning his Country-men's assisting King *William*, mean no
 other than meer *Normans*, for whom he always expresses a great aver-
 sion? The like I may say for the rest of those Historians, which both
 the Doctor and I have made use of; for sure no men that ever under-
 stood Sense or Grammar, would all agree to relate this Story after such
 a rate, as that no body without the Doctor's learned Notes could under-
 stand, whither they meant *Englisch* or *French*-men when they speak of
 them.

NOW I leave it to any unprejudiced Reader to judge, whither
 when *William* of *Malmesbury* says, *Rufus* called together *Anglos probos,*
qui adhuc Residui erant, &c. These here meant were only such loyal
 and grave *Norman* Barons as *Ordericus* tells us came in with his Fa-
 ther, and still remain'd alive? &c. And as for this last Writer, on whose
 Authority the Doctor most relies, I might justly except against him,
 (tho an *Englisch* man by Birth) for he was a *Norman* by Affection,
 and also lived and wrote near eighty years after this Action; yet for all
 this, any man that considers the Passages the Doctor cites from him,
 may see, that he plainly distinguishes the *Natural Englisch* from those
 Bishops and *Norman* Lords who then also adhered to the King.

*

BUT

BUT I am sensible the Doctor may have one shift still left to evade the plain words of this Author, viz. That these natural *English* were no other than young *Norman* Noblemen born in *England* since the *Conquest*, and might by this time be about twenty years old. But yet this Interpretation will do him little or no good, for had this Author meant only *English Normans*, he would never have called them *Natural English*, but rather *Indigenas*; in the same sense, as *Henry the First* is supposed by *Matthew Paris* to have made a *Speech* to the Nobility of *England* of both Nations; neither could such Young men be properly called the *Maturi Barones*, who the Doctor says came in with the *Conqueror*.

BUT there is still another greater Difficulty, if these words are to be taken in this sense; for how could a few young *Norman English* Gentlemen (most of whom were little better than Boys) give the King such an Assistance, as to make him able to resist and overcome a far greater Number of *Normans*, who then took part with Duke *Robert*? But indeed the Doctor himself has sufficiently settled this Matter, by his own relation of this Affair, in his *Compleat History*, from *Ordericus Vitalis*; for he says, that *K. William*, resolving to suppress their Insurrections (viz. of the *Normans*) to that purpose convoked *Abp Lanfranc*, and all the Bishops, Earls, and *Natural English*, shewing them his Intentions, &c. Now I would fain know if any Man, without the help of the Doctor's forced Paraphrase, could ever find out that here by *Natural English* were meant *English Normans*; and immediately after in the same Page, could convert all these *Normans* into an Army of *English*, only from *Florence of Worcester's* words already cited. But he should have done well to have added a Marginal Note from his own Glossary, to have shewn his Readers, that tho the Army might be for the most part *English*, yet that their Leaders must be all *English-Norman* Lords and Gentlemen. But if we examine the Doctor's Reasons for this forced Interpretation, they consist, as you will observe, either in the false representing or wresting the words of his Authors; who, because they all agree in saying, That *King William* promised the *English* better Laws, ease from Taxes, and enjoyment of their Woods or Forests, with privilege of Hunting; therefore these must certainly be Great men that he called together, *English Earls and Barons*, and not men of ordinary Rank. Now I desire the Doctor to shew me which of his Authors calls these *English*, who then assisted *King William*, either Earls or Barons, but only plain, honest, brave *English* men? and why might not these have met in such numbers as was requisite to protect and defend the King, without being headed by any of his *English-Norman* Earls or Barons? But the Doctor indeed begs the Question that is to be proved, viz. that the *English* had neither Arms, Power nor Estates left, but what depended upon the *Normans*: for he should first have proved that they had no Arms, and consequently no Power; and secondly, that tho many of their Estates might depend upon such *Normans* as were then against the King, yet their *English* Military Tenants could never have taken Arms against their own Lords in hopes of better Terms, and an easier Government. And the Doctor must grant, that the *English* then met in such Numbers, as served to defend this King, or else he must contradict *Florence of Worcester* whom he has cited to that purpose.

THEREFORE as to the Doctor's Challenge, wherein he desires any man to shew him any *English-Saxon*, that was either Earl or Baron, or that had any Power or Share in the Government, or many that had considerable Estates (it then seems however there were some) who did not hold them of the *Normans*. To this I answer, That I hope he will one day be so ingenuous as to perform his Promise, and confess himself mistaken; for most of these Queries he here makes, are either false or impertinent: for the Question is not, Whether there were any *English* men Earls or Great Peers of the Realm at this time, or whether they were Privy Counsellors? But that divers of them were Tenants *in Capite*, and consequently Barons of less Degree, if not of the Superior, at the end of the Reign of *William the First*, I have already in part proved from *Domesday-Book*, and shall prove it farther anon; and if they were Barons, they had also a Voice in the Common Council of the Kingdom, and as such had a Share in the Government.

BUT the Doctor makes it a great Business, that this King granted the *English* their Woods and Forests, and Hunting in them, and desires to know what great Woods or Forests the *English* then had: and I ask him how he can prove that his *Normans* had then any Forests? for he is but meanly skill'd in our Forest-Law, that does not know that a Forest can only belong to the King; and if any such be granted to a Subject, it loses both its Name and Privileges, and becomes a Chase. But indeed the Doctor imposes upon himself as well as his Readers, by translating the words *sua Sylva*, in our Authors, *their Forests*; whereas by those words there is no more meant, than *such Woods* adjoining to Forests that then belonged to *English* Subjects, such as we now call *Parklands*, which were, till King *John* granted the Charter of Forests, as much under the Forest-Laws as those places themselves. And as for such Woods as these, why the *English* might not then be Proprietors of them as well as the *Normans*, I desire the Doctor to shew me any sufficient reason.

Lib. 2. p. 48. BUT that many of the *English* Gentry in *W. Rufus's* Reign, had Estates sufficient to enable them to hunt, not only in their own Woods, but in the King's Forests too, appears by a Passage in *Eadmerus*, who giving us an account of this King's harsh and cruel Nature, relates, that about Fifty of the ancient *English* Gentry, who enjoy'd some of their old Estates, were taken and accused for killing the King's Deer; and having for this undergone the trial of * *Fire and Water*, and were cleared, he fell into a great Rage, and uttered several blasphemous Expressions, as needless as it would be profane here to repeat them.

* i. e. Ordeal.

THIS is sufficient to shew you, that there were at this time many *English* Gentlemen left, of sufficient Estates, to be capacitated for Hunting, either in their own, or the King's Woods.

Gloss. p. 89. BUT as for the rest of the Doctor's Authorities, they being more slight and trivial, need not any long descant upon them: And first for that Passage of *Eadmerus* in his Life of Archbishop *Anselm*, who, as this Author relates, was invited over by *Hugh* Earl of *Chester*, and other Earls and Chief Men of the *English*. Now, says the Doctor, these were all *Normans*, and yet are here called *English*; but sure he believes that no body but himself can discover the true sense of these words, or else he would never go about so palpably to impose upon his

his

his Readers: for tho this Author calls these Noblemen *Principes Anglorum*, that is, Earls of England, yet he does not where call them *Anglos*, *English-men*, as the Authors above-cited stile those *English* that assisted *William Rufus*. And the same Sophistry the Doctor makes use of in two other Authorities in the next Page, which therefore require no particular answer.

BUT here also he takes out two Passages from *Matthæw Paris's* History of King *Henry the First*, where that Author says, that before P. 55. he was Crowned, he convened the Clergy and all the People, or Laity, to London, and promised them an amendment of the Laws, if they would receive him as their King. In short, the Clergy and Great Men unanimously agreed to make him so upon those Conditions, and he was then crowned by the Archbishop of York and Bishop of London.

NOW (says the Doctor) both these Bishops that Crown'd him were *Normans*, as also were all the other Bishops of England at that time (see Bp *Godwin de Praful.*) and likewise all the Earls, Barons and Great men were *Normans*; and yet in the next page, *Matth. Paris* says, P. 56. King *Henry* was crown'd *de Communi Consilio gentis Anglorum*. I cannot here deny, that the Bishops, Earls, and a great many of the Barons, were at this time *Normans*, either by Nation or Extraction; and that such of them as were born here, and had succeeded to their Father's Barldoms and Baronies, might very well be called *English-men*; but neither Bishop *Godwin* (whom the Doctor here cites) nor any other Author says (what he adds I suppose out of his own head) that all the Barons, as well of the Greater as Lesser sort (and whom I suppose to be present at this Council) were all *Normans*, and none of them of *English* extraction; for otherwise, had they been all *Normans*, why should they so unanimously agree to make *Henry* King, upon condition, that he would grant them those antient Liberties and Customs which were used in England in the time of the Holy King *Edward*?

BUT this Clause the Doctor thought fit to conceal, because it would have helped to lay open the weakness of the Conclusion he would fain draw from this Story.

THIS Artifice being thus discovered, will also shew another piece of Gloss. p. 9. the like Sophistry in wresting another Passage of the same Author, viz. *Mat. Par. p. 62.* That this King *Henry*, fearing the Title of his Brother *Robert*, and the Revolt of the *English Normans*, called the *Magnates* or Great men of the Kingdom together, and in a flattering Speech bespoke their Assistance. Now these Great men he spoke to were all *Normans*, and yet, because most of them might be born in England, in that respect he calls them *Indigenas*, *Homebred*, or born in the same Country with himself, and *Natural English*.

I HERE grant indeed that King *Henry* might very justly call those Young *English Normans* of about the same Age with Himself, Countrymen and *Natural English*; but that these were the only *Magnates* or Great men of England he then spoke to, and that none of them were *English* men by Extraction, as well as Birth, the Doctor has not yet proved, nor I believe ever will be able.

BUT because the Prefaces of so many Charters of the five first Kings of the *Norman* Race lie across in his way, and are against this Notion of the Doctor, which are directed commonly *Omnibus Baro-*

nibus

Gloss. p. 10,
11.

nibus suis Francis & Anglis; or else Omnibus Fidelibus, Francis & Anglis, of which the Doctor himself has given us indeed a large Catalogue, where these Words are inserted: yet notwithstanding the words Francis & Anglis are so often distinctly made use of, not only in the Charters of those Kings, but also in those of their Barls and great Barons, which were sent to their Tenants or Feudataries with the same Directions; yet however the Doctor thinks to get over this by the likelihood of hand, as he did the former, and will needs have this great variety of Directions in all those Charters to be "mere forms and no thing else, and that they were never designed to distinguish the Extraction or Countries of those to whom they were directed, seeing the English were no ways concern'd in them as to their Contents, either in point of Interest, or any advantage they were to receive by them.

Ib. p. 10.

And how which is thereby *præsumitur*, and without any manner of proof: for can any Man that understands common sense believe, that these Kings, or their Chancellors, or even those Clerks that drew these Barls and Barons's Charters, would in an Age that so much abhor'd multiplying Words and unnecessary Forms, cumber their Patents and Charters with those idle Directions of Francis and Anglis, had there not been some real ground for them at first? And that there was so in some of those Charters cited by the Doctor, he himself grants, and particularly in that of King William the First to the City of London, which being in old English or Saxon, he thus transcribes, "William King greets William the Bishop, and Godfrey Portreeve ealle þa Burghwæn of London French & Englisc; That is, King William greets William the Bishop, and Godfrey the Port-Reeve, and all the Inhabitants of the Burgh within London, French and English. Here, I say, the Doctor grants, that these words French and English are to be understood in their natural and proper signification; "For, says he, "at King William's first entrance, many English enjoy'd their Estates, and Titles, as they had done before his coming; and it may be some of them until he had wholly subdued the Nation: so that "by French and English in this Charter, the Saxons and Normans are to be understood as distinct; and indeed in Burghs and Trading

Ib. p. 16.

Towns those words may be so understood at all times. And likewise in that Charter of Roger Earl of Warwick, cited by the Doctor, directed Omnibus Baronibus suis & Burgensibus, & Omnibus Hominibus suis Francis & Anglis, salutem. By which Charter he confirm'd divers Lands, &c. to the Churches of St. Maries and All Saints (I suppose in Warwick:) whence it is plain, that this being directed to all his Barons and Burgesses of Warwick, and to all his men or Tenants, both French and English, these last words must refer to all that goes before; and if there were English Burgesses in that Town, which I suppose the Doctor will not deny, I cannot see any reason why he should not have had also English Barons or Tenants under him, as well as Frenchmen or Normans; especially if the word Baron be taken in the sense the Doctor himself allows it in his Preface to the Norman History; when citing a Charter of King Henry the First directed * Samsoni Episcopo, & Ursani de Abitot, & Omnibus Baronibus Francis & Anglis de Wircestre, Salutem. Upon which word Baronibus, the Doctor at the very bottom of this leaf has this note; "That by these Barones here, and in

P. 143.

* i.e. Bishop of Worcester.

*

"are

“ are to be understood *Milites*, such as held by Military Service, or
 “ *Barones Minores*, Lords of Towns or Mannors, or perhaps Free-
 “ holders, which, if any, were then of better account, before Town-
 “ ships, Mannors and Lands were parcell’d out into small Divisi-
 “ ons.

NO W I desire the Doctor to give me any tolerable good reason,
 why these *Barones*, the smaller sort of Barons or Freeholders, might
 not have been Native *English*-men, as well as Foreigners, since they
 might still have been dependent upon other Lords, whither *English*-
 men or *Normans* it matters not? But perhaps he will still urge,
 “ That the words in many of those Kings Charters cannot be taken
 “ in that general sense, they being often directed, not only *Omnibus*
 “ *Baronibus*, or *Fidelibus* in general, but *Omnibus Baronibus & Fide-
 “ bus suis*, by which none else can be understood but the King’s own
 “ Barons or Tenants *in Capite*; so that, says he, if these Directions
 “ were made with intention of a distinctive Note, between the Old
 “ *English Saxon*, and new *French* or *Norman* Barons, ’tis strange
 “ that after the *Conqueror* was firmly established in the Throne, and
 “ at the very time of making some few of these Charters in and to-
 “ ward the end of his Reign, and of the others in the Reigns of
 “ *William the Second*, and *Henry the First*, &c. not one *English Saxon*
 “ Baron should be found or heard of: from whence he concludes ’tis
 “ evident, if real Barons were meant or intended by the words *Barones*
 “ *Franci & Angli*, the *English* Barons cover’d under those Expressi-
 “ ons, could be no other than such as had been born in *England* of
 “ *Norman* Parents, or such as came in with the *Conqueror*, that had
 “ great Estates given them, and made their constant abode in *Eng-
 “ land*; and the *Norman* Barons no other than such as had great
 “ Estates and Baronies in *England*, as well as they had in *Normandy*,
 “ where they either altogether, or for the most part resided, and were
 “ not in *England* but upon extraordinary Occasions, and extraordi-
 “ nary Summons; and differ’d not from the others by National Pa-
 “ ternal Descent, or Extraction, but only by National Residence, or
 “ Nativity; from whence they had their Denominations of *French*
 “ and *English*. So far the Doctor.

THE N at last this whole dispute may be reduced into this single
 Assertion, That tho the Less Barons, or Lords of Mannors, who
 held of *French* or *Norman* Lords, might be *English*, and so hold their
 Estates of them; yet that under these words *Baronibus*, or *Fidelibus*
suis, so often used in King *William* and his Successors Charters, no
 real Barons, or Tenants *in Capite* could be meant, because no such
 men of the *English Saxon* Extraction were then to be found or heard
 of; and therefore only *Normans*, or of *Norman* Race, who had great
 Estates in *England*, must be here intended, under the Titles of *Francis*
& Anglis above-mention’d. This is indeed a meer begging of the
 Question; for I think I have already sufficiently proved, that not only
 in the beginning of King *William*’s Reign, but also at the very time
 when *Doomsday*-Book was made, there were a competent number of
 Native *English* Tenants *in Capite* in all or most Counties of *England*,
 sufficient to justify the Direction of these Charters to have been some-
 what more than mere matter of Form: and therefore the Doctor’s
 Supposition is altogether airy and groundless, when he will needs have

the words *Norman* or *French* Barons mentioned as well in our Historians, as in these Charters, to mean only such as had Estates, both in *England* and *Normandy*; for if this had been all the difference, it would not only have been a very confus'd, but also a very needless and impertinent way of writing; for why should these be called *Norman* Barons, only because they had Estates in *Normandy* as well as in *England*, since no man in the Laws, or Charters of this Kingdom, is ever called an Earl or Baron of a *Foreign* Country, when his chief Title and Estate lies in this? And I desire the Doctor to tell me, when after King *James the First* (who was also King of *Scotland*) became King of *England*, he had created the Duke of *Lenox* Duke of *Richmond*, and advanced some Earls and Barons of *Scotland* to the like Titles in *England*, in which (as well as in *Scotland*) they then had Estates; if that King should have issued out a Charter or Proclamation concerning something to be done or observed by them in *England*, and had directed it to all his *English* and *Scotish* Dukes, Earls and Barons, whither any man would at this day understand by these Titles, that the King meant only such *Scotish* Noblemen as had Estates no where but in *England*, and by *Scotish* Barons only such Noblemen of that Nation as had Estates in both Kingdoms. Now if it were absurd to understand a Charter of our own Age in so forced a sense, it is much more so to think it could have been so understood in Charters made above six hundred years ago, when they were much plainer in their own Expressions, and not so much given to needless Formalities and empty Tautologies, as we often find in the Charters and other Writings of later times.

I HAVE dwelt the longer upon this Head, because the Doctor has taken so much Pains, by all the Artifices that forc'd Interpretations, and wresting of Words could afford him, to evade the most plain and evident Testimonies which either Historians or Records can afford us, to prove, that the old *English Saxon* Nobility and Gentry had still sufficient Estates left them during the Reigns of the four or five first Kings of the *Norman* Race, as to give them the Title of Barons of the Kingdom, as well of the Superior as Inferior Order; but whither the Doctor has handled this Question as becomes a Person of that Candour and Ingenuity he desires to be thought Master of, I shall leave to the indifferent Reader to judg.

I COME now to the next Point in Controversy, viz. Whither King *William* alter'd the most considerable part of the Old *English Saxon* Laws, and introduced New ones from *Normandy*, which he impos'd upon the Nation by his own sole Authority: and the Doctor's Reasons for this Assertion I will here examine, and shall begin with his Answer to Mr. *Petit's* Book, intituled, *The Rights of the Commons, &c. Asserted*; where the Doctor gives this, as a main Reason for his pretended Conquest, That it appears, first, by his (*viz.* King *William's*) bringing in a *New Law*, and imposing it upon the People; and 'tis clear he did so: The Justiciaries or Chief Justices, the Chancellors, the Lawyers, the Ministerial Officers, and Under-Judges, Earls, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Lords of Mannors, and Hundredaries, were all *Normans*, and that from his first coming, until above a hundred years after, as he pretends to make it out by particular Instances, and undeniable

niable Reasons, were not the Catalogues too long to be inserted :
 “ If therefore, says he, the Officers above-mention’d, *viz.* all such
 “ as heard Causes, and gave Judgment, were *Normans*; if the Law-
 “ yers and Pleaders were also *Normans*, the Pleadings and Judgments
 “ in their several Courts must of necessity have been in that Lan-
 “ guage, and the Law also, the *Norman* Law; otherwise they had
 “ said and done they knew not what, and judged they knew not
 “ how; especially when the Controversies were determined by Mi-
 “ litary men, Earls, Sheriffs, Lords of Mannors, &c. that under-
 “ stood not the *English* Tongue, or Law: or when the chief Justici-
 “ ary himself was a *Military* Man, as it often happen’d, and under-
 “ stood only the *Norman* Language.

IN answer to these Arguments brought by the Learned Doctor, tho
 it should be granted that the Chief Justiciaries, the Chancellors, Chief
 Justices, and other Great Officers of the Crown, were all, or the
 greatest part of them, *Normans*, during the Reigns of the four or
 five first Kings of the *Norman* Race; yet does it therefore follow
 that these made a change in the very Substance of our Laws? tho in
 Matters of Form, as in Pleadings, or other Judicial proceedings, they
 might have introduced great Alterations: For as to the Body of the
 Municipal Laws of this Kingdom, concerning the Descent and Con-
 veyance of Estates, they remain’d the same after the coming in of the
Normans; and Lands held by Military Service descended to the eldest
 Son before the *Conquest*, as Lands in *Free Socage*, and *Gavel-kind* to
 all the Sons alike, as at this day. So likewise there were Estates in
 Tail, and Fee-Simple, as now: And there were also the like Customs
 of the Courtesy of *England*, *Burrough-English*, as there are at this day,
 which I can prove by several Passages out of our *English-Saxon* Laws.
 So likewise for Conveyance of Estates, those of the better sort of Peo-
 ple, which were called *Bockland*, were conveyed by Deeds, with *Livery*
 and *Seisin*, either with or without Warranty, as now: But that which
 was called *Folkland*, and held by the meaner sort, were only by *Livery*
 of *Seisin* without any Writing. And admit I should grant that the Cust-
 om of sealing of Deeds is derived from the *Normans*, yet that is an
 Alteration only in matter of Form; and however, it was in use
 before the pretended *Conquest* among Persons of the best Rank, as
Ingulph expressly tells us, being a Custom brought in by *Edward* the
Confessor out of that Country.

AS for Goods and Money, they were bequeathable by a Man’s last
 Will, as well before as after the *Dr’s Conquest*; and if the Reader can
 have the opportunity to peruse a *MS. Treatise* of Sir *Roger Owen*’s upon
 this Subject, he will find it there sufficiently proved, that *Livery* of
Seisin, Licenses, or Fines for Alienation, Daughters to inherit as Co-
 partners, Trials by Juries, Abjurations, Outlawries, Coroners, dispo-
 sing of Lands by Will, Escheats, Wrecks, Warranties, Forfeiture of
 Felon’s Goods, and many other parts of our Common Law, were in
 being long before the time of King *William the First*.

NOW if this was so as to the Municipal Law, let us see what Al-
 terations there were made in the Criminal, or Crown-Law: First, as
 to Treason and Wilful Murther, they were punished with Death in
 the *Saxon* times as well as after; as were also Robbery and Burglary
 in the Night-time. And as to less Offences, such as Batteries, Mai-
 hems,

* Lib. 3. de
Coron. c. 15.

hems, Robberies, and other Breaches of the Peace, they were punished by *Fine*, as well before the *Conquest* as after: but as for the Law of *Englescherie*, which was, that if a Man were found murdered, it should be presumed he was an *Alien* or *French-man*, and the Town where the Body was found was to be fined, unless *Englescherie* was made out, i. e. that the Person was an *Englisb-man*: this Custom lasted to the Reign of *Edward the Third*, and then it was taken away by a Statute made on purpose: And tho this may seem a Badg of the *Norman Conquest*, yet it was indeed a Law introduced by King *Knute* in behalf of his *Danes*, who being often found killed, and none could tell by whom, he got this Law to be made to prevent it, as you will see at large in * *Bracton*, and the *Mirrou* of *Justices*. But as for the Trial of all Offences, whatever it was, either by Juries, Fire, or Water-Ordeal, or else by Witneses or Compurgators upon Oath, as well before as after King *William's* Entrance; I can find nothing material touching the Alterations of the Criminal Laws as to the manner of Trials, from what they were in the *Saxons* time.

A L L this being so, it may easily be made out how the Justiciaries, and other Great Officers mention'd by the Doctor, might be *Normans*, and yet the main Body of the Laws continue *Englisb* still: For, first it is certain (and the Doctor himself grants it) that for four or five years in the beginning of King *William's* Reign, he made no great alteration in the Judges, Sheriffs, and other Officers of the Kingdom; and then those whom he was afterwards pleased to put into the rooms of such *Englisb-men* as either died or were turned out, might very well be supposed to understand the Laws of *England*, as far as they differed from those of *Normandy*, which was not in very many particulars, as the Doctor himself likewise admits, and very well observes, that the *Saxons* and *Normans* being both *Northern* People, had many of the same Laws and Customs common to both; so that the *Norman* Judges in three or four yearstime, might very well have learned *Englisb* enough to have understood the Evidence of the Witneses, without any Interpreter, I mean in Inferior Courts in the Country!

B U T suppose all the Pleadings and Judgments were in *French*, it does not therefore follow that all the Lawyers and Pleaders must be *French-men* too; for why might not the *Englisb* Lawyers have learn'd *French* enough, to be able to plead Causes in that Language in four or five years time? which must necessarily be required before so great an Alteration could be made, or that Pleaders enough could be brought out of *Normandy*, and sufficiently instructed in our Laws and Customs, so as to be fitted for their Employments. Again, supposing the Pleadings and other Proceedings to have been in *French*, it does not follow that this Practice could have obtained in all the Courts of *England*: for tho I should grant that 'twas so in the King's Courts at *Westminster*, where many of the Judges were *French-men* or *Normans*; yet this could only have effect either in that Great Court, or *Curia Regis*, where the King often sat in Person, together with his Chief Justiciary, and other Justices his Assistants (for as for the Court of *Common-Pleas* it was not then separate from the *Kings-Bench*) or else in the Court of *Exchequer*, where in those days Matters concerning the King's Debts, Lands and Revenues, were chiefly heard and dispatched.

dispatched. But as for the Court of *Chancery*, it was not then used as a Court of *Equity*, nor long after, nor until the Reign of *Henry the Sixth*, and then it arose by degrees, as you will find in *Sir William Dugdale his Origines Juridicales*.

SO that I say, granting all the Proceedings in these Supreme Courts to have been in *French*, for the Reasons already given, yet was this of no great Importance in comparison of the far greater number of Suits and Causes which were first begun, try'd and determined in the Inferior Courts in the Country, before ever they could be brought up to *London* by Writ of Error, or other Writs of like nature, and which could only be in Causes of great moment, or between the King's Tenants in *Capite*: for I think it can be well enough made out, that most Law-Suits in those times were begun in the Court-Barns, or else in the Hundred or County Courts, and were there dispatched, and were very rarely (unless between Great and Eminent Persons) removed to *London*.

THH Like I may say of all Criminal Cases, as Treasons, Murders, and Felonies, which were then commonly tried before the Sheriff at the County Court, or else within the particular Jurisdictions of Bishops, Abbots, or Great Lords; Or, lastly, of such Cities and Towns as had the Privileges of *Infangthief* and *Outfangthief*, together with *Tolls* and *sums*, that is, a Pit to drown in, and a Gallows to hang Malefactors upon, before their own *Seneschals*, or other Officer; Justices then not being assigned for these purposes till long after, in the Reign of *Henry the Second*.

BUT Dr. Brady is either so ignorant, or unmindful of this, both in his Answer to Mr. Petyt, as also in his *Glossary*, that he will not allow any Free-men to owe Suit or Service to the County Court, but only Tenants in *Capite*, or other Tenants by Military Service: which he endeavours to prove from the 58th Law of King *William the First*, whereby it is ordain'd, That all Earls, Barons, Knights, and their Servants or Esquiers, and all Freemen of our whole Kingdom, be always furnished with Horse and Arms as they ought to be, and always ready to perform the whole Service to us (viz. the King) when there shall be need; and which they ought to do according to, and by reason of, their Fees and Tenures.

AND these (says the Doctor) were the only Legal men that named and chose Juries, and served on Juries themselves, both in the County and Hundred Courts, and dispatched all Country business under the said Great Officers, as will (says he) appear by the next Law with his Explication upon it. Yet farther grants in the next Paragraph, that besides the Tenants in *Capite*, some of the greatest of their Military Under-Tenants were often Sheriffs, Hundredaries, and other Judges, and Ministerial Officers in their several Counties; and the Judgment they were to give, and the Justice they were to do by this Law (besides that in their own Courts and Jurisdictions) was principally, as they were Jurors or Recognitors upon *Assizes*, &c. As may be seen in *Glauvil* almost every where, but especially *Lib. 2. c. 10. 11. Lib. 9. c. 7. 12. 13.* and *Lib. 13.* throughout. And that this, of being Suitors to the County and Hundred Courts, &c. was a Service incident to their Tenures.

1b. P. 20.

AND in the next Page but one, the Doctor says, "The truth is, the greatest part of the Antient Law under our first Kings after the Conquest, was the *Feudal Law*, brought hither by the *Normans*, under whom it was more rigidly exacted and observed than in the *Saxon* times, and that by, and only upon the *Normans* themselves; for the *English* had neither Estates nor Fortunes left, and therefore it could be no great matter to them by what Law, Right or Property other men held their Estates.

IN answer to which I say, that tho' the Doctor is so far in the right, that none but Freemen, or Freeholders, then ow'd Suit and Service to the *County Court*, or could judg Causes therein; yet he is under a very great mistake, when he will confine those Freemen who owed this Service, to none but the Tenants in *Capite*, or their Under-Tenants by Knight's Service; since even Tenants in *Free Socage*, albeit they possessed but a small quantity of Land, were likewise obliged to appear at the *County Court*, as is easy to be proved, since the very same Persons who were Suitors or Judges in the Court of the Hundred, were also Suitors or Judges in that of the County. And this I prove from *Sir Hen. Spelman's Glossary*, *Est. antem Hundredum partis Comitatus, qui cum decem Capitum pacis regia Fide-Jussores, ut Decem, qui decem, complexum est, igitur Hundredum decem Decurias, ut Centesimum numerus, Decies decuriam*. Now that the *County Court* consisted of the same sort of Persons with that of the *Hundred*, is also as certain, since all *England* was then, as now, divided into Counties, Hundreds and Tythings: so that as the *Hundred Court* consisted of a hundred Persons, who had all given Pledges to the King; so did the *County Court* consist of all the Freeholders or Freemen of the several Hundreds of the County, who all owed Suit and Service to it; and as such were returnable upon Juries on *Affizes* or *Trials*, until the Statute of *W. II.* which limited them in *Affizes* or *Trials*, to Persons that could dispend no less than twenty Shillings yearly; unless such *Affizes* and Juries were taken out of the Shire, and then they must be of such as were able to dispend forty Shillings per annum at the year, which was in those days as much in proportion as forty Pounds at this day.

* Tit. Hundredus.

Cap. 37.

P. 192.

Grand Custom. f. 93. a. c. 69. de Jure. f. 113. b. c. 93. de brief de Nouvelle Disfaifine. Glanv. l. 2. c. 17.

BUT to come more closely to the Question in hand; I shall now proceed to prove, from Dr. Brady's own words, that those who served upon Juries in *William the Conqueror*, and his Son's Reigns, were for the most part *English* men, and not *Normans* or *French* men; and for this end I shall here transcribe them verbatim from his Treatise intitled, *Annals verborum upon Mr. Atwood's Book*, called, *Justi Anglorum Facies Nova*. The Doctor's words are these: "IN Trials of *Novel Disseisin*, and for the Possessions of Lands, Customs, Services, &c. the Juries at the time of the Conquest, and in several of the Kings Reigns next succeeding, were impanelled out of the same Town and Neighbourhood, of such as did know the Land, and things in Question; and who had been possessed of it, and for what time: and to this purpose in an *Affize*, if none of the Jurors knew the Right or Truth of the matter, and did testify so much to the Court upon Oath. Recourse was then had to others, until such were found who did know the Truth; but if some did know the Truth, and others not, those that knew it not were

AND

P

" were

" were put by, and others called into the Court, until Twelve at least
 " should be found to agree therein. And for this Purpose it was, that
 " all Suitors to the Hundred, and County-Court, were bound to ap-
 " pear there under great Penalties, that there might be a Jury of
 " such as knew whole the Land was.

NOW that those Jury-men who served upon Trials of the
 greatest moment during King William's Reign, must have been for
 the most part *English*, appears from this very Authority. For if any
 Dispute about a Title to Lands did arise, as for example, who was
 Owner of it in the time of King Edward the Confessor, how could any
 but Natural *English*-men, or such *Normans* who were settled here be-
 fore the Doctor's Conquest, know, or be able to testify, who was
 then Owner of the Land in question? For certainly the *Normans* lately
 come over could know little or nothing of the matter; and of this the
 Doctor also has given us another undeniable Testimony, from *Dooms-*
day-Book, where it is thus found, *Testar Hundredar, Teste Hundredar*,
 i. e. the *Hundred* witnesseth, that such Lands were in such a Man's
 possession; or by witness of the Hundred, such Lands were in such a
 Man's Possession; and bids us see the Claims in *Yorkshire, Lincolnshire*
 and *Suffolk*, at the end of that Book: which places if any one please
 to consult, he will find, that most of the Claims there mentioned
 were concerning who were the true Owners of the Lands in question in
 Edward the Confessor's time: and therefore the *Hundred*, that is, the
 Juries, or *Testes* impannell'd from thence, must have been such Native
English-men as very well knew the Matter of Fact.

AND this I shall be able to prove from several Instances made use
 of by the Doctor himself, and particularly that famous Tryal menti-
 on'd in * *Edmerus's History*, between Arch-Bishop Odo and Arch-Bi- * P. 91
 shop Lanfranc, concerning divers Manners and Lands in *Kent* and
 other Counties, which this Author thus relates: The King commanded
 all the Chief and honest Men, not only of the County of *Kent*, but
 of divers other Counties in *England*, to be assembled; and then that
 the Complaints of Arch-Bishop Lanfranc should be produced, heard,
 and determin'd by them at *Winchester* Heath; whereupon Geoffrey Bi-
 shop of *Constance*, supplying the * King's Absence, did the Arch-Bi- * Vice-Regis
 shop Justice upon these his Complaints:

THAT is, He was then the King's Justiciary, and sat as Chief
 Commissioner; and that it was a plain County-Court, held before Ex-
 traordinary Commissioners, constituted by King William, as also who
 were the Witnesses, or Jurors, the Doctor tells us in the same place, P. 193.
viz. That they were the Suitors to the County-Court, being the *Pro-*
mores & Probi viri above-mention'd, not only of the County of
Kent, but of other Counties of *England*, where these Lands then
 lay: " But, says he, it can be no way probable that the ordinary
 " Freemen who made the greatest number, and were all bound to
 " their Good-behaviour, could be the *Probi & Legales homines* that
 " then served upon Juries.

ALL which I shall for the present allow him, tho that Inferior
 Military Tenants were also called Barons as well as the Tenants *in*
Capite, is apparent from those many Charters of Great Lords, and
 Tenants *in Capite* in those times, directed (as hath been already ob-
 served) *Omnibus Baronibus suis, Franci & Angli*: But let these
 Chief

Chief and Honest men, the Jurors, be whom the Doctor pleases, that they could have been none other but down-right *English*, appears from the Issue joyn'd between the Arch-Bishop the Plaintiff, and Bishop Odo the Defendant, which was, Whither the Church of Canterbury was seized of those Lands or not at the time when King Edward was alive and dead? as appears by all the Circumstances of the Case, tho the Writ it self is not extant: but that all or the greatest part of these Jury-men were *English*, is plain, by a more particular Relation of this matter in the Antient Manuscript of the Church of Rochester, called *Textus Roffensis*, which was written by Ernulph who was consecrated Bishop of that Church, A. D. 1125, not fifty years after the supposed Conquest, and is thought to have wrote this History but a few years after his Consecration; and it does not only contain a History of this Church, but also many things relating to that of Canterbury, and particularly this great Trial above mention'd, in these words, *Præcipit Rex Comitatum totum absque mora considerare, & homines Comitatus omnes, Francigenas, & præcipue Anglos in antiquis legibus & consuetudinibus peritos, in unum convenire: i. e.* the King commanded the whole County to meet, and all the men thereof, viz. the French, but chiefly the *English* skill'd in the antient Laws and Customs, to assemble together. Then this Author proceeds further to inform us of the Issue of this Great Cause which took up the whole County no less than Three days, in which time the Arch-Bishop recovered by pleading many Lands which Bishop Odo and his Tenants at that time held; and then concludes with telling us who were present besides the Judges or Commissioners, viz. divers other Bishops, *Algeric* Bishop of *Chichester* a very old man, & *Legum Terræ sapientissimus*, most learned or skilful in the Laws of the Land, who was carried thither in a Waggon by the King's Command, *ad ipsas antiquas Leges & Legum consuetudines discutendas & edocendas*; to instruct them, viz. the Judges, in the antient Legal Customs; and he adds farther that there were also there as Auditors or Spectators, many Barons of the King and of the Arch-Bishop, besides divers others of several other Counties, being men of great Authority, both French and *English*.

NOW what can be more express than that not only most of the Jury-men of this County were *English*, but that also the Law they judged by was the *English* Law? or else what need was there for this old Bishop to be brought so far, to instruct them in it?

NOW that these French and *English* could be no other than *Primores & Probi viri* (mention'd in *Eadmerus*), the Suitors to this County Court, who were summon'd to try this Great Cause, I suppose the Doctor himself cannot deny, tho in his Answer to Mr. *Atwood* he slightly passes over this part of the Authority, because he knew it was not to be answered; nor do I know what he can say to it, but that these *English*-men might appear as Suitors to this County Court, because it being held within the first Four years of King *William's* Reign, the *English*-men of *Kent*, and those other Counties mentioned by the Doctor, were not then turn'd out of their Estates. But this Subterfuge will not help him neither; for it is certain, that *Laufranc* was not consecrated Arch-Bishop till *As. Dom.* 1070, being the Fourth year of this King's Reign; and all the rest of that year he was taken up in the Dispute between him and *Thomas* Arch-Bishop of *Tork*,

*Diractionavit
plures terras.

2. an omni
div. idon

2. an omni
div. idon

Animad. on
J. n. Angl. &c.
193.

York, and could not then have any time to begin a Suit about those Lands detain'd from this Church: and the year following he went to Rome to fetch his Pall, and spent most of it in his Journey and stay there; so that it could not be sooner than two or three years after his Election, viz. about A. D. 1072, or 73. that he had this Trial with Bishop Odo, which falls out as many years after the time the Doctor supposes the *English* to have already been turn'd out of their Estates by his Conqueror, and the whole Kingdom divided among his Followers.

BUT I now come to our next Authority from the Antient Manuscript Book of *Ely*, which was written in the time of King *Henry the First*, and is at present in the *Cottonian Library*; as is also another antient Copy in the Hands of the most Learned Doctor *Gale*, Dean of *York*; in the Second Book of which History Cap. 91. that Author tells us, "That in the Second *Indiction* that fell in this King's Reign, "there was a Discussion of the antient Rights and Liberties of the "Abby of *Ely*; which thro the King's Prohibition, and the unjust oppression of his Ministers, had now layn * 14 years neglected "and stifled; but at last the King being touched with the hope of "Divine Mercy, commanded by the Bishop of *Bayeux*, these matters "to be discussed. Whereupon there was a meeting or Trial of the next adjacent Counties assembled at *Kenetford*, at which were present the Abbots of *St. Edmonds-bury*, *Chertsey*, *Croyland* and *Holme* (their Names I omit) who appeared together with their *French* and *English* Tenants: There were also the King's Commissioners, whose Names being mentioned in the following Writ, I likewise pass by: There were besides present the Sheriffs of four Counties, viz. *Essex*, *Hereford*, *Huntington*, and *Bedford*; with very many approved Knights (or *Military Tenants*) both *French* and *English*, who put an end to this Dissension, and gave Sentence for the Abbey in these words; That *Queen Etheldreda* (the supposed Saint or Patroness of this Abbey) should enjoy all that was Hers, according to the Privileges of the Kings, *Edgar*, *Ethelred*, and *Edward*, free from all Servitude.

AND that this Judgment was also for Lands, as well as Liberties, appears by this Writ of Possession, which the Doctor himself hath transcribed from Mr. *Atwood's Janus Anglorum*; *Willielmus Anglorum* Ibid.

*Rex, Omnibus Fidelibus suis & Vicecomitibus, in quorum Vicecomitatibus Abbatia de Hely terras habet, salutem. Precipio quod Abbatia de Hely habeat Omnes Consuetudines suas, &c. has, inquam, habeat, sicut habuit die qua Rex Edvardus fuit vivus & mortuus; & sicut mea jussione dirationata sunt apud * Keneteford, per plures scyras ante meos Barones, viz. Galfridum Constantiensem Episcopum, &c.* with the other Commissioners Names needless here to be recited. In *English* thus;

"William King of England, to all his Faithful Subjects and Sheriffs, "in whose Sheriffdoms the Abbey of *Ely* hath Lands, greeting. I command that the Abbey of *Ely* have all its Customs, &c. those, I say, let her have, as she had them the day in which King *Edward* was alive and dead; and as by my Command they were proved to belong to her, "at *Kenetford* by many Shires (that is, by the Suitors to the County-Court of many Shires) before my Barons, viz. the Commissioners above-mentioned. And presently after follows in the same Book "another Writ of this King's, which seems to be a Writ of Right

* i.e. from the beginning of this King's Reign.

* A small Town in Suffolk near Newmarket.

“ and Possession joyned in one, which is directed to Archbishop *Lanfranc*, Roger Earl of *Moreton*, and *Geoffrey* Bishop of *Constance*,
 “ commanding them to cause to be assembled all the *Shires* which
 “ were present at the Plea held concerning the Lands of the Church
 “ of *Ely*, before my Wife (*i.e.* the Queen) last came into *Normandy*;
 “ with whom also may be present as many of my Barons as there can
 “ well, that were present at the said Plea, and do hold the Land of the
 “ said Church: Who being assembled, may chuse as many of such
 “ *Englisch*, as know how the Lands belonged to the said Church on the
 “ day of King *Edward*’s death. And then follows a Clause of Resti-
 tution.

FROM all which Testimonies we may draw these Conclusions:

FIRST, That these Proceedings were agreed before a *County-Court*.

SECONDLY, That the Suitors or Jury-men were partly *French* and partly *Englisch*-men, all Freeholders, or men of Estates, who knew the Matter of Fact, and were able to try this Issue, *viz.* to whom those Lands belonged when King *Edward* was alive and dead.

THIRDLY, That these *Englisch* Gentlemen were possessed of their Estates at the time of this last *County-Court*: For tho the Writ be without Date, and that it is difficult to find out the exact time of this meeting, by the Queen’s last going into *Normandy*; yet it is certain, by the Relation of these Proceedings above-mentioned, that the beginning of this Suit was first commenced in the second *Indiction*, which falls out in the Fourteenth year of this King’s Reign, *viz.* 1079. tho it is very likely that this Writ of Possession was not executed till the year following, which is near nine years after the time the * Doctor assigns for his Conqueror’s ousting the *Englisch* of their Estates. And if so be that many *Englisch* held their Estates so near the end of his Reign, why they should not do so likewise to the very time that *Doomsday-Book* was made, I desire the Doctor to give us a good and sufficient Reason; as also why those *Englisch* Jurors in the present Case of the Isle of *Ely*, should not be the *Primores & Probi viri*, the Chief and the honest Men in the four Counties last mentioned, as they were out of seven Counties at the other Trial at *Pinnedene*, concerning the Lands belonging to the Church of *Canterbury*.

THE Conclusion which I shall draw from these last Precedents, is this, That as great part of the old Tenants of the Land were not chang’d after this pretended *Conquest*, so neither were the Laws, and manner of Pleading in the County, and other Inferior Courts, from what they were before, as plainly appears by a Passage in *Eadmerus*, which immediatly follows after that already cited, and is to this effect; “ Also another time Bishop *Odo*, by the King’s Permission, began a new Plea or Suit against the aforesaid Church, and *Lanfranc* its Patron and Defender: And he (*viz.* *Odo*) produced all those he knew most skilful in the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom of *England*. The Issue of which was, That when the Cause came to be tried, those who appeared in defence of the Church, were at the first onset baffled, and lost all the Causes that were then tried, tho indeed *Lanfranc* afterward producing some better Evidences which had not appeared before, the first judgment at *Pinnedene* was affirm’d; yet however it shews, that even Bishop *Odo* himself (as great a Favorite

* Compl. Hist.
Ib.

P. 9.

as he was) could not hope (without something of pure *Norman Law*) to prevail against the old *English* Laws and Customs, which caused him to make use of those *English*-men who best understood them; and that the *English* Monks were great Pleaders of Causes in those times, appears from the Antient *Manuscript-History* of the Abbey of *Abbingdon* in the same *Cottonian Library*, where the Author mentions *Saculus* and *Godric* two Monks, who had pleaded a Cause of theirs with that great Skill and Eloquence, that those who heard them became of their Opinion; and says, there were at that time many other *English* Lawyers in that Abbey whose Pleadings no body could gainsay: and therefore the Doctor is very much mistaken in inferring from one single place in *Malmesbury*, which says, that there was in his Time no Clerk but what was a Pleader; that therefore all Pleaders in the County, and other Inferior Courts were *Normans*, or *French-men*, unless he could also prove, that all the Judges in those Courts were of that Country; the contrary to which I have already proved.

BUT the Doctor may say, if he pleases, that they pleaded all in *French*; which is altogether improbable, since the Suit mention'd in that Book was commenced in the County-Court, where I have already made it out, that *English*-men were not only Suitors, but Judges also of the Matter of Fact, and consequently must have heard those that open'd the Evidence speak in the same Language.

I SHALL conclude this Head with another Precedent out of the same Book of *Rocheſter* (which I shall here contract) in the relation of a Suit between *Gundulph* Bishop of that Church, and *Pico* Sheriff of *Cambridg-shire*, for certain Lands which belonged to *Fracenham*, which the Sheriff said belonged to the King, and the Bishop affirm'd to belong to his Church: and thereupon the King commanded that all the men of that County should be assembled, and that the Cause should be determin'd by their Judgment to whom the Land of Right belonged: But they being all met (for fear of the Sheriff) adjudged that it belonged to the King, and not to that Church. The rest of this Relation being long, I shall thus contract.

BUT their Perjury being sometime after discovered, the Bishop of *Bayeux* (who was then the King's Justiciary in his absence) commanded the Sheriff to send to him to *London* others of the best men of the County, who had confirm'd what the former had sworn before; and thither he also caus'd to be assembled many of the best Barons of *England*, who being all met together, it was judged, as well by all the *French* as *English*, that those first Jurors were all perjur'd; and being condemned by this Judgment, the Bishop recovered his Land, as it was just and right he should.

FROM whence we may observe, that either these *French* and *English* here mentioned must refer to the Barons of *England*, or else to those *French* and *English* Jury-men, who might give in their Verdict before them: for I confess the place is obscure, but be it which way it will, the Doctor's old evasion of turning *French*-men into *English*, will not here serve his turn; since, let whom he pleases be the Judges, it must certainly be determined by the Testimony of those *English*-Freeholders, who knew the Church's Title to those Lands in question, which the new-come *Normans* or *French*-men could not then do.

AND

AND that this Trial happened long after the time the Doctor supposes the *Englisch*-men to have lost their Estates, appears from the time of this Bishop *Gundulph*'s Election, he not succeeding in that See till the year of our Lord 1077, being the Eleventh year of King *William*'s Reign, as is evident by the Annals of the Church of *Rocheſter*, printed in the ſame Volume.

Id. p. 342.

I HAVE been more large and particular in theſe Authorities, becauſe they prove at once that there was no ſuch great Change in the Laws, Cuſtoms, Pleadings, and Eſtates of the *Engliſh*, as the Doctor ſuppoſes to have been at this time: nor do I know what he can object againſt theſe plain Authorities, but that they only concern the Lands of Monafteries; and that the *Engliſh* here mentioned to have appeared and acted as Jurors at theſe County-Courts in all the Tryals above-mention'd, were the Tenants of thoſe Churches and Abbies in whoſe Lands he muſt grant King *William* made no great Alteration; it farther appearing from the Abby-Books here cited, that divers Abbots came to theſe Tryals, attended *cum Hominibus ſuis*, with their Tenants, who were the *Engliſh* that ſerved as Jurymen at theſe County-Courts.

TO which I anſwer, That it does not appear by the Relations of theſe Tryals abovemention'd, that none but thoſe that held of the Church, were Suitors at theſe County-Courts; and the Relations of theſe Tryals do not limit it to any particular ſort of Tenants, but ſpeak of all the Men of the County, as well *French* as *Engliſh* in general, to have aſſembled at theſe County-Courts; and the *Manuſcript*-Hitories of *Abbingdon* and *Ely* above-cited do mention the Names of ſeveral *Engliſh* Noblemen, or Gentlemen, who were at theſe Trials; as alſo of ſeveral others who were either Benefactors, or Tenants to their Church during this King's Reign, and that of his ſon *Rufus*: and particularly that of *Abbingdon* acquaints us, that one *Turkill* an *Engliſh* Nobleman, gave certain Lands to this Monaftery, which he would not have done had they belonged to it before; and then preſently afterwards it tells us of another *Engliſh* Nobleman called *Leowin*, who bought out-right of the Abbot for ready money the Town of *Newham* (now *Newenham*) being a part of his Patrimony, and lying on the other ſide of the *Thames*. It alſo informs us of one *Anſkill*, a Knight of this Church, and one of the *Optimates* of this place (I ſuppoſe he means the Country about *Abbingdon*) for he ſays, he was then Owner of *Survercurd*, *Speſholt*, and *Baierde*, beſides other Lands. This Gentleman falling into King *William Rufus*'s diſpleaſure upon certain falſe Accuſations, was clap'd up in Priſon, where he ſoon after died; and then the King ſeiſed the Mannor of *Speſholt*, and gave it to one *Thurſtan* his Steward; but however it is plain, that tho he were an *Engliſh*-man, he till then kept this Eſtate (which was not all held of the Abbey) during the time of this King's Father.

I MIGHT alſo add many Charters of Great Norman Lords which are thus directed, *Omnibus Baronibus ſuis, Francis & Anglis*; which words, that they were not meer matter of Form, I have already ſufficiently proved; and which is a plain Evidence to me, at leaſt, that all the *Military* Tenants at that time did not hold only of Monafteries; but that there were alſo divers of the *Engliſh*-men Tenants *in Capite*, the Doctor himſelf muſt allow, ſince in the Great

Tryal at *Pinneden*, he grants, that the *Primores & Probi viri*, not only of the County of *Kent*, but of other Counties of *England*, appear'd as Jurors; the Former being the Great *Military* Tenants that were not Barons, and the less who were the *Probi viri*: by which it seems the Doctor means by the Former, the Tenants *in Capite*, and by the Latter the Inferior Tenants by Knight's Service; and that great part of these were *English*-men has been already proved.

IT may be also further objected, That these Writs of Restitution by King *William*, were only of the Church-Lands; but that it cannot be shewn, that any *English*-men, when once disseized of their Estates by the *Normans*, were ever restored to them again.

I GRANT indeed, That no private Families could have the Tenures of their Estates so preserved, as Cathedral Churches and Monasteries, the Monks whereof kept *Leiger-Books* of all their Mannors and Lands; and how they accrued to them, and were either leas'd for Lives, or sold out-right: whereas the antient Evidences of private Noblemen and Gentlemen's Estates were seldom carefully kept, at least for many Generations, but were often lost, or pass'd away to Heirs Female, or Executors; or else to the purchasers of their Estates, who minded no other Writings than what would serve to secure their present Title. Yet I doubt not, but there are divers Families in *England*, who can at this day by antient Evidences, make out their possession of the same Lands in their Names from the time of *Edward the Confessor*.

BUT tho I will not instance in the known Story of *Sharnburne*, since I own there are just Exceptions to be made against it, yet I think it may be plainly proved from *Doomsday-Book* it self, that divers *English*-men held the same Lands under *William the Conqueror*, which they or their Ancestors were possessed of in his Predecessor's time, as Mr. *Atwood* has proved by many Instances, in his Reply to Doctor *Brady's* Book, entituled, *Jus Anglorum ab Antiquo*; and that divers old *English* Proprietors had their Claims allowed at the making of *Doomsday-Book* before the King's Commissioners, appears by the Book it self in many Places, as particularly under Title;

Hantescire: Samburn Hundred, it is thus recorded.

ALDRED, frater Ode calumniatur unam Virgat. Terra de * hoc * Scil. de Manerio, & dicit, se eam tenuisse die qua Rex † E. fuit Vivus & Mortuus, & dissaisitus fuit, postquam Rex || W. mare transiit, & ipse dirationavit coram Regina: Inde est Testis ejus Hugo de Port & homines de toto Hundredo.

HERE you see there is not only a Challenge of this Yard-Land, because this *Aldred* held it in the time of King *Edward*; but also that he pleaded it off, or his Plea was allowed before the Queen, (being the King's Vicegerent in his absence) and that this *Hugo de Port* (a great Tenant *in Capite*) and all the Hundred were Witnesses. So likewise the same Person is again mention'd a few Leaves farther in the same County, under the Title of *Bertun Hundred*.

Terra Tainorum Regis.

ALDRED frater Odonis * tenet dimidiam Hidam de Rege, ipse tenuit de Rege E. &c.

F. 50. b. Col. 2.

* Scil. in Sudtan.

NOR is || Dr. *Brady's* Exception against these two Instances of any weight, viz. that it does not appear but that this *Aldred* claim'd the

Ans. to Arg. Antinor.

first parcel of Land only as the King's Thane, and not as his own Inheritance; for it plainly appears, he held this last Half-hyde by that Tenure, and as his own Inheritance.

TO which I reply, That it does not follow, that because he held the first parcel of Land, as being the King's Thane or Servant, therefore he held the other by the same Tenure, which lay in another Mannor; since the Title of the Land mentions no such thing: or if he had, that therefore it was not as his own Inheritance, but held only at the Will of the King (as the Doctor here suggests) since I find nothing to the contrary, but that such Thane-Lands were hereditary even in the Confessor's Time, as well as the Offices to which they belonged, and I desire the Doctor to prove the contrary.

BUT to proceed to some other Claims in this Book of a like nature, as in Bedfordshire, Boshelay Hundred.

P. 63. a.
Col. 2.

Terra Bagenfium de Bedford.
IN Bidcham tenet Olgarus de Bedeford i. Virgati. terra de Rege, &c. ipse qui nunc tenet & tenuit tempore Regis Edwardi, & potuit dare cui voluit.

P. 63. Col. 2.
* It is plain by this Passage, that by Antecessor is not here meant only Predecessor (as Dr. Brady will have it against Mr. Arwood) for this Hugh lost the Land because it did not belong to his Ancestor.

AND in like manner are several other Persons there mention'd, who held by the like Tenure, as *Terra Hugonis Sturmer.*

HUGO Sturmer tenuit hactenus Ebrigo, Herlang tenuit T. R. E. pro Maner. &c. De hoc Manerio testatur Scira quod non pertinet ad Antecessorem Hugonis per quem reclamatur.

P. 149. b.
Col. 2.

Bucks. - Stanes Hundred.
Terra Milonis Crispini.

MILON Crispinus tenet in Opetone unam hydram & dimid. & Alwinus de eo, &c. Ipsemet Tegnus tenuit T. R. E.

P. 150. a.
Col. 1.

IN Assedune tenet Wichinus de Milone 2. hyd, &c. Ipsemet tenuit T. R. E. & vendere potuit.

P. 137. b.
Col. 2.

Hertfordshire. Terra Roberti Gernon.
ROBERTUS Gernon & Aluuardus de eo, tenet in Merdelai I. Hyd. &c. Idem, qui tenet, tenuit T. R. E. & vendere potuit.

P. 45. a. Col. 2.
* Note, here it is plain, that by Antecessores must be understood Ancestors by Blood, or else his Claim had been frivolous.

Southampton, Sanburn Hundred.
Terra Hugonis de Porth.

IPSE Hugo tenet Halstun, &c. Godwin tenuit Abedric pro Manerio, &c. De hoc fert Testimonium totius Hundredi, * quod Antecessores ejus inde Seisiti erant, & Tenentes die quo Rex E. fuit Vivus & Mortuus.

P. 50. a. Col. 2.
* P. 50. a. col. 1.
† Note, this, the Thane-Land, is claimed as the Inheritance of his Father.

Terra Tainorum Regis.
* ULURIC venator tenet de Rege unum Manerium, Pater ejus tenuit de Rege E.

† WILLIELMUS fil. Stur. tenet Othwarcumbe, & Luran de eo: Ipsemet tenuit in Paragio de Reg. E.

P. 52. b. Col. 2.
* P. 240. b.
† i.e. Turchil.

Warwicksire, Colebub Hundred.
Terra Turchil de Warwic.

* IDEM Turchil tenet Bichelle, &c. Alwinus Pater ejus libere tenuit T. R. E. Idem † T. tenet de Ro. de Olgi tres Hydas Terra &c. in Elton, &c.

*Or. Alwinus libere tenait T. R. E. || This Turchil was an English-
man, and one of the King's Thanes; he claim'd by descent from his Father,
as this Record plainly shows us.*

*|| Vid. Sir Wil-
liam Dug-
dale's Preface
to his Hist. of
Warwick-
shire.*

I COULD give many more Examples of several of these Thanes, who held the same Lands as either they or their Fathers held them in the time of King Edward, which I will not farther insist on, only shall speak somewhat to his Exceptions against these Titles; which the Doctor says being only of such Lands as were held of the King, not by *Knights Service* but *Petit-Serjeanty*, as for being his Huntsmen, Falconers, and the like; and that for small Estates or parcels of Land, they were mere Tenants at Will; and the Conqueror's permitting them to hold such small Estates, does not prove but that he might lawfully have taken them away if he had so pleased.

TO which I reply, That *First*, the matter of Fact is not true as the Doctor has laid it: for in the first place many of these Thanes held not only small parcels of Land, but whole Mannors in the time of this King: and in the next place it does not appear, that these Thane-lands were only Tenants at the Will of the King; since not only the same Persons, but their Fathers, or other Ancestors, are here said to have enjoy'd the very same Lands in Edward the Confessor's Time: for that they were held by Right of Inheritance in the time of William the First, the Doctor cannot deny, since several of their Descendants held the same Estates of his Successors by the very same Service of *Petit-Serjeanty* as their Ancestors had done before, from the very time of the Conquest, as I could make out by divers Instances, were it worth while to insist upon them, and if the Bounds of this Discourse would permit it.

BUT I have set down these Examples only as a Taste, and to shew that the Doctor's Exceptions against Mr. Atwood's Instances, are neither just nor true; but I shall leave this Subject to that Learned Gentleman, who will defend his own Cause against the Doctor in a Treatise, which, as far as concerns the Question of the Conquest, and the Effects of it, has for several years been ready for the Press, and is likely soon to be publish'd; and therefore shall say no more upon this Head.

BUT I now come to the main Arguments made use of by the Doctor, to prove that King William never swore to, or confirm'd King Edward's Laws, tho that body which *Ingulphus* has given us of them has this Title, *Ces sont les Loys, et les Custumes, que le Reys Williemi grantat a tut le Peuple de Engleterre apres le Conquest de la Terre: Ice les mesmes, que li Reys Edward son Cousin tint devant lui, co est a Savoir: s. e.* These are the Laws and Customs which King William granted to all the People of England after the Conquest of the Land, being the same which King Edward his Cousin observed before him; that is to say, those that there follow, and which you may find translated into English in the ensuing Volume at the end of this King's Reign.

THE Doctor having nothing to say against the Validity of these Laws, would fain take away all the Benefit of them to the English Nation, by alledging they were in number fifty, most of them penal Laws, (as appears by *Ingulph*) and such as he received much profit and advantage from, by the many and great *Mults* imposed upon the People

People for the various Transgressions of them; and the other Laws are of small moment, and no ways inconsistent with King *William's* Establishment, most of which were taken out of the *Saxon*, some out of the *Danish* and *Norman Feudal Law*.

BUT in answer to this, whoever will compare these Laws with those of King *Edward* and the other *Saxon* Kings, will find, that being made for the Punishment of Robberies, Maihems, Murthers, and other Crimes against the publick Peace, they were as much for the benefit of the *Englisch* as the *Saxon* Laws were before, since they were equally intended for the Common Peace and Safety of the Kingdom; and to the observation of which, the *French* or *Normans* were obliged under the same Penalties with the *Englisch*. And the Doctor shews either his want of Judgment, or fondness for Tyranny, to alledg the Pecuniary Mulcts that were to be paid to the King by the Transgressors of them, as an Argument that they were intended more for his own than the Peoples Benefit; since if that were a just Exception, it would likewise hold the same against all the *Englisch-Saxon* Penal Laws, which were almost all Pecuniary.

NOR were the Penalties very much increas'd from what they were before by the old *Englisch* Laws, as any one may see that will take the pains to compare those in the former Volume with these in this: and as for the *Feudal* part of these Laws, they are in many things more favourable than those of King *Knute*; for by the former, besides the Horses and Arms that the Heir of every Earl, Chief or Inferior *Thane* rendred to the King upon the death of his Father, there were also to be paid to the King so many Ounces of Gold, all which are there called *Heriots*; whereas by the 21st, 22^d, 23^d, and 24th Laws of K. *William*, the Relief of a Count, Baron, and Vavasour, are only so many Horses, and such a quantity of Arms, without the payment of any Money either in Gold or Silver: and tho there may be some *Norman* Laws added to these Laws of King *Edward*, yet they still remain'd, for the most part, the old Laws of *England*; and therefore I shall not contradict the Doctor's Testimony out of his real or supposed Author, *Gervase of Tilbury*, That the *English Laws* being propounded, according to their Threefold Distinction, that is, the *Mercian-Law*, *Danish-Law*, and *West-Saxon Law*, he (viz. King *William*) rejected some, and approved others, and added such *Transmarine Norman Laws* as seemed most efficacious to defend the Peace of the Kingdom.

lb. p. 252.

BUT the Doctor there appeals to matter of Fact, and the Reader is referred to his Preface of the *Norman History*, where he says you will find it fully proved, that the Law used in this Nation after the Conquest, especially as to the Method and Practice of it, was the *Norman-Law*, and that so it remains to this Day in very many things; all which may be granted, and yet notwithstanding the main Body of the Laws of *England* did remain the same as they were before his Conqueror's coming over.

lb. p. 253.

BUT since the Doctor thinks that the next Set of this King's Laws may prove more to his purpose, he proceeds to those that are published by Mr. *Lambert*, and Sir *Roger Twisden*, the best Copy of which are to be seen in the *Red-Book* of the *Exchequer*, and which the Reader may likewise find translated at the end of this King's Reign after those Laws from *Ingulphus*.

*

BUT

BUT the Doctor, because he loves to cavil, and wrest even Laws themselves to a contrary sense than for what they were intended, will needs pick out something, whereby he would prove that in most of these Laws the *Englisch* were not at all concerned, or had thereby any Interest or Benefit. But seeing it would be long and needless to transcribe all the Laws *verbatim*, which the Doctor here instances in, which are the 52d Law, concerning *Faith* and *Obedience* toward the King; the 55th, Of the *Feudal* Law, and Immunity of Freemen; the 56th, Of *Night-watches* and *Guards*; the 58th, Of the *Prestations*, or *Services* of *Feudataries* or *Vassals*; the 59th, That the *Freemen* must endeavour, with all their Power, to preserve the *Royal Rights* from Injury; the 64th, The *Borh-Law*, or Law of Pledges or Sureties; I therefore desire the Reader to consult these Laws under their respective Titles, and then he will be the better able to judge whither the Doctor's Exceptions against them be just or not, which I shall here transcribe: The first of which is from the Oath of Allegiance to King *William*; the Fifth there cited is nothing but a further and more clear Explanation and Confirmation of the First, that all Freemen of the whole Kingdom should be Sworn-Brothers to defend King *William's* Monarchy, and his Kingdom, according to their Power, Abilities or Fortunes, against his Enemies, and to keep entire the Peace and Dignity of his Crown, &c. Ib. p. 258.

NOW, says he, let us see who they were that did here swear and oblige themselves to do this; they were Earls, Barons, Knights, Esquires, and all the Freemen of the whole Kingdom, who were always to be ready fitted and prepared with Horse and Arms, according to their Fees and Tenements, which were given them to that purpose by the *Conqueror*, and by the Consent of the Common Council of his whole Kingdom, in Fee, by Hereditary Right, as appears by the Fourth Law here also mention'd. "Now, says the Doctor, when the Author of *Argumentum Antinormannicum* can make it appear that King *William* erected new Earldoms, Baronies, Knights-Fees and Services here, and, by the advice and consent of the Common Council of the Kingdom, granted Lands of Inheritance to support them, and at the same time gave them to the *Englisch-Saxons*, I shall then agree that these three Laws last mention'd were made for their Profit.

IN answer to the First and Second Paragraphs, I would desire the Doctor to tell us, whither these Freemen, that were to swear Allegiance to King *William*, were not *Englisch*-men as well as *Normans*: for he may remember, if he pleases, that all who owed Suit and Service to the *County-Court* and *Sheriff's-Tourn*, were there bound to take the Oath of Fidelity to the King; so that it is certain all Freemen (by whatsoever Tenure) being bound to take that Oath, the name of Freemen was not confin'd to the Earls, Barons, and Tenants *in capite* alone, but also took in other inferior *Military* Tenants, as also those in *Free Socage*. And I think I have already prov'd that several *Englisch-Saxon* Noblemen and Gentlemen during this King's Reign, were Barons, and Tenants *in Capite*, or else *Vassals*, i. e. Inferior Tenants to Lords, Bishops, or Abbots; and as such, either by election of the County, or else in their own Persons, might very well have Places or Votes in the *Common-Council* of the Kingdom: so that there is no need to suppose (as the Doctor would captiously have it) that

the King should create new Earldoms and new Baronies, &c. on purpose to give them to the *Englisch-Saxons*.

NOW all this only proceeds from the Doctor's willful wresting of the Words and Sense of the 55th, and 58th Laws of King *William*; in neither of which it is said, that all their Fees and Tenements were given them by the *Conqueror*, but that the Services which they were to perform for such their Fees and Tenures, were granted or appointed them in Fee, by *Hereditary Right*, and that by the *Common Council* of the whole Kingdom; and notwithstanding all that the Doctor has here said, this *Magna Charta* of King *William* (as Mr. *Petyt* has rightly called it) may as very well extend to the old *Englisch-Saxons*, as to the new *French* or *Norman* Proprietors: for to turn the Doctor's Argument in the following Paragraph upon himself; if all the Freemen of the whole Kingdom mentioned in the 55th Law, and all the Earls, Barons, Knights and Freemen of the Kingdom, were then as well *Englisch* as *Normans* at the time of the making of these Laws (the contrary to which the Doctor hath nowhere proved) then they were granted to the one as well as to the other, and they had both an equal benefit in them; and then the Conclusion or Confirmation of these Laws will be also literally true, which I shall give you in Latin: *Hoc quodque precipimus, ut Omnes habeant & teneant Legem Edwardi Regis in omnibus Rebus, adactis His, quas constituimus ad Utilitatem Anglorum*: That is, we also command that all shall have and enjoy the Law of King *Edward* in all things, with those Additions which we (*viz.* the King) have ordained for the benefit of the *Englisch*: by which he must certainly be understood to mean all the Subjects of *England*; for that by the word [*Anglorum*] only *Normans* are to be understood, is such an extravagant flight of fancy, as none but the Author of this Chymical Glossary could ever have attained to.

Ep. p. 258.

I HAVE indeed omitted two other small Cavils of the Doctor's against the *Englisch-men's* having any Benefit by these Laws, which are so mean and trivial, that, might it not be thought an omission in me, I should have passed them by: the one is a Remark upon the *Watches* and *Guards*, which by these Laws were set and placed in Cities, Burghs, Castles, Hundreds, and Wapentachs; as also that the Sheriffs, Aldermen, Provosts and Bayliffs, &c. of those Places were to set them; which he desires his Adversary to prove to have then consisted of *Englisch-Saxons*.

NOW that they might be Officers in the Cities and Towns, the Doctor himself has granted, when in his Glossary he says, that in all Charters to Cities and Towns directed to *French* and *Englisch* Townsmen, both *Saxons* and *Normans* are to be understood; and then the Consequence will be against the Doctor, that if they had all alike Privileges, they were then also alike capable of being *Aldermen*, *Provosts*, or *Bailiffs*, and much more capable of the lesser Offices, both of appointing the *Night Watches*, and serving as Watchmen. Nor was it possible it could be otherwise, if any man will but consult *Doomsday-Book*, and observe what a small proportion the *Norman* or *French* Burgesses bore (in comparison of the *Englisch*) in *Norwich*, *Exeter*, or any other City or Trading-Town, where the Numbers of both sorts are set down; and then much more in the Country

Country Villages: for since there could not then be above Fifty or Sixty thousand French-men or Normans in England at the most, it was impossible for them alone to execute all the inferior Offices of Constables, Headboroughs, &c. and also to keep Watch and Ward, the Natives being wholly excluded from those Duties.

BUT his Exception against the Law concerning Pledges or Sureties, by which every man, from the greatest to the least, was in those days bound to find Sureties for himself and his Servants, is more trivial than the former: for the Doctor here falsely supposes that none but the lowest and most ordinary sort of Freemen were thus bound to their Good-Behaviour; whereas the words are general, *Omnis homo qui voluerit se teneri pro Libero, sit in plegio*; i. e. every man who will be taken as a Freeman, ought to be under a Pledg: yet tho the Doctor grants it to have been an old Saxon Law, he would have it, that in the Circumstances the English were in at that time, under hard Masters, it could be no advantageous or profitable Law to them. But it seems he has either forgot, or not well considered this Law as it stood in King Edward the Confessor's time; for he might there have found, "That by the Laws of King Edward, all Arch-Bishops, Earls, ^{Vid. LL. Edwardi. Hoveden, p. 605.} Thanes, and their Knights, and Servants, who are there particularly named, were to have them all in their Frithborh, (or under their Surety) who if they shall forfeit to any one, and complaint be made against them, their Lord shall be obliged to do them Right in his Court. And to the same purpose is the 49th Law of King William in French, *Chascun senour eit soun Serjant, * en san plege, que si n'ole rete, que ait a dreit el Hundred.* That is, let every Lord have his Servant in or under his Pledg (that is, to be bound for him) that so if he be accused, he may be brought to Right (i. e. Justice) in the Hundred-Court: from whence it is plain, that every Lord or Master of a Family, tho never so Great, was tied so far to be answerable for his Servants, as to deliver them up to Justice if they offended, or else to pay a Mulet or Fine if they escaped. So that this Law concerning Pledges or Sureties did as much oblige the French and Normans, as it did the English, unless the Doctor can prove (which I suppose he will never be able to do) that all his Normans were Great Lords, whilst the English Nobility and Gentry became meer Slaves and Vassals; or else this Law must be equally advantageous or burdensome to those of the one as well as of the other Nation.

BUT the Doctor finding himself gravell'd by his Adversary with the Authority of R. Hoveden, and the Book of * *Litchfeild*, that King William in the fourth year of his Reign at the earnest intercession of the English Natives or † Commons granted and confirm'd that Body of Laws which are found in those Authors, and contain divers things concerning the Duty and Office of the King, as also many others concerning the Rights and Liberties of the Subject. Now the Doctor has no way to avoid the Force of this so evident a Testimony, but by making some trivial Exceptions against these Laws. And first, as for the *Litchfeild* Story, antecedent to the Laws themselves (*viz.* how King William came to be prevail'd upon to grant them) since it is set down at large in the following History, I refer the Reader thither; but the Doctor's Remarks (as far as they are to my purpose) are these.

FIRST,

* The word in the French is in, but should be en.

† Latin Version rectatus.

* Cited by Lambard Archaionom. p. 148, 149. † Communitates.

*
P. Anf. to A.A.
260.

* "FIRST, That these Laws are indeed to be found in *Hoveden*, but not entire, part being in Pag. 343, and part in Pag. 346, b. n. 50, and Pag. 347, a. n. 10, 20. also in *Edward the Confessor's Laws* in *Lambard's Copy*, Pag. 138, c. 1. and in Pag. 149. Tit. *Lex Nori-*
" *corum*, it is to be found in two parts, which put together do entire-

" ly make up that Preface.
" "SECONDLY, That Author hath omitted the date of, or time
" when King *William* granted these Laws, which *Hoveden*, and the
" *Litchfield Book*, and *Edward the Confessor's Laws*, say, was *Anno*
" *quarto Regni sui*.

" "THIRDLY, That *Ingulph* says they were the Laws which
" he brought with him from *London* in the twentieth year of King
" *William*, and which he had by Proclamation caused to be ob-

" served. Yet,

" "FOURTHLY, That these were not the Laws contain'd in the

* Not. ad
Eadm. p. 171.

" Book of *Litchfield*, which * Mr. *Selden* says were only part of these

† Col. 1. 234.

" Laws published in *Hoveden*, and that this part is to be found in

|| Fol. 343.

" † *Hen. Knighton*; and who ever will take the pains to compare them

" with those in || *Hoveden*, will find they contain but the first fif-

" teen Titles or Chapters, which are the very same with the first fif-

" teen Chapters of those Laws printed in *Lambard*, under the Name

" and Title of King *Edward's Laws*; yet both in *Hoveden* and *Lam-*

" *bard* these Laws are near thrice the number of those in *Knighton*.

" Nor are they, and the Laws in *Crowland-Copy*, scarce in any Points

" or Chapters alike.

* Viz. of Arg.
Antinorm.

" "FIFTHLY, And that therefore this Testimony of *Ingulph* can-

" not be brought by our * Author, or any Man else, to prove the

" Grant or Confirmation of King *Edward's Laws*, as they are to be

" found in the Books above-mention'd, it having not the least Refe-

" rence to them; nor is it probable that *Ingulph* ever heard of them, or

" that King *William* ever caused any Proclamation to be made that

" those Laws should be observ'd.

NOW what are all these small Objections to the purpose? might

there not have been several *Manuscript-Copies* of these Laws, whereof

some might be more perfect and entire than others? And suppose those

set down in the Book of *Litchfield* are the same with those in *Henry de*

Knighton, and are not so many by half as are found in *Hoveden*; will

this serve to render all of them, or at least his Copy to be false or sus-

picious? For why may not King *William* have confirm'd this Body of

Laws set down by *Hoveden* at the beginning of his Reign, and also

have enacted others at other times, and particularly made that Set of

Laws found in *Ingulph* at the latter end of his Reign, which relate

chiefly to the Prerogatives and Pleas of the Crown? All which indeed

is no more an Argument against the Validity of these Laws, than it

would be against the Statute of *Merton*, which was made about the

middle of *Henry the Third's* Reign, because it is different from that of

Marlbridg, which was made in the latter end thereof.

Id. p. 261.

AS for the Doctor's last Exception, it is this, "That Mr. *Selden* not

" only tells us what were the Laws in the *Litchfield Manuscript*, but

" writes very suspiciously of all the Laws that are attributed to King

" *Edward*, except the *Crowland-Copy*; and says, their Credit is much

" to be doubted, that would obtrude upon us other Laws than those

*

" for

“ for King *Edward's*; and that 'tis very likely there was made but one
 “ Review and Confirmation of the Laws of King *William*: and if
 “ there were any more than one, yet the last was only to be allowed
 “ and esteemed Authentick, which was the *Croyland* Copy.

I HAVE a great Honour for the Memory of Mr. *Selden*; but as the Doctor values his Authority as nothing, when he finds it makes against his Opinion, so, I hope, I may have sometimes the liberty to decline it, when I think it not agreeable to Reason and Truth. For if all other Copies of King *William's* Laws must be false, or at least suspicious, that agree not with his *Croyland* Copy, then what will become of those Laws that were publish'd by Mr. *Lambard*, and have been again reprinted by Sir *Roger Twissden*, from an Antient Copy in the Red Book of the Exchequer; and out of which the Doctor himself hath cited so many Laws against the Gentleman he there opposes? And if those are Authentick, I desire to know of the Doctor why these that are extant in *Hoveden*, should not be of as good Authority as the former? for besides that this his Collection is found in all the Manuscript Copies of his History, there are also many other Manuscript Copies of them to be met with in divers private as well as publick Libraries; for I have seen and perused one very Antient Copy of them in the Arch-Bishop's Library at *Lambeth*, and another in *Bennet* College in *Cambridg*, and a third in the *Cottonian* Library; besides what may be found in other places without those Interpolations, which, I confess, have render'd these Laws somewhat suspicious.

BUT the Doctor has the least reason of any man to doubt their Authority; for if *Gervase* of *Tilbury* be an unexceptionable Witness for what was done in *William* the Conqueror's Time, and yet lived and wrote that Treatise (if it be really his) in the latter end of the Reign of King *Henry* the Second; I cannot see why the Authority of a much greater Lawyer, should not be of equal, if not more Authority (to wit) that of *Ranulph de Glanvil*, Justiciary of *England*, and who (as *R. Hoveden* tells us) lived and wrote about the same time, and compil'd into one Body those *English* Laws which there follow, viz. those of King *Edward*, confirm'd by King *William*. And certainly if *Gervase* above-mention'd could know from *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester* what was done in King *William's* Time, why could not so Great a Man as *Glanvil* find out by Antient Copies, as well as Authentick Tradition, what were the Laws of *Edward* the Confessor, which (as our Author tells us) King *William* his Cousin not only confirm'd, but also commanded to be observed, with such Additions as were by him added, tho of no great moment?

HAVING, I hope, sufficiently proved that King *William* not only made Laws for the benefit of his *English*, as well as his *Norman* Subjects, but also confirm'd the Antient Laws of King *Edward*, I shall not much concern my self whether he strictly kept or broke them, since (as I have already said) it was not his breach of these Laws, or of the Oath he so often and solemnly took to observe, that could confer upon him the Right or Title of a Conqueror.

I SHALL now come to the Doctor's next Arguments, in his Preface to his *Norman* History, whereby he would prove, that the Laws of this Nation, except such as have been alter'd, or introduced by our Kings, or Great Councils, or by Act of Parliament, were for the

greatest and chiefest part of them the *Norman* Laws, and brought in or instituted by *William* his Conqueror, the Subject next to be treated of.

I SHALL not here go about to dispute with the Doctor. Whether *England*, which has born two great Shocks or Impressions from those two powerful Nations, the *Danes* and *Normans*, hath not received great Changes, not only in the Manners and Customs, but also in its very Laws, tho' (I confess) much more from the latter than the former; since the *Danes* govern'd here but a few years, whereas the *Norman* Princes have established their Empire for many Generations even down to this very day. But seeing the Doctor himself a little lower grants, "That this Nation doth still retain some of the *Saxon* and *Danish* Customs, which do not much differ from the *Normans*, for they were Neighbours by situation, and had much the same Language, only differing in *Dialect*, and communicated in many Rites and Usages; nay, jointly conquer'd both this Country and *Neustria* in *France*, afterwards called *Normandy*: and he says (truly enough) they were not intirely *Saxons*, *Danes*, or *Norwegians*, or of one Nation that made these Conquests, altho' their chief Leaders, and the greatest number of any Nation might be such; but a mixture of all these, and several other People of the *Northern* parts of *Germany*.

If the Doctor would go no farther than this, I would quickly agree with him; for then notwithstanding his pretended *Conquest*, the greatest part of our Laws would have still continued the same and unalter'd from what they were before. But this will not content him, for he immediately after affirms, "That the whole Bulk and Main of our Laws, or at least very different Usages of them, were brought hither from *Normandy* by the Conqueror, viz. such as were in use and practice here for some Ages after the *Conquest*, is, says he, without question; for from whence we received our Tenures, and the manner of holding Estates in every respect, from thence we also received the Customs incident to those Estates, as Reliefs, Aids, Fines, Rents, or *Cans*, Services, &c. and likewise the quality of them, being most of them *Feudal*, and injoy'd under several Military Conditions and Services; and of necessary Consequence from thence we must always receive the Laws by which these Tenures, and the Customs incident to them, were regulated, and by which every Man's Right in such Estates was secured, according to the nature of them: But that from *Normandy* (brought in by the Conqueror) we receiv'd most, if not all our Antient Tenures, and manner of holding and enjoying our Lands and Estates, will appear, by comparing our Antient Tenures with theirs.

To return an Answer to the Doctor's Arguments and Instances as he goes along: I must here in the first place distinguish those Services and Customs, which were incident to Estates before his *Conquest*, from those which might have been introduced after that time. As to Reliefs, which either the King's Tenants, or else those of other Lords, were to pay before they could enter upon their Estates, there will be found no more than a difference in Words, between the *Hereditas* mention'd in the 69th Law of King *Knut* to be paid by an Earl, a Thane next to the King, and an Inferior or Middling Thane, and

and those Reliefs which the same sort of Persons under the Title of Count, Baron, and Vavasor, were to pay either to the King, or their Superior Lord, by the 22^d, 23^d, and 24th Laws of King William the First. For that the *Heriot* was a Military Service, appears from its being deriv'd from the word *Here*, which in the *Englisch-Saxon* Tongue signifies an Army; as also that both these *Heriots* of King Knute, and the *Reliefs* appointed by King William, when compar'd, consisted of a like number of Horses and Arms; only by this latter Law there was no Money to be paid, as there was by the former.

THEREFORE I must make bold to differ from the Learned Sir H. Spelman, who in his late * *Posthumous Treatise of Feuds and Tenures by Knight's Service*, will by no means allow those *Heriots* and these *Reliefs* to be the same; but his Reasons to the contrary are not in my Opinion sufficient, and I could give several Answers to each of them, would the brevity I endeavour in this *Introduction* allow it; only I shall here take notice, that by the Distinctions made use of in this Law of King Knute, above-cited, between the *Thane* next to the King, and the Inferior or Middling *Thane* under him, it appears, that there was then divers Tenures one under another; and that as the King's *Thane* held of him, so did the Inferior *Thane* hold his Land of him who was next above him: which fully answers the difference after the Conquest between the Superior Lord, or Tenant *in Capite*, and the *Mesne* Tenant that held his Estate under him.

BUT another proof of the Distinction between the Superior and Inferior or under *Thane*, is also to be found in that old *Manuscript Saxon Law* cited by * Mr. Selden in his *Titles of Honour* in Latin, and by † Mr. Lambard in his *Itinerary of Kent*, to this effect.

" THAT if a *Thane* *is a profectisset*, i. e. had so advanced himself, as to have served the King, and rid on his Message, and if such a one had under him another *Thane*, who had got five Hydes of Land, and had waited on his Lord in the King's Court, he was to be deemed a *Thane's Right Worthy*, i. e. in all respects equal to a *Thane*. I am sensible Sir Henry Spelman, in his *Treatise* above-mention'd, will not allow this Land thus possessed by the Head *Thane*, to be *Feodal Land*, tho it be expressly mention'd to be held *ad Expeditionem Regis*, because a Man might before the Conquest have been tied to perform this *Military Expedition* for his Personal Estate, and of which he there gives an Instance; yet I confess it does not satisfy me, since it may be still urged, To what purpose is this Clause here inserted, viz. who held or had five Hydes for the King's Expedition, if the Lands, without any consideration of the Person, had not been liable to this *Military Service*? Or how could this Inferior *Thane* who had these Hydes, be said to be under the Superior or King's *Thane*, unless it had been by way of Tenure or *Military Service*? since it cannot be suppos'd that such a *Thane*, who had five Hydes of Land, would condescend to serve the other as his Menial Servant or Dependant. And therefore Sir Henry Spelman is resolv'd, that rather than he will allow any *Military Feodal Tenures* before the Conquest, he will not only make King William's Law above-cited, but also *Doomsday-Book*, to speak improperly; where under Title, *Wallingford in Barocscire*, the same Law is recited in these words; *Tainus, vel Miles Regis Dominicus moriens, pro Relevamento demittebat Regi omnia Arma sua, Equum suum,*

* Published at
Oxon. Cap. 18.

* Ch. 5. p. 515.
† P. 552, 553.

Of Feuds and
Tenures, &c.
p. 18.

GUM

Pract. p. 84.
2. Num. 1.

cum Sella, & aliam sine Sella; & si essent Canes vel Accipitres, presentantur Regi, si velit accipere: i. e. The King's Thane, or Knight holding of him, shall at his death leave all his Arms to the King for a Relief, and one Horse with a Saddle, and another without a Saddle; and if there be any Dogs or Hawks, they shall be also presented to the King, if he will accept them. And which is most in the right, Sir Henry Spelman, or the Penmen of *Doomsday-Book*, and King William's Laws, I leave to the unprejudiced Reader to judge. And tho Sir Henry supposes that *Bracton* made a great difference between *Heriots* and *Reliefs*, yet I think the place there cited, if duly considered, makes little or none at all to the purpose, as you may see by the words themselves; *Fit quaedam prestatio, qua non dicitur Relevium, sed quasi, sicut Heriotum, quasi loco Relevii, & quod dari debet aliquando ante Sacramentum fidelitatis, aliquando post: i. e.* There is a certain Payment, which is not called a Relief, but as it were so, as a *Heriot* instead of a Relief, and ought sometimes to be paid before the Oath of Fealty, and sometimes after.

I HAVE dwelt the longer upon this Head, because from a due comparison between the Laws of King *Knute* and King *William*, it plainly appears, that *Military* Tenures and Services belonging to them were in use before the *Normans* came into *England*; tho Sir Henry Spelman (from whom the Doctor has borrowed that Notion) has been pleas'd to assert the contrary: but vvither they vv ere Hereditary before the coming in of the *Danes* I vv ill not affirm; yet that they might very vv ell be so in King *Knute's* and his Son's Reigns, and so on till the *Conquest*, is very probable: for if the King's Thane had held his Land only for his own or two more Lives, how could he entfeoff another Thane of part of that Land, and he again a third under him of another part of the same Estate, unless they had had some larger holding in them than only for Term of Life?

I SHALL now but slightly touch the rest of the Doctor's Instances from the Customs incident to Estates; for as to Aids in the sense he takes them, I shall not dispute that Point with him: But as for Rents, that several Tenants paid small Quit-rents in Mony to their chief Lords before the *Conquest*, may be proved from several Instances in our Antient Abbey *Leiger-Books*; and that the payment of the King's Rents in Mony, and not in Provisions, was not introduced by King *William*, but many years after, I desire the Doctor to consult his own Author *Gervase of Tilbury* in his Treatise above-mentioned; for there he tells us, "That long after the *Conquest* the Kings of *England* had their Payments made to them out of their Lands, not in Sums of Gold or Silver, but only in *Victuals* or *Provisions*; out of which the King's House was supplied with Necessaries for daily use; and they who were deputed to this Service (*viz.* the *Purveyors*) knew what quantity arose from each several Land: Tho as to Souldiers Pay or *Donatives*, and for other necessities concerning the Pleas of the Kingdom, or Conventions, as also from Cities and Castles, where they did not exercise Husbandry or Tillage; in such Instances Payments were made in ready Mony. Wherefore this Institution lasted all the time of *William the First*, to the time of King *Henry* his Son; so that I my self (says *Gervase*, who flourished in the Reign of *Henry the Second*) have seen some People who at set-times carry
"from

“ from the King's Lands, Victuals or Provisions of Food to Court.
 “ And the Officers also of the King's House knew very well (having it
 “ upon account) which Counties were to send in *Wheat*, which several
 “ sorts of *Flesh*, and Provender for the Horses. The rest of this Story
 “ being somewhat long, I shall contract: “ That the King, *viz. Henry*
 “ *the Second*, wanting ready Money very much to carry on his War
 “ beyond Sea, and being also mightily importun'd by the Husband-
 “ men, who were put to a world of trouble in carrying their Provi-
 “ sions from their own Lands to the King's Court; and moved with
 “ their Complaints about it, did, by the Advice of his Lords, ap-
 “ point throughout the Kingdom, such Persons as he knew were for
 “ their Service: These Persons going about, and taking a view of the
 “ several Lands, having made an Estimate of the Provisions which
 “ were paid out of them, they reduc'd it into a Sum of * ready Mo-
 “ ny. But if the King's Rents were thus paid, it was not to be ima-
 “ gined that the Rents of his Tenants *in Capite*, and their Inferior
 “ Tenants, were paid any otherwise.

*Denariis

AS for the Doctor's last Instances of Services in general, that there
 were divers such, as well *Military* as *Prædial*, paid by the *English-Saxon*
 Tenants to their Lords long before the *Conquest*, may appear from
 several Instances in our Antient Abbey and Cathedral-Books, as also from
 the Charters of the *Saxon Kings*. As for example, That Charter of
 King *Kenulph* (cited by Sir *Edward Coke* in his *fourth Institutes*, Ch. 35. p. 194)
 dated *Anno Dom. 821*: which granted to the Abbot and Monks of *Ab-*
bingdon many Mannors and Lands, on condition, *quod Expeditionem*
duodecim virorum, cum tantis scatis exercent, antiquos pontes & arces
renovent: which is the more remarkable, because sometime after this,
 King *Ethelwulph*, by his memorable Charter of Privileges (ratified by
 the Great Council of *Winchester* in the year 885.) did by express
 words set free *Sanctam Ecclesiam*, that is, all the Churches and Mo-
 nasteries of his Kingdom, *ab Expeditione, & Pontis extructione, & Ar-*
cis munitione; that is, from the threefold Necessity, to which all the
 Lands of the Kingdom were then liable, *viz.* of Expedition or going
 to War against Enemies, and the building or repairing of Bridges, and
 Castles: yet that this Service payable by this Monastery, was some-
 what more than what was appointed by the Common Law of the
 Land, appears by this Clause in the Charter it self, since it particularly
 limits this *Military* Service to twelve Men; which need not have been
 done, if by Law this Abbey could have been obliged to have found
 as many Men without any such provision:

THE same Author has there cited a like Charter of King *Ethelred*
 to a Knight called *Athelwig*, dated *Anno Dom. 995*. so that not only
 Abbeys, but Knights or *Military*-men then held Lands of the King by
 the Service of so many Men: which how it differ'd from Knight's Ser-
 vice I cannot distinguish; and Dr. Brady himself allows Tenancy *in*
Capite to have been in use long before his *Conquest*, when he translates *in*
 this Passage out of Arch-Bishop *Parker's British Antiquities*, *Anno*
Dom. 905. Plegmundus, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, una cum Rege
magnifico cognominato Edwardo Seniore, Concilium magnum Episcopo-
rum, Abbatum, Fidelium, Procerum, Populorum in Provincia Gew-
issorum convocant, &c. That is, in the year of our Lord 905. *Pleg-*
mund Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, together with the magnificent King
 Edward;

in Answ. to Mr. Petit, p. 9.

Fol. 756

Edward, surnamed the Elder, called a Great Council of the Bishops, Abbots, Tenants *in Capite* or *Military* Service, Noblemen and People in the Province of the *West-Saxons*.

Ans. to M.P.
p. 14.
p. 155.

SO that if there were Tenants *in Capite*, or *Military* Service, before the Doctor's *Conquest*, he contradicts himself in affirming afterwards in the same Book, as also in his Preface to the *Norman History*, "That we received all our Tenures, and manner of holding Estates, in every respect, from *Normandy*. And now let him chuse vvhich side he pleases, and maintain Tenure by Knights, or *Military* Service to have been introduced either before or after his *Conquest*, he vvhill gain nothing by it; for if he will maintain the former Opinion, then it is certain that these Tenures were in *England* long before the time he supposes; or if he will stick to this latter Assertion, it is also untrue, that all our *Military* Tenures were derived from the *Normans*, as I think has been sufficiently proved.

ib. p. 156.
Gloss. Fol. 218.
Tit. Feudum.

BUT perhaps the Doctor may say; That by Tenures and holding of Estates, he means no more than *Military* Fees according to the *French* and *Norman-Feudal* Laws. And concerning Fees, the Doctor says, "The Learned Sir Henry Spelman's Glossary tells us, that *William* the Conqueror brought over the Servitude of them into *England*, who divided it all amongst his Great Men and Chief Commanders; and this, he says, appears from *Doomsday-Book*; and after that the Bondage of Fees was known in all parts of the Kingdom, not heard of before in the *Saxon* times: Tho indeed he adds, that the word "*Beneficium*, or *Pradium*, was antiently used for *Feudum*, which was not used in any Nation or Country until about the beginning of the Tenth Century from our Saviour's Incarnation. And then he cites a Passage from *Dudo* of *St. Quintin's History*, how *Charles* King of *France* added to the Donation of *Normandy*, which he had before bestowed upon Duke *Rollo*, the Province of *Bretaign*, that also by this * *Benefice* he might oblige him to be the more faithful Vassal to him: *Hortoman* also says thus; *Beneficium datur propter Officium, quo verbo demonstratur, Feudale Officium non nisi Militare & Bellicum fuisse; i. e.* A *Benefice* is given for the sake of an Office, by which word it is declared, that a *Feudal* Office was at first only *Military* and War-like.

Somner's Gloss.
p. 102.

* *Beneficium*.
Lib. de Feud.
c. 5.

SO that it is plain from these Authors, that the same thing which was at first called *Pradium* and *Beneficium*, was afterwards called by a *German* or old *French* word, a *Feud*, or in Latin *Feudum*.

NOW I desire no more than what the Doctor has here granted; for from hence it is evident, that the Thing was in use long before the Word; therefore if we can shew the same words, viz. *Beneficium* and *Pradium*, in several old Charters before the *Conquest*, I see no reason why they should not have been much the same with the *Feuds* or *Feoda*, which words I admit were brought from *France*, tho the thing was here long before. But that which at length began the difference between *Feuda* and *Beneficia*, was, that when the latter began to be used in a restrain'd sense, and to signify no more than an Estate for Life, then the word *Feudum* grew to be in fashion, and was understood only of such Grants of Lands as were Perpetual and Hereditary, whilst *Beneficium* signified those that were held only for one or more Lives: From whence it is also evident, that *Military* Tenures or

Fees

Fees were more ancient than the word by which they were afterwards expressed: and supposing the *Normans* brought these sort of Tenures with them out of their own Country, as divers Authors assert, I know not why the *Danes* and *Norwegians* who were the same People, and spoke the same Language with the *Normans*, should not, when they came to settle in *England* under King *Knut* and his Sons, bring in the same kind of Tenures, not only for Lives or Years, but also to Heirs Male in Fee-tail; or else there could have been no reason why by that Law of King *Knut* already cited, the Heirs of *Earls*, and both sorts of *Thanes*, were to pay *Heriots*, as well as those of a Count, Baron, or *Vassal* after the Conquest, since the same things are signified by King *Knut*'s as well as King *William*'s Laws: For it is certain, that in the Kingdoms of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, the Nobility hold their Lands of the King by *Military* Tenures, much after the same manner as the Earl, King's *Thane*, and lesser *Thane*, held theirs under *Knut*, who was King of *England* and *Norway*; and who (by what I can find) was the First that made these *Feodal* Estates inheritable in *England*, which were before commonly granted for one or more Lives.

SO that at last the vvhole Question between Dr. *Brady* and those of the contrary Opinion, is, "Whither all the Burdens and Services belonging to *Military* Tenures, such as *Wardships*, *Marriage*, *Homage*, *Fealty*, *Aids*, *Esuage*, *Reliefs* and *Escheats*, both according to their first rigorous Institution, and afterwards more qualified Condition; vvhither, I say, they were all derived from *Normandy*, or not? Which Question those two Learned Lord Chief Justices, Sir *Edward Coke*, and * Sir *Matthew Hale*, do both hold in the Negative: yet since I confess, that (unless it be as to *Reliefs* and *Escheats*) I can see no Footsteps of those Incidents to *Military* Service before the coming in of the *Normans*; and must own my self convinced by the cogent Arguments of Sir *Henry Spelman*, not only in his *Glossary*, but his late Learned *Posthumous* Treatise concerning Feuds and Tenures, that the greatest part of those Burdens and Services, which we find annexed to *Military* Fees, were introduced by King *William* from his own Country.

* In his MS: History of the Law, of England.

BUT supposing this to be so; yet I doubt Dr. *Brady* will have little cause to triumph upon this Concession, as if he had thereby gain'd an entire Victory; since if he please to look over *Littleton*'s Tenures, he may there see how small a part those Sections concerning Tenures make, in respect of the rest of the whole Book; and consequently how little a Branch of the Common Law they were when in being; and before they were taken away in our times by the Statute of 12^o of King *Charles* the Second.

BUT as for the other executive parts of the Law; which the Doctor likewise supposes to have been brought from *Normandy*, I shall treat of that by and by: In the mean time I hope I may still safely affirm, that even the abovemention'd Incidents or Burdens upon *Military* Tenures were no Badges of *Norman* Conquest, nor brought in and impos'd by the Conqueror's sole Will and Pleasure, as may easily be proved from these Considerations and Authorities.

FIRST, That this Service was impos'd upon all Bishopricks and great Abbeyes that were Royal Foundations, and which held in *pura*

Eleemosyna;

Eleemosyna, before the Conquest; which tho our Monkish Writers, and particularly *Matthæus Paris*, exclaim against as a great Oppression on the Church, yet is it not at all likely that it was done without the Consent of those Bishops and Abbots at that time, as Mr. *Selden* in his *Titles of Honour* very probably supposes: for that this King within the first Four years of his Government would have presumed to have impos'd so great a Burden upon the Bishops, Abbots and Priors without their own consent, I cannot easily believe; because they might have appeal'd to the Pope against it, who thereupon would have made the King desist from such an Encroachment; and if he had done it by his own Authority alone, why should it not have been also impos'd upon many other Monasteries besides those of Royal Foundation? since many of them, tho founded by Noblemen, or other private Persons, were as well endowed as the other; and even some of the greater of these were afterwards by their own consent made to hold their Lands by Barony, or Knight's Service, and on that account their Abbots and Priors sat in the Great Council or Parliament as Barons.

MY next Consideration is, that Tenure *in Capite*, with all the Burdens and Services annexed to it, was laid as well upon the *Normans* (who were the *Conqueror's*) as upon the suppos'd conquer'd *English*; yet this was done, not by the King alone, but by and with the consent of the Great or Common Council of the Kingdom, as appears by the 55th and 58th of King *William's* Laws cited by the Doctor. And if this Council then consisted only of *Normans*, as he (tho falsely) supposes, then these Laws will make more strongly for vvhat I now assert.

LASTLY, The receiving of this Tenure with all the Services annexed to it, was no Badg of Conquest: for the like were received in *Scotland* about the same time, being introduced by King *Malcolm* the Third, surnamed *Cannmore*, in imitation of what had been not long before done in *England*.

* Lib. 3. cap.
43. Edit.
Oxon.

BUT I confess the greatest part of the *Scotish* Writers make it above Thirty years antienter, and that it was introduced by King *Malcolm* the Second, as is related by * *John Fourdon* their most Antient Historian, who speaking of this *Malcolm*, says, That he was so Liberal, or rather Prodigal in his Gifts, that when after the old custom and manner, he till then held all the Regions and Provinces of the Kingdom in his own Dominion, he then left nothing to himself besides the little Hill on which the Palace of *Seone* was built; where the Kings, sitting on their Royal Thrones, were used to promulgate Laws and Judgments to their Subjects.

* The Mount
of the Plea in
Scotish, the
Mute Hill of
Seone.

BUT tho these *Military* Fees themselves might be thus given to this King, yet that the Services annex'd to them were not so granted, is also related by *Johannes Major*, and *Hector Boethius*, who both agree in this Story, that when King *Malcolm* gave well-nigh all his Lands unto his Nobility in reward of their Services, that they in thankfulness to support his Dignity, regranted unto him, *Wardam*, *Desponsationem*, & *Releviam*, i. e. *Wardship*, and *Marriage* of their Heirs within Age, and *Relief* of those of full Age. The same thing is also asserted by the Laws of this King *Malcolm*, printed in *Skene's Regiam Majestatem Scotia*, where it is said, That * *ad Montem Placiti in Villa de Seona, Omnes Barones concesserunt sibi Wardam & Releviam de Herede*

*

cujus

cujuscunque Baronis defuncti ad sustentationem Domini Regis. But yet for all these splendid Authorities, it must needs be a great Mistake in most of these *Scottish* Historians, and also in the Prologue to those Laws, which says, That this King then had all the Lands of *Scotland* in his own hands: For this is more than *Fordun* himself affirming, who idly expressly tells us, "That antiently the *Scottish* Kings were wont to be "flow upon their Knights or *Military* Tenants, some more or less of "their Lands, being a part or portion of a County or *Thaneship* in "Fee-farm; for at that time the whole Kingdom was divided into "Thaneships, of which the King gave to every man as he pleased: as "to Husbandmen only for term of Years, or else for one or more Lives: "to Gentlemen and Freemen, and to some few of the Chief of these for "ever; yet not so freely, but that they all paid a certain yearly Rent "to the King. All which is very probable, and much the like Customs "and Tenures were used in *England* before the *Conquest*, at least before "the time of King *Knut*, when I suppose they first became *Hereditary*. Yet for all this, not only I, but several Learned Antiquaries and Lawyers do justly doubt, whether there is not a great mistake in these *Scottish* Historians, as also in *Skene*, the Collector and Publisher of the Antient *Scottish* Laws, who attribute this great Alteration to King *Malcolm* the Second, that reign'd above thirty years before our King *William* the First; whereas it should have been indeed *Malcolm* the Third, surnamed *Cannmore*, who govern'd *Scotland* many years before this King's Entrance, and reign'd till some years after his decease. And for this there need no plainer Testimonies than the many *Norman* Words or Phrases that are intermixt amongst those Laws, and which could not have been in use there till they had been first brought in hither by that Nation: as also by the frequent mention of the King's Great Seal; whereas *Edward* the Confessor, who reign'd at the same time, had no Great Seal till toward the latter end of his Reign, and then he borrowed that Custom from *Normandy* where he had so long sojourn'd. The like I may say concerning the large Fees of the Chancellor, for passing of Charters and other Writings, when Money was a very scarce Commodity in *Scotland* as well as here: As also the other Fees there set down for the Justiciary and his Clerks and Coroner, when as yet there were none of these Offices in *England*. And likewise the words, *Amercement*, *Escheats*, *Feoda*, all of *Norman* Original, and not known here till after the time of our *Conquest*; which could never have been of that Antiquity, as is there pretended.

AND indeed I never met with any Learned or Ingenious Gentleman of that Nation, who has not freely own'd the spuriousness of the First, Second, and Third Books of these pretended *Scottish* Laws, which in the Prologue to the First Book are said to have been made by King *Edward*, whom *Skene* in his Annotation will have to be *David* the First. But whoever will maintain, that the Incidents to Knight's Service, such as Wardships, Marriage, &c. were brought into *Scotland* by the free Consent of the *Scottish* Nobility, without any Force, may as well likewise grant that it was also introduced after the same manner in *England*; and I desire the Doctor, or any one else, to assign sufficient reason to the contrary.

I SHALL now conclude this Question with some other Instances produced by the Doctor in this matter, whereby he would prove that all our Tenures and Services are derived from the *Normans*, in which he is not in all places consistent with himself. For tho he

Introd. p. 157. "has granted that the word *Mannor* was derived from the *Normans*,
 "and what the *Saxons* called a *Prædium*, or *Villa*, being an Estate in
 "Land, with the enjoyment of *Soc*, *Sac*, *Tol*, *Tean*, and other Pri-
 "vileges, the *Normans* called *Mannors*, & *Mannors*, because such Pos-
 "sessions were ordinarily the *Soc* of the Lords; yet in the very next
 P. 138. Page he makes a manifest distinction between them: "For (says he)
 "the *Saxon* Jurisdictions had their Origin from the Grants of their
 "Kings; but *Mannors* had their beginning from *Feudal* Law or
 "Rights for whoever could dispose of Fees, might justly give Laws
 "and erect Courts for passing of Estates, and take upon
 "himself all other Privileges merely pertaining to a Noble Fee."
 "BUT here the Doctor is much mistaken in the Matter of Fact;
 for many great Lords and other Tenants held whole Mannors of the
 King by Right of Inheritance before the *Conquest*, as has been prov'd
 in part already, and might be further made out if there were occasion,
 since such inferior Tenants had Court-Barons belonging to their Town-
 ships or Mannors, as well before as after the *Conquest*; and conse-
 quently there was no occasion for this Fancy of the Doctor's, "That
 "it was only from the *Feudal* or *Norman* Law that men could dispose
 "of Fees to their Tenants, give Laws to their Vassals, and erect new
 "Courts for passing Estates. Which is all to no purpose, if the *Eng-
 lish* Lords had as much Power over their Vassals before the *Conquest*
 as after it, and that Court-Barons wherein men pass'd Estates, were
 also in being before that time.

P. 159. "BUT here I desire the Reader further to take notice, that the
 Doctor grants that Fees were then Estates of Inheritance, presently
 after his supposed *Conquest*, else how could the Lords then dispose of
 them? Yet notwithstanding this, in the very next Leaf he recites
 "how his *Conqueror* gave to some of his Followers whole Counties,
 "to others some part of a County, as Hundreds, and several Man-
 "nors and Towns in them; and that these sometimes parcel'd them
 "out to their Dependents and Friends, and they again to theirs, till
 "at last Souldiers and ordinary Men had some proportionable Shares
 "for their Services, tho upon hard Conditions, possessing them for
 "the most part as *Feudataries*, and according to the Rules of the
 "Feudal Law: which as it was the Law for the most part in *Nor-
 manny* as to Possession and Tenure, so was it here in *England*, until
 "by the Indulgence of *Usurpers* to the Great Men, and of them a-
 "gain to the People, their Tenants and Followers, their Tenures be-
 "came more easy, and were changed into Inheritances, both Free
 "and Bond; as they did in *France*, upon the Usurpation of *Hugh
 Capet*, from whom the Doctor dates the Original of *Hereditary* Fees
 "and Baronies in that Kingdom. From which Example, as also from
 "the Histories of *Henry the First*, King *Stephen* and *K. John*, the Doc-
 "tor infers, that the Nobility of those times never lost by advancing
 "Usurpers if they prosper'd; for they always bargained with them
 "for some Flowers of their Crown, and for the bettering their own
 "Condition: And that these Kings above-mention'd, for their own
 "security,

security, were forced to comply with the Demands of Holy Church, and of the Barons that were called in to her Assistance (tho to their own Disadvantage); and besides this way, without doubt many Lords became Free and Hereditary, or their Services made certain by Compact or Agreement between Tenants and Indigent Lords, &c.

FROM all which the Doctor endeavours to prove that Military Feuds were only for Life, and not Inheritable by the Heir all William the First and his Son Rufus's Reigns; but that they were owing to some or all of his Usurpers above-mentioned. Yet, with the Doctor's good leave, I think nothing is more false and precarious than this Assertion, for which he gives no manner of proof: For first it is certain, that as in France, so likewise in Normandy, Feuds were become Hereditary long before Duke William's coming over hither; and however precarious they might be at first, yet it is as certain that they were now become Hereditary in Normandy: and this may appear by the Grand Customier which the Doctor so much insists upon; and in Domesday-Book under Title Gloucester, there is this Entry: *In eodem Feudo de W. habet Willm. de Owe de Comite Radulph de Linco, 50 Curucas. Terra scilicet fidei in Normannia.* From whence it is plain, that supposing (as the Doctor does) Military Fees to be derived from Normandy, yet they were still held here after the same manner as there; and if they were then Hereditary in that Province, they were so likewise in England; since if they were held by Normans, for having assisted King William in this pretended Conquest, sure they would not take Estates upon worse Terms than what were then in use in Normandy. Nor can the Doctor prove, that these Great Followers of King William parcell'd out their Estates to their Dependents and Tenants, whether Normans or English, provided they held by Knights-Service, upon other Conditions than what they themselves held by.

AND that all such Estates did after the death of the Tenant descend to his Heir Male, I shall prove from the first Clause of King Henry the First's Charter; which is thus in Latin.

SI quis Baronum meorum, Comitum, vel aliorum, qui de me Tenent, Mat. Paris. mortuus fuerit, Heres suus non redimet Terram suam sicut facere consuevit tempore Patris mei, sed iuxta & legitimam Relevationem relevabit eam; similiter & homines Baronum meorum legitimam & iuxta Relevationem relevabunt terras suas de Dominis suis. P. 55.

FROM whence it plainly appears, that the Lands held by Knight's Service, and which were to be redeemed as by a reasonable Relief, as well from the King as other Mesne Lords, are here called *Terras suas* (viz.) the Tenant's own Land, and not the King's, or their Lords.

AS for King Stephen's Charter, it only grants and confirms the Rights and Liberties of the Church, which had been much invaded in the times of his Predecessors, unless it be the redress of some unjust Exactions, and Oppressions committed by Sheriffs, and the Encroachments of Forests; but says nothing concerning the Rights and Privileges of Laymen, nor has one word concerning Feudal Estates, or any Relaxation of the rigour of them.

BUT whether King John were an Usurper or not, is not my business now to inquire; only this is certain, that he had one of the Doctor's

P. 254.

Doctor's Signs of a Lawful Successor; for upon his first Accession to the Throne, he granted away none of those things which the Doctor calls *Flowers of the Crown*: and if in the Fifteenth year of his Reign he granted the *Great Charter* of Liberties, it was not till the Barons took up Arms against him, being no longer able to endure the Oppressions they then lay under. Nor is this Charter any more than a Confirmation of that of King *Henry the First*. And *Matthew Paris* tells us, that the Schedule or Draught of the Charter, which the Barons tender'd to King *John*, contain'd for the greatest part the Antient Laws and Customs of the Kingdom; and therefore it could not be by this way that so many Lands became Free and Hereditary; since there is no Clause to be found in all King *John's* Charter that mentions any such thing, or that releases or remits any thing of those Antient Services and Incidents that were formerly due from Lands held by Knight's Service; but only ascertains that *Reliefs* should be paid by the Heirs of the King's Tenants *in Capite*, or their Inferior Tenants upon the death of their Ancestors.

'TIS true, this Charter takes away also several Abuses and Oppressions which were introduced by the King upon his Tenants *in Capite*, and by them (after the King's Example) upon their Under-Tenants and Vassals: So that this Clause in King *John's* Charter, whereby if any Freeman died Intestate, his Goods are to be distributed by his Kindred and Friends, with the oversight of the Church, is but a more particular affirmation of the like Clause in King *Henry the First's* Charter, which provides, that if any of his Barons died Intestate, his Wife, Children, or next Kindred, should divide his Mony, or other Moveables for the good of his Soul.

* Lib. i. Feud.
Tit. 8.

NOR is the Doctor's Gloss upon this Law at all true, when he would infer from this Clause in * *Hottoman, De Feudo Testamenti nulla est Factio*; i. e. There is no making a Testament concerning a Feud; that therefore a Feudal Tenant could make no Will at all, since it is plain this Law extends only to the Feud it self, which could not be dispos'd by Testament. But what is this to Goods or Mony? And I desire the Doctor to shew me how either of these could be held by Knight's Service; and therefore tho I do not dispute, but that in *Henry the Second's* time, when † *Glanvil* wrote, the practice might be that when any Tenant died Intestate, the King or Lord seized his Goods and Chattels; yet certainly this was but an Abuse, and could not be justified by Law or Equity; and therefore was, among other Grievances, justly redress'd by King *John's* Charter.

† Vid. lib. 7.
c. 16.

BUT as for the rest of the Base Tenures here mention'd by the Doctor, such as *Burgage*, i. e. Lands held in *Burroughs* according to the Custom thereof, tho it be true we have had them here ever since the *Conquest*, yet that they were here before too is also as certain, as may appear from *Doomsday-Book*, and other Antient Treatises of later date. And the like I may say concerning the Tenures of *Soccage* and *Burdage*; which last was (says the Doctor) a drudging servile Tenure of carrying Burdens, and Sacks of Corn, &c. which for ought I know had a different signification: and tho the Lands so held could neither be sold nor mortgaged, and that the like Tenures were also in *Normandy*, yet nothing is more certain, than that they were also here before the *Conquest*: and it may be proved by several Passages in the

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Saxon Laws; for such *Cearls* or Husbandmen, were the Lords *Sackmen*, i. e. Ploughmen, and held their Lands at the Will of their Lord, by doing servile Works about his own Demesnes.

BUT as for such as held in *Free Socage*, as the Tenants by *Gavelkind* in *Kent*, tho the like Tenure might be found in several Vicounties in *Normandy*, especially that of *Bayeux*, where *Odo*, made Earl of *Kent* by the Conqueror, was Bishop, and whence (as the Doctor supposes) it might be brought by him into *Kent*; yet this is a mere Fancy, for Sir Henry Spelman calls it, *Prisca Anglorum consuetudo Germania delata*. And Mr. Somner, as well as other Authors who have written on this Subject, do allow that it was here long before the Conquest, and is an evident proof that King William did not dispose of all the Land in *England*, since so large a County as this did, for the most part retain its Antient Tenure by *Socage*, which was also before the Conquest the general Law or Custom of all Lands that were not held by Military Service.

FOR *Glanvil* tells us, That where the Inheritance is divideable among the Sons, it is *Socage*, &c. Lib. 7. c. 3.

I HAVE now dispatched this Great Question about Tenures, and the Incidents belonging to them. I shall in the next place say something concerning such Instances as the Doctor brings from his sure Author * *Gervase of Tilbury* so often cited by him, who relates, "That the Court of *Exchequer* was erected by K. William, in imitation of one of the same Name and Kind, which was instituted in *Normandy* by Duke *Rollo*; and that the Authority of this Court was at first so Great, that no man might contradict any Sentence pronounced therein: and not only the Law and Affairs concerning all the Great Baronies of *England*, and all such Estates as held in *Capite*, were transacted there, but many other Laws or Rights were discussed, and Doubts determined: for, says *Gervase*, the excellent knowledge of the *Exchequer* consists, not in Accounts only, but in multiplicity of Judgments. And the Doctor adds, That *Common-Pleas* were usually held in this Court until the Eighth and twentieth of *Edward the First*, * when it was enacted that no *Common-Pleas* should be henceforth held in the *Exchequer*, contrary to the Form of the *Great Charter*. * Lib. I. c. 14.

IN this Court sat the Capital Justiciary, the Chancellor, Treasurer, and as many of the most discreet, greatest and knowing Men (real Barons) whither of the Clergy or Laity, as the King pleased to direct. * Vid. Artic. Super Chanc. c. 4. 2. Instit. p. 550.

SO that the Business of this Court was not only Accounts, and what belonged to them, but to decree Right, and determine doubtful Matters which arose upon incident Questions; to hold *Common-Pleas*, and to judge what chiefly concern'd all *Capite Lands*, and the Great Baronies of *England*.

THE Great Officers and other Great Men that sat here, were all *Normans*, or of *Norman* Extraction, which probably neither well understood or spake the *English* Tongue; much less had they time to learn, know, or understand the Common Law of *England*, being then, and ever since the Conquest, *Lex non Scripta*, but divinely cast into the Heart of Man, as Sir *Edward Coke* affirms: for

" unless

" unless they received it this way by Inspiration, how could Judgments be made, and Sentence given in this Court by any other than the *Norman Law* ?

I HAVE transcribed *verbatim* all that the Doctor has said considerable on this Head, because I confess it is one of the best and strongest Instances he has to prove the great Use of the *Norman Laws* in *England*. Therefore, in the first place, I shall not deny that the Court of *Exchequer* was of a *Norman* Original; and I have already acknowledged, that all Pleadings there, as well as in the King's own Court, were then, and for divers Ages after, in the *French Tongue*; yet does it not follow that this Court of *Exchequer* was erected by King *William's* 10th Authority, tho perhaps the first Judges and Barons that sat there might have been *Normans*. But as concerning those Incidents and Burdens that then lay upon the Tenants by *Military Service*, viz. *Wardship*, *Marriage* of the Heir, &c. tho they might have been derived from *Normandy*, yet how small a Member they were of that Great Body of the Law of *England*, I have already observed.

AND tho I grant *Common-Pleas* were often tryed in this Court of *Exchequer*, between other Persons than the King's own Tenants *in Capite*, yet that this was an Inroad upon the Ancient Law of *England*, appears by the 25th Law of *Henry the First*, which expressly provides, That if there arise a *Plea* between the Tenants of any of the Barons that have *Socage* (that is, Suit of Court) the *Plea* was to be determin'd in the Court of their own Lord of Common Right; and if it were between the Tenants of two Lords, having such a *Socage*, then the Defendant was to answer in the Court of his own Lord only.

THUS it was in all Suits arising between the Tenants of several Lords; but if any Difference arose between two Barons or Tenants *in Capite*, or between the *Vassals*, or *Mesne-Tenants* of such Barons, this King has also determin'd that Question in his Charter directed to *Sampson* Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Urso*, or *Urse* the Sheriff of that Shire, which you will find in * *Sir H. Spelman's Glossary*, and which is also cited by Dr. B. in his † Preface to his History, wherein the King commands, That all County and Hundred-Courts should sit and be held as in the time of King *Edward*. And then after some other Clauses follows this, *Et si quando exurgat Placitum de divisione Terrarum, si interest Barones meos Dominicos, tractetur Placitum in Curia mea; & si inter Vassallos dñorum Dominorum, tractetur in Comitatu, &c.*

WHENCE it is evident, that all Suits or Pleas between Inferior Lords and their Tenants, were to be tryed either in the Courts Baron, or else in those of the Counties, and were not to be brought up into the King's Court, unless the *Plea* or Suit was between the King's own Barons or Tenants *in Capite*.

SO that all this being consider'd, the Judges of the King's own Courts, whether of the *King's Bench* or *Exchequer*, needed not to have then understood the Common Law of *England*, any further than the ordinary Grounds or Principles of it, in which a *Norman* Nobleman or Lawyer, who did not understand the *English Tongue*, might be as easily instructed by Tradition, or word of Mouth,

* P. 302.

Col. 2.

† P. 143, 144.

as if the Laws had been then written in *English-Saxon*.

AND tho I do not approve of the Lord Chief Justice Coke's pedantick Expression, of his *Lex non Scripta*, being divinely cast into the Heart of Man, which the Doctor deservedly ridicules; yet for all this, sure it had been as easy for these Norman Judges to have learn'd the Laws of England by the Tradition of others, as it was for the same Persons to have come to the knowledge of the Laws and Customs of Normandy, which were then likewise unwritten Laws, and so continued for near one hundred and fifty years after, till the beginning of our King Henry the Third's Reign, when they were collected into one Body by order of King Philip Augustus, after he had united Normandy to the Crown of France.

THEREFORE I cannot see how the Doctor makes good his Conclusion, that tho the English and Norman Laws were in great part the same before the Conquest, yet that the bulk or main of them were brought over hither from Normandy by the Conqueror.

BUT as for the rest of his Instances which he pretends to bring from the Country last mention'd; and in prose which he runs over the whole Book called the *Grand Customier*, which he compares with the First Treatise of our English Laws, written by that Learned Juristituary *Glanvil*, and would thence infer, that because the Customs and Law-proceedings used in England when that Author wrote, appear in many particulars to be the same, especially in the Form or executive Part concerning Writs; yet is this no proof that all these Laws and Customs must have been derived from Normandy, since they might have been as well transmitted from hence thither; as I shall prove from Arguments that shall be given you by and by.

BUT in the first place I shall not, with * Sir Edward Coke, make use of the Authority of *William de Rouil*, who in his Preface to his Comment to the *Grand Customier*, says, from the History called *Chronica Chyronicorum*, that our Edward the Confessor was the Author of these Customs to Normandy; for I shall so far agree with the Doctor, as to allow all that Story for mere Fable or Romance; and only I shall make this Inference from it, that when this Author (who was himself a Norman) wrote, it was so far from being known or believed in Normandy, that their Laws were first brought over into England by the Conqueror, that to the contrary they thought them to have been appointed by Edward the Confessor, when he sojourned with in that Province.

BUT to come more closely to the Matter in dispute; it is no sufficient Argument to alledge, as the Doctor does, from a Parity of our Law-proceedings in forcible Entries, Hue and Cry, Appeals, or Suits of Robbery, Laws of Sanctuary, Simple and Personal, Plaints, Briefs, or Writs of *Navel-Diffessor*, and *Mort-D'ancestor*; with other Writs and Process, being the same with those in Normandy; that therefore they were all borrowed from thence.

I GRANT the Doctor has made a very laborious Comparison between the *Grand Customier* and our Antient Law-Books, *Glanvil* and *Bracton*, in these Particulars; yet can he not for all this pains assure us, that the Norman Body of Laws or Customs, is as antient as the time of the Conqueror, or his Son *Rufus*, without which supposition all the Doctor's Instances will prove insignificant: for I think it may

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be shewn that even these *Norman* Customs and Writs received great Alterations and Additions from those of *England* between his *Conquest* and the loss of *Normandy*, in the Reign of King *John*; and this I shall endeavour to prove from these Considerations.

FIRST, That after the *Conquest* *Normandy* remain'd a *Federal* *Dutchy*; and was but a small Province in comparison of *England*; and became as it were an *Appendix* to it, being an Independent Kingdom: and the Kings of *England* having the Seat of their Government here while they continued Dukes of *Normandy*, by this means that Province must receive a greater influence as to its Laws and Government from *England*; than *Normandy* could have upon it; inasmuch that there issued oftentimes Precepts into *Normandy* to summon Persons to answering Civil Causes here in *England*; and that even for Lands and Possessions in *Normandy*: as to instance in a Precept to the Seneschal of *Normandy*, to summon one Robert a *Norman* to answer John *Mareschal* in a Plea of Land, giving him Forty days warning; to which the Tenant appear'd, and pleaded a Recovery had in *Normandy*. The like we find in the Case of *William de Bosc* against *Geoffrey Raffen* for Land in *Contest* in *Normandy*; which plainly proves a dependance of that Province upon *England*, whilst it continued annexed to this Crown.

* Vid. Placita MSS. in R. Joh. in Bib. Hospit. Lincoln.

SECONDLY, That a much greater conformity of Laws arose after the supposed *Conquest*; and that not so much by an assimilation of the Laws of *England* to those of *Normandy*, as by those to ours, which gradually encreas'd to a greater height of Perfection, between the beginning of the Reign of King *Henry the First*, and the latter end of *Henry the Second*, during all which time *Normandy* was appendant to *England*; so that many Writs and Law-proceedings might be sent from hence and transmitted thither, and be afterwards inserted into their *Grand Customier*: Which will yet more plainly appear, if we compare that Treatise of *Glanvil* (cited by the Doctor) with that Book last mention'd; in which you will find many Words and Law-Terms the very same with those in our Ancient *English* Laws; such as are *Namps* for a Distress, in the first Book of this *Customier*. There is a whole Chapter concerning the manner of taking these *Namps* or Distresses; which word being wholly of an *English-Saxon* Original (as Sir *Henry Spelman* in his *Glossary* allows) shews that it could never have been borrowed from *Normandy*.

* Vid. cap. 7.

SO that it seems more probable, that by their study or imitation of our *English* Law-Proceedings, or rather by the Authority of our Kings, the *Norman* Laws might arrive to the same Form and Perfection there, as they did in *England* in the same Period of Time, viz. in the Reign of *Henry the First* and *Second*, *Richard the First*, and *K. John*, especially in this last King's Reign: For if any man do but compare the *Customier* of *Normandy* with that Treatise of *Glanvil*, he will most plainly find the Tract of the *Norman* Laws to have followed that Pattern, and to have been written long after it, when the *English* Laws were yet more refin'd and perfected: For it is certain, beyond all contradiction, that the Collection of the Customs and Laws of *Normandy* was long after the time of *Richard I.* for it mentions his Coronation, and appoints that Period for a limitation of *Actions Ancestral*; nay, that it was after the actual Settlement of the *Dutchy* of *Normandy* in the

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Crown of *France*; for, it appears that this appointing the Coronation of King *Richard the First* for the limitation of real Actions, was settled by *Philip Augustus King of France*, after his full possession of the Duchy of *Normandy*. And *Renault* in his Preface to the *French Notes* to the Reformed *Customs of Normandy*, printed at *Beauvais* 1660, lays expressly, That these Customs were not put in writing till the beginning of the Reign of *St. Louis*, when it was drawn into the Form we now have it, by a certain Advocate or Practitioner in the Laws, whom he either does not, or else cannot name.

To conclude: if the Laws, Customs, and Legal Proceedings of that Province (instanced in by the Doctor) could be proved to have been a Collection of the Ancient Laws used there before the coming of Duke *William* into *England*; it might have been a plain proof indeed, that their Laws being so like ours, were translated from them to us. But the Case is quite otherwise; the *Grand Coutume* is but a Collection of the Laws and Customs of *Normandy*, after the Reigns of King *Henry the Second*, *Richard the First*, and King *John*; and indeed in *Henry the Third's* time, when it had received several Additions and Emendations, under the Kings above mentioned, who were most of them assisted with a Council of such as well knew the *English Laws*. And as in part of this time, the Law Proceedings in *England* had received a great Advance and Perfection, as appears by that excellent Collection of *Glanvil* above-mentioned, when yet they were above Twenty years more to come, wherein they might have acquired a farther improvement, before *Normandy* was lost; so from these *English Laws* thus modell'd, polished and perfected, the same Draught was copied upon the *Norman Laws and Customs*, which received their fairest Lines from those of *England*, as they stood in the beginning of King *John's* time, and so were in a great measure but a scanty Collection of the *English Laws*, and indeed a Transcript of them, especially as to the Forms relating to Legal Process, the mingled with their own *Norman* particular Laws and Customs, which altered the Features of the Original in many places.

THIS, with a great deal more to the same effect, the Reader may find in a Manuscript Treatise of the late most Learned Lord Chief Justice *Hale*, intituled, *The History and Analysis of the Laws of England*; from which I have borrowed the Sense (tho not the very words) of all that is considerable upon this Head concerning the Original of our *English Laws*, and for their Vindication against the supposition of their being wholly of a *Norman* Extraction.

NOW who the Reader thinks most to be relyed upon for the Antiquity and Original of our *English Laws*, those Learned Judges, Sir *Edward Coke* and Sir *Matthew Hale*, who had made it great part of their Business to inquire into and understand them; or a Doctor who coming late to the study of these Matters, and only *transfuge* from another Profession, hath slightly run over some few Books belonging to this; I shall leave to his Judgment to determine.

BUT I shall now conclude with something of my own, in answer to the rest of the Doctor's small Cavils, from what * Sir *Edward Coke* hath said upon this Subject; who because he calls Original Writs the Foundation on which our Law dependeth, the Doctor thereupon

*Preface to his
8th Report.
Comment on
Littleton, §.
101. p. 73.

fully concludes, that then certainly the Foundations and Principles of our Laws and the Norman Laws are very little, if any thing at all different; and then he proceeds to triumph over Sir Edward, for being too credulous of the Authority of *Will. de Revil*, who falsely supposes that King *Edward the Confessor* was the maker or giver of these Customs to the Normans.

* P. 64, 65.

Vid. *Placita*
in *lib.*
Hospit. Lin.
c. 10.

BUT the Doctor himself is still to prove, that these very Writs and Laws were framed in *Normandy* in the same manner as they are found in the *Grand Custumier* above cited, as also in our Ancient Law-Books, *Gloucester*, *Bracton*, &c. and that before the time of his Conquest. and I would ask him how he can be sure that Mr. *Lambard* is in the right, when he says in his *Archeion*, that the Saxons Judicial Proceedings were all *Placita*, without any Form or Solemnity; and that therefore, so far as he could observe, they did not use to call the Parties by any Writ or Writing, but to send for them by certain Messengers whom they termed *Troth* (or perhaps rather *Theows*, or *Thegns*, that is, Ministers or Servants, as the Doctor observes.) Yet this seems only to be *ipse dixit*; for it is very hard for any body to suppose, how these Messengers could tell the Party that was to be summoned, what was the ground of the Suit, or for what Cause he was to appear, it being almost as impossible, for the Defendant to have been able to make his Defense without some Writing briefly setting forth the Cause of the Complaint.

BUT this the Doctor's Reason to the contrary very material, viz. That if there had been the same Forms of Writs, and the same formality in Law-proceedings before the Conquest as after, and at this day, they would have been found in Books somewhere reserved, in one Monastery or other; or they would have been delivered from one to another, and preserved by Tradition, as well as the very Common Laws and Customs themselves, which were *per nos* *Scriptum*, as all the Patrons of the Antiquity of our Law affirm. But this I think may be easily answered; for tho I grant the same formality of Law-Proceedings might not be in use under the Saxon Kings as afterward, yet that they had no Forms of Writs, or other written Legal Process before the Conquest, I cannot believe: Nor does it follow from the Doctor's Reasons that they had none, because then they would have been found in some of our Abbey-Books; since they might have been either lost at the dissolution of the Abbeys, or else might never have been preserved by the Monks themselves, who not being the Clerks, or makers out of such Legal Process, it was not their business to transcribe them: and as for their being preserved by Tradition, because the Common Laws themselves were so, that is a very forced Inference, since every one that understands any thing of our Laws, knows very well, that tho the Rules and Maxims of Law, which depend either upon its own, or else the general Reason of Mankind, may be easily enough remembered and delivered by Tradition; yet Writs and Pleadings (being matters of Form) could not be so, and therefore we have had a *Register of Writs*, beyond all time of Memory. And the Lord Chief Justice Coke reports, that he had seen a Copy of it as ancient as the Reign of Henry the Second. And as for the Writ of *Withernam*, i. e. to have satisfaction for a Distress, carried into a Castle or other inclosed place, Sir Henry Spelman in his *Glo-*

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jury (under that word) tells us, that it appears by the name to have been an Antient Writ of a Saxon Original; and if so, the English-Saxons had then written Forms of Process before the Conquest, *quod erat demonstrandum*.

I SHALL pass by several other of the Doctor's less Errors and Mistakes, as when he will needs have Tenancy by the Curtesy of England, to be one of the Customs derived from Normandy; and he might make use of the same Argument for Scotland too, since the like Custom is there also, without owing its Original to France. So likewise because he finds the Law-Terms and Vacations to have been much the same here as in Normandy, therefore these also must have been derived from thence. But how far the Doctor is mistaken in this Assertion, I refer him to Sir H. Spelman's Learned Discourse of the Original of the Four Terms, lately printed at Oxford in the *Reliquiæ Spelmanianæ*, wherein he may see that these Terms appointed for Law-Proceedings and the following Vacations, and they were in great part derived from the Canon-Law, yet received their sanction here from the Laws of King *Æthelstan*, *Knut*, and *Edward the Confessor*, and confirmed by King *William the First*: Which last particularly sets out the time of the Vacations from Law-business, and consequently the rest of the Year was appointed for Terms. Nor do the Laws of King *Henry the First* make any alteration in this matter; and *Henry the Second* expressly ratified the Laws of *Edward the Confessor*, and *William the Conqueror*, as *Florentin* tells us, saying, *That he did it by the Advice of Ranulph Glanvil, then newly made Justiciary of England*. And this seems to be true, for *Glanvil* doth accordingly make some of his Writs returnable in *October*, or *clausa Pasche*, where the Laws of *Edward the Confessor* appoint the end of *Last Vacation*: and so it continued for divers Ages, till such time as these Terms came by degrees to be shortened by divers Acts of Parliament, to what they are at this day.

* Vid. Leges
Ed. Conf. c. 9.
Sect. 2.

I HAVE now dispatched the Doctor's Arguments on this Subject: I come next to his Authorities, great part of which have been answered already; yet I confess there is one considerable one, that requires somewhat to be said to it; and it is from * *Edmerus*, who writes, "That King *William* designing to establish in England those Usages and Laws which his Ancestors and he had observed in Normandy, caused such Persons to be made Bishops, Abbots, and other Principal men through the whole Nation, who could not be thought so unworthy as to be guilty of any Reluctancy or Disobedience to them, knowing by whom and to what they were raised: All divine and humane Things he ordered at his pleasure. Then after the Historian hath recounted, in what things he even disallowed the Authority of the Pope and the Arch-Bishop, he concludes thus; But what he did in Secular Matters, I forbear to write, because it is not to my purpose, and also because any one may, from what hath been delivered in Divine Matters, easily guess what he did in Secular.

* Hist. Novor.
fol. 6. n. 10,
20, 30.

THO I cannot deny the Testimony of so grave an Author, and also must own that the Government of this King was very Absolute and Arbitrary, especially towards the latter end of his Reign; yet does not *Edmerus* here say, that King *William* established in England all those Laws and Customs which were observed in Normandy, only that he design'd or intended to do so; and to that end made those Bishops

Bishops and Abbots above-mention'd : but it is not what he design'd to do, but what he actually did that can determine this Matter ; for

* Edit. Oxon.
p. 71.

* *Ingulph* also tells us, " He likewise design'd to destroy the *English* Tongue, and to that end commanded that the Laws of the Land, and Statutes of our *English* Kings should be handled or pleaded in *French*; and that Boys should be taught at School their first Rudiments of Grammar in *French*, and not in *English*, and yet he could never compass that Design. And the *English* Tongue continued still the same, with very little mixture of *French* words, till the Reigns of *Edward the First*, and *Richard the Second*, as any one may observe by that *Writ* or Proclamation in old *English*, of the 13^d of *Henry the Third* at the end of this Volume; and which is also printed in Mr. *Somner's Saxon Dictionary*. Title, *Utrum deo vol. consider.* Or if he will but take the pains to compare the old *Manuscript* History of *Robert of Gloucester* in *Verse*, he will see by what degrees the *French* Tongue came to be intermix'd with our *Modern English*.

Vid. Append.
n. 9.

BUT since the Doctor has given us one Authority for his Opinion, I shall give him another for mine; which is from an Author of undoubted Credit, who wrote within 80 years after this suppos'd Alteration of the *English* Laws, and therefore might very well understand the truth of Matters of Fact, either from his own knowledge, or the relation of others; and it is *Henry of Huntingdon*, who in his Prologue to the 5th Book of his History, after he has related the several Plagues that had fallen upon *Britain* by the Invasion of Strangers, makes this difference between the Conquest of the *Saxons*, and that of the *Normans* over *England*. Of the former he says thus, That the *Saxons* gaining the Country by War, kept what they had obtain'd, built upon it, and govern'd it by Laws: And also the *Normans* quickly subduing the Land, granted to the Vanquished, Life, Liberty, and the Antient Laws of the Kingdom, as of * Right, of which things he had already spoken: And then goes on to compare how far the *Danes* exceeded all those that had gone before or follow'd after them in Cruelty and Barbarity, which Parallel being nothing to our purpose, I shall here pass by; only I think there can be nothing more express than this Testimony, that the greatest part of the Laws of *England* remain'd unaltered, notwithstanding this pretended Conquest.

* De jure.

BUT this leads me to answer another considerable Objection, that there cannot be a greater Evidence of the real Conquest of any Nation than this, viz. " That the Laws (and particularly those of King *William*) in *Ingulph*; as also all Proceedings and Pleadings in the Superior Courts, were from this time in the *French* and *Norman* Tongue, till the 36th of K. *Edward the Third*, when it was alter'd by a Statute; as also that most of our Antient Law-Books and Reports are in that Language. Now the same Power that instituted so great an Alteration, either did, or else might have changed all the Laws themselves, if they had pleased.

IN answer to which, I must in the first place observe (as I have done before) that it is not what this King might, or would have done, but what he actually performed, that ought to be the Subject of this Dispute: for tho I cannot deny that King *William* acted in many things like a Conqueror, yet it being done contrary to his own Stipulation and Oath, it could never justly give him that Title, according to

The Introduction.

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the right acceptation of that word. But to answer the Matter of Fact, I grant, that the last Body of Laws of this King's are in old *Norman-French*; and it seems necessary that they should be so, or else how could the *Normans* (so many of whom were then in *England*) well understand them? Yet without doubt they were also proclaimed in the County-Courts, where the Laws were then usually publish'd in the *English-Saxon* Tongue, or else how could the *English* have been oblig'd to observe them? Nor indeed is this single Instance of any considerable force, if you please to remember, that the Laws of King *Edward*, confirm'd by King *William* (as I have already mention'd) were written in *Latin*, and not in *French*; as were also that Body of Laws of this King granted by way of a * Charter. The like I may say concerning those of his Successor's: for all our Antient Laws and Statutes, from the Reign of King *Henry the First* to the Statute of *Westminster I.* which was made in the third year of King *Edward the First*, are drawn up in *Latin*, and none of them in *French*; as are also all their Charters, except some few of the three First *Norman* Kings, which are either written in *English-Saxon* alone, or in *Latin* with the *English* Version under them: Of both which sorts there are several yet remaining in the *Cottonian* Library, as also in that at *Lambeth*; besides what belonged to several Cathedrals, and to the City of *London*, and other Antient Cities; none of which are in the old *French*, as most certainly they would have been, had those Kings intended to destroy the *English* Tongue, and introduce the *Norman* in the room of it.

* It is at the end of his Reign in *English*, and in the Appendix in *Latin*, N. 1.

I COME now to the next Instance of our Pleadings, viz. Law-Books and Law-Reports, being most of them written in old *French*. As to the First, viz. the Pleadings, I have said enough already, and prov'd they were only in use in the King's own Court (now called the *Kings-Bench*) or else in the *Exchequer*; but that in Inferior Courts in the Country, where far the greater part of the Law-business of the Kingdom was dispatched, it was otherwise.

BUT to say somewhat of our Antient Law-Books being written in *Norman-French*, it is a great mistake; for the Antientest we have, viz. *Glanvill*, *Bracton*, and *Fleta*, are in *Latin*: the First that we can find in *French* being *Bezon*, and *Horn's Mirror of Justice*, both which were written in the time of *Edward the First*, when I grant it became very much the fashion to write, not only our Laws in *French*, but our very Parliament Rolls of *Edward the Third*, and great part of *Richard the Second's* Reign in that Language. But this could not be the Effect of the *Norman* Conquest, since our Writers did not make use of it till above a hundred and fifty years after that time; and besides, *Normandy* had long since lost its Dependence upon *England*; therefore this must be ascribed to some other Cause, and not to that; nor is the *French*, in which our Laws and Law-Books were written, the *Norman* Dialect, (* for that was very rude and unpolished) but pure *French*, such as was then spoke in those parts of *Aquitain* and *Poitou*, which were at that time under the *English* Dominion; and with which Countries, not only our Kings, but many of our Nobility and Gentry then had a great Interest and Correspondence, both by reason of their attending our Kings so often thither in their Warlike Expeditions, as also by their Great Estates in those Parts. So that *French* was

* vid. the old Laws of William the First, at the end of Ingulph's History, Edit. Oxon.

the common Language of the Court of England; not only in King William and his Son's Reigns, but also in those of all his Successors down to King Henry the Sixth, when the French conquer'd all the Territories that were remaining to our Kings in France.

* In Bib. Cox.
son.

FOR the proof of which, as also to divert the Reader after so much dry Matter, I shall give you these following Verses from * Robert of Gloucester's Manuscript History in old English, where speaking of the Normans not long after the Conquest, he has this Passage.

*Normans ne coude than speke, but their own Speche,
But Franche as thei did in Flaunde here Children teche:
So that best men of this Lande, that of here blood came
Holden all thair Speche, that thei of them name:
For if a man son be Franche, men selle of them right late,
But Loue men holden Engliche here kind Speche zate.
I wene in the world be a Lande, neither Countrey none,
That ne holden his kind Speche but Englande alone.
But men wote well so comen both good and ill,
For the more men canne, the more they bin worthy I wis.*

AND thus also was one main reason why the Pleadings in the Courts at Westminster continued so long in the French Tongue, since it was then generally understood not only by Lawyers, but by all People of any Quality; inasmuch that in the Reign of Edward the First it was a sufficient Exception against a Juryman returned to appear at Westminster, that he did not understand French: and therefore if the Pleadings in the Courts above were in that Language, it must follow that the Reports of the Cases there pleaded, and adjudged, should be so too; so that indeed that Language became (as I may say) so appropriated to our Laws, that long after the Pleadings began to be in English, yet our Books of Reports of the Arguments used in all Causes and Trials at Westminster were still written in French till the time of our late Civil Wars. Which being a true History of this Matter, it plainly shews, that the writing of so many of our Law Books and Reports in French, is not owing to the pretended Conquest, but to divers other Causes.

SO that I think we may safely conclude with what the Sages of our Law generally maintain, that the Common Law of England being *Jus non Scriptum*, was a Law before it was reduced to writing, and consequently might be learn'd by Tradition and Experience, as well as by Reading, and cannot be properly said to be learn'd from any one Language, since our Judges are not tied up to the bare Words or Expressions of any Law-Case or Precedent, but ought to take the Principles and Reasons of the Law as their only Rule and Guide in all their Sentences and Judgments.

AND that the Laws of England were anciently look'd upon as Traditional, I have the Authority of the first Writer in that Profession, viz. Glanville, who in his Preface to his Book says thus, *Leges antiquae Anglicanae, licet non scriptae, Leges appellari, non videtur ab antiquis, &c.*

AND now having dispatched the most difficult part of my Task concerning the Original of our Common Laws, I shall next proceed

to instance in some Statutes, or Penal Laws enacted by King *William* the *First*: which being more severe than those of his Predecessors, may seem to speak him a Conqueror.

THE *First* is recorded by * *Henry of Huntingdon*, That if any one had kill'd another for any Cause whatsoever, he was liable to Sentence of Death. But in this our Author is mistaken, for this Law was only extended against Willful-murder, not to other Manlaughters, as any Man may see that will consult the 8th Law of this King in the *French Tongue*, where he will find the *Werg*, or Price of a Man's Life, was there set at much the same rate as under the *English-Saxon* Kings. * L. 6. §. 212.

THE *Second* is found among the Laws of King *William*, as also in the same Author, That he that ravished any Woman, should be deprived of his *Genitals*.

THE *Third* is in the *Saxon Chronicle*, and *Matthew Paris*, That whoever kill'd a Deer of any kind, within the King's Forest, should lose his Eyes. Most of which Penalties, tho I grant that they were made more severe than they were under the *English-Saxon* Government, yet might for several good Reasons (now unknown to us) be increased so. But this Penalty concerning killing of Deer being found too cruel, was afterwards by his Successors turn'd into a *Pecuniary Mult*.

† aliquem scilicet
p[ri]nted for
aliquam.

THERE is likewise another Law of this King's related by * *Po-lydore Virgil*, called the Law of *Coverseu*, viz. That at the ringing of a Bell at Night, all Light and Fire in every House should be put out, or at least so concealed as not to be seen. Which Law, tho we do not find it expressly in any other Author, as I will not dispute the truth of it, so neither will this, nor the rest of the Laws above-mention'd, make him a Conqueror; since it cannot be proved that he enacted those Laws by his own sole Authority, without the consent of the *Great Council* of the Kingdom, and they did as well extend to the victorious *Normans*, as to the conquer'd *English*. And as for the last Law of *Coverseu*, I look upon it only as a temporary Edict, which continued no longer at the most, than during this King's and his Son *Rufus*'s Reigns: For *William of Malmesbury* tells us, That * as soon as King *Henry the First* came to the Crown, one of the first Reformation he made, was the restoring the use of Lights in the night-time in his Court, which had been intermitted in the time of his Brother: Which shews, that if this was any Badge of Conquest, it was worn as well by the *Normans* of his own Family, as by the vanquish'd *English*. * P. 156.

BUT the greatest Instance of this King's Arbitrary Power, seems to have been the reviving of that Tax, called *Danegeld*, which *Inguilph* says was remitted by King *Edward the Confessor*. But as I will not deny the Authority of a Writer who lived in that very Time, so neither will its being revived by King *William*, make him a Conqueror, since it might be regrant'd by some Law now lost; or if he did it otherwise, will this prove him a Conqueror any more than several of our Kings their raising Money contrary to Law, when they thought they had any necessity for it, and found their Parliaments would not grant them the Taxes they demanded. Nor can we find that he ever imposed this, but when he thought the Nation was in danger by Foreign Invasions, or that his Wars with *France* required it. And this Tax was continued during the Reigns of all his Successors, as far as King

King Stephen: which may serve to interpret a Passage in *William of Malmesbury*, whereby it seems, as if *William Rufus* had by his own sole Authority impos'd a Tax upon the Nation; when this Author speaking of *Ranulph* the King's Clerk (who was afterwards by him made Bilhop of *Darham*) says thus: *U. quando Eastum Regium processisset ut nominatum Tributum Anglie penderet, auxilium adiecit*; i. e. When the King's Edict went forth, that *England* should pay the Tribute at self upon it, he (this *Ranulph*) added twice as much more; that is, (if this Author may be credited in a thing so unlikely) *Ranulph* having the drawing up of the King's Edict, or Proclamation for raising this Tax of *Danegeld*, made the Sum first agreed on twice as much, there being at that time no stated Rule appointed how much should be paid for every Hyde of Land in *England*, it being sometimes after the rate of one Shilling, sometimes two Shillings, and sometimes six Shillings per Hyde, which is the highest Sum I can find; it being mention'd in an additional Clause in *Hoveden's* Copy of *Edward the Confessor's* Laws, to have been once raised by *William Rufus* to six Shillings, when the Barons of *England* assisted him with a great Sum of Money to purchase the Duchy of *Normandy* of his Brother Duke *Robert*. And it was afterwards levied during the Reign of his Brother *Henry the First*; tho not annually, as *Dr. Brady* would have it, for it was never so in his Father's time, but only occasionally, when the fear of Invasions or Foreign Wars required it; and for this I refer him to his own Author * *Gervase of Tilbury*.

* Cap. 29.

I SHALL but lightly mention some other Customs rather than Laws, which tho they might have been derived from *Normandy*, yet does it not therefore prove they were any Badges of Conquest, such as were Tryal by Duel or Combat, which in Criminal Cases an *English* man (if he were Defendant) might refuse, and be tried by the old *English* way of Ordeal, as may appear by the 70 and 71 Laws of King *William the First*, as they are found in the *Cambridge* Edition. To which I may also add the use of Seal'd Deeds or Charters, and without which they should not be good; as also the use of the *French* as well as the *Saxon* Character in Books and Writings, which, as *Inglulph* tells us, are derived from the *Normans*. And I may further add the making of Soccage Land inheritable by the eldest Son only, whereas before, as well as some time after the Conquest, they were to be divided among all the Sons alike; and that it continued so to the end of *Henry the Second's* Reign, appears by *Glanvil* in his 7th Book, cap. 3. Nor were the Soccage Lands of *England* so small and inconsiderable in quantity, in respect of that which was held by Knight's Service, as *Dr. Brady* represents it; since besides the King's own Demesnes, a great part of the Lands belonging to Cathedral Churches, Abbeys and Temporal Lords, were held by the Tenure of Free as well as Base Soccage, or mere Service of the Plough. And of these Lands the Doctor does not disown the *English* to have held a sufficient share after the Conquest, as well as the *Normans*.

I COME now to treat of the last Argument, whereby those of the contrary Opinion would prove, that King *William the First* held this Kingdom by the Right of Conquest, viz. his disposing of the Crown of *England* to his younger Son *William Rufus* by his last Will and Testament, in prejudice of *Robert* his Eldest.

I CONFESS that Dr. Brady does no where make use of this Argument to prove King William's Right by Conquest, because in his exact * History of the Succession of the Crown, he all along supposes ^{* Introd. to old Engl. Hist. p. 263.} that the English-Saxon Kings had an absolute inherent Right to dispose of the Crown by their Testaments to whom they pleas'd; and that William Duke of Normandy, by the Will or Donation of King Edward the Confessor, was thereby lawful Heir and Successor to the Crown of England; and that thereupon the People of England were so bound and limited by this Nomination, that there was no need of any further Election or Confirmation of it: and where the word Election is used in respect of any of our Kings, he will have it to signify only a Recognition of their Title, unless in the case of some Usurpers.

IN answer to which I shall not repeat what I have already said in my Introduction to the last Volume, wherein I think I have sufficiently confuted this Assertion of the Doctor's, and made out by unquestionable Authorities, that tho' the English-Saxon Kings did often take upon them to nominate their Successors, either by their last Will, or other Charters of Donation; yet that they were not looked upon as valid or sufficient alone, without the subsequent Election or Confirmation of the *Wise Men, Clergy, or Great Council* of the Nation: and for this we need go no further than that Quotation out of * William of Malmesbury, ^{* P. 96.} wherein he repeats the Message Harold sent to Duke William, when he urged him with the Oath that he had made to assist him in obtaining the Kingdom after the Confessor's Death, and thereupon received this Answer from him, *That concerning the Kingdom, it was a presumptuous thing in him to swear to give his Assistance to obtain another Man's Inheritance * without a General Convention and Edict of the Senate and People; and therefore a foolish Oath was to be broken.* From whence it is plain, that in the Opinion of King Harold himself, the Crown of England could not be dispos'd of to a Stranger, without a General Assembly and Decree of the Senate and People of England. But what our Author here means by the Senate and People, shall be further considered, when we treat concerning the Antiquity of the Commons of England; and that this was a received Notion in the Reign of King Henry the Third, appears by this Passage in *Matthieu Paris*, who speaking of the Duke of Normandy as the Chiefest and most Worthy of the Lay-Peers of France, says thus, *The King of England is Duke of Normandy by Right of Blood, but King by Conquest; for it is said, that St. Edward, because he wanted an Heir, left the Kingdom to William the Bastard Duke of Normandy: But this is said to have had no Force, because he did it on his Death-bed, without the common Consent of his Baronage: That is, the Nobility of the higher and lower Order; under which Title the Commons were also comprehended in this Author's time.* ^{* P. 94.}

BUT to return to the Doctor; If so be the Kings of England had then such an Absolute Power as to dispose of the Kingdom, and that to Strangers as they pleas'd, without the Consent of the Great or Common Council of the Nation, the Doctor had best consider how this Tenet can agree with his following Assertion, that the Crown ought always to go in a Right Line, according to proximity of Blood: And then why might not Richard the Second's declaring King Henry the Fourth for his lawful Successor; and King Edward the Sixth's dispoising his two Sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, and bequeathing the

Crown to the Lady *Jane Gray* his Cousin, be as well justified as *K. Edward the Confessor's* bestowing the Crown of *England* upon Duke *William* for his disinheriting his eldest Son *Robert*, and bequeathing the Crown to *William Rufus*, or King *Richard the First's* passing by his Nephew *Arthur*, Son to Duke *Geoffrey* his next Brother, and bequeathing it to *Earl John*? So that if the Doctor's Law for the Succession were ever valid, I desire he would tell us when and how it came to be alter'd, whether by Custom, or by any positive Law? And if he be still of the same mind, that it was once a Royal Prerogative to dispose of the Crown without any consent of the Estates of the Kingdom, I desire him (when he writes next upon this Subject) that he would be pleased to give us some substantial Reasons, why our Kings may not do so now, as well as they did five hundred years ago?

SO that to say the truth, those Gentlemen speak and write much more coherently upon this Subject, who resolve King *William's* bestowing of his Crown upon his Younger Son in prejudice to his Elder, into the Absolute Power he gain'd over this Kingdom by the Sword; since *Grotius* and other Writers on this Subject allow, that Kingdoms so acquired may be dispos'd of as the Conqueror shall think fit. But that the Doctor and these Gentlemen are both mistaken, he in supposing that the *English-Saxon* and first *Norman* Kings might bequeath their Crowns to whom they pleas'd without the Consent of the Estates of the Kingdom; and these other Gentlemen (who do not look so far back) in wholly resolving it into King *William's* Power to dispose of the Crown by the like Right as *Jacob* had to bestow upon *Joseph* his Youngest Son but one, that portion above his Brethren, which he took out of the hand of the Amorite with his Sword, and with his Bow. Therefore before this Question can be rightly understood and settled, it is fit we give you a brief Relation of the Matter of Fact, as also a brief History of the Succession to King *Henry the Third*; and thereby it will appear, that neither in the case of King *William the First*, nor of his Son *William Rufus*, there was any thing practis'd or done in relation to their coming to the Crown, but what was according to the Ancient Law and Custom of Succession, that had been practis'd for divers Ages before.

IN order to which I desire the Reader, who may not yet have read the Introduction to my former Volume, to take notice, that I have there clearly made out, that tho the *English-Saxon* Kings did often nominate their Successors by their Testaments, yet was not such a Bequest or Nomination looked upon as of any force, till it had been confirm'd and ratified by the Approbation and Consent of the *Witena-Gemot* or Great Council of the Kingdom; and that this Confirmation was called an Election, and so was somewhat more than a bare Recognition or Acknowledgment of a Precedent Right, as Dr. Brady would needs have it.

SECONDLY, That when the next Heir, or Son of the last King was an Infant or a Minor, or else was absent beyond the Seas, they pass'd him by, and chose his Uncle for their King, as it is evidently proved by the Election of King *Edward the Confessor* before *Edward* firnamed the Out-law, (eldest Son to King *Edmund Iron-side*) being then in *Hungary*.

BUT I shall now apply what has been already said to the question before us, and shew you, that, excepting the Victory over *Harold*, Duke *William* ascended the Throne by the same steps, as many of the

English-

English-Saxon Kings his Predecessors had done before; for that he was nominated Heir or Successor to the Crown the Doctor does not deny: but this was not all, for there was something else required to make him a lawful *English* King, viz. the Election or Confirmation of the Clergy and Nobility of the Kingdom; which I have already proved from Authors, that lived either in or very near that time, as the Reader may see in the following History.

BUT since Dr. Brady has either wholly passed by, or else falsely translated all these Passages relating to King William's Election and Coronation, I shall therefore give you them at large.

FIRST then, that those very Normans and Frenchmen that came over with King William, did not look upon him as King of England immediately after his Victory over *Harold*, and until his Election and Coronation, which was not perform'd till the Christmas-day after his Victory, may appear from this Passage in *Will. Pictaviensis* who then lived, and gives this Account of this great Transaction. "K. William being now (says he) arrived at London, the Bishops and other Chief Men of the Kingdom beseeched him, ut Coronam sumeret; and pray observe the Reason, *Se quidem solitas esse Regi servire, Regem dominum habere velle, i. e.* "because truly they were wont to be subject to a King, and "to have a King for their Lord: Then the Duke consulting those that "accompanied him out of Normandy, whose Prudence he most rely'd "on, declar'd to them that which dissuaded him from agreeing to "what the *English* now desired; that things being yet unsettled, *Se potius Regni Quietem quam Coronam cupere*, he rather desired the "Peace of the Kingdom than its Crown: (which certainly this Author would never have made him say, had he believed him to have been a King already.) But to proceed, "all his familiar Friends were "of another mind, and perswaded him to what they knew was the "unanimous desire of the whole Army. The Reasons these Great men gave him for his speedy Coronation I pass by, only shall observe to you, that the Duke having considered all their Reasons, at last yielded to their Desires, especially hoping (says our Author) that when * he once began to reign, the Rebels would dare to do less against him, and that they would be more easily subdued. * Ubi regnare coepit.

AND that his Coronation was always looked upon as somewhat more than a bare Ceremony, may appear from what this Author proceeds to relate to this effect: "The Assembly being met in the Abbey Church at Westminster, the Arch-Bishop of York, in a handsome Speech which he made to the *English*, asked them whither they "would consent, *eum (scil. Ducem) sibi Dominum Coronari; i. e.* "that he (the Duke) should be crowned King; who all giving their "Consents, with one Mind and Voice, the Normans also joyn'd with "the *English*, the Bishop of Constance having also spoke to them, and "asked their Consents. And then he concludes thus; *Sic electum consecravit Idem Archiepiscopus, et imposuit ei Regium Diadema; i. e.* being thus elected, the Bishop consecrated him, and put the Crown upon his Head. But as for his Coronation Oath, because this Author says nothing of it, I pass it by, since I have sufficiently proved it from other Writers.

WITH *Pictaviensis* agrees the next Norman Writer, *Will. Gemeticensis*, in his History concerning King William's Election, as appears by these words, * *Deinde in die Natalis Domini ab Omnibus tam Nor-* * 10. 248.
mannorum,

maparum, quem Anglorum proceribus, Rex et Electus, & sancti Oles ab Episcopis Regni delibatus, in quo Regali Diademate coronatus, &c. Then on Christmas-day, he was chosen King by all the Great Men, both of the Normans and English, and was anointed with the Holy Oil, and crown'd with the Royal Diadem. And that the Doctor's admired Author * *Ordericus Vitalis*, did also suppose the English and Normans did then believe, that before the Coronation D. William was not King, may appear by this Passage which I shall here transcribe from him; *Cantuar. Praesules, Regniq. Proceres cum Guilielmo concordiam fecerunt, ut in Diadema Regium sumeret. (sic ut Angliæ Principatus esset) coronarent. Hoc summopecte flagitabant Normanni, qui quo Fasce Regali manifestando suo Principi subtrahant ingens discrimen Minus & Peius. Hoc etiam De vino natu subacti optabant indigena Regni, qui non nisi coronato Regi ter vine hactenus erant soliti.* This Quotation being long, I shall not trouble you with a literal Translation of it, but shall only observe from it, that both the English and Normans equally desired that he should be crown'd; and the reason is remarkable, because the custom of the English Monarchy required it, for that the Natives of the Kingdom were not wont to serve or obey a King unless he were crown'd.

I SHALL now conclude with an Author of our own Country, and it is *Bromton*, who in confirmation of what *Ordericus* has already related, says thus, *Cumque Guilielmus Dux Normannia Conquestor Angliæ, Tyranni nomen exhorresceret, & nomen legitimæ principis induere vellet, a Sigardo Cantuar. Archiepiscopo in Regem petiit consecrari.* From whence it plainly appears, that if this Author may be believed, Duke William did not look upon himself as a lawful King, till his Coronation.

NOW I shall leave it to the Judgment of the Ingenious Reader, whether if Dr. Brady had been as candid as my self in fairly citing these Passages, either in his History of the Succession of the Crown, or in his Complete History of England, he could ever have hoped to make the World believe, that this King's Coronation was a mere Ceremony, and only as a Recognition of his former Right to the Crown, either by Donation or Conquest.

NOW these Omissions are the less to be excused in our Learned Doctor, because he has so severely fallen upon his Antagonist, the judicious Author of *Argumentum Antinormannicum*, in the answer to its Appendix, for the like (as he supposes), wilful Omissions.

I COME now to the Succession of William Rufus, whose Right the Doctor wholly found on his Father's last Will and Testament, whereby he supposes him to have bequeathed him the Kingdom: and for this he cites † *Ordericus Vitalis* in these words; *Mervens Rex ne in Regno tam diffuso repentina occideret turbatio, Epistolam de constituendo Rege fecit. Lanfranco Archiepiscopo, suoque sigillo signatam tradidit Guilielmo Rufo Filio suo, jubens ut in Angliam transfreret conuinco.* I confess the Doctor has cited the Latin fairly, but did not think fit to translate it,

because of an unlucky word in it that would have spoiled all; and therefore that the Reader may not be imposed upon, I will put them into English for him. King William (who was now upon his Death-bed) fearing lest some sudden trouble might arise in so large a Kingdom, wrote an Epistle to Arch-Bishop Lanfranc, concerning the making or ordaining a King, and delivered it under his Seal to his Son William Rufus, commanding him that he should presently go over into England,

* Id. p. 503.

Chron. p. 62.

Vid. p. 315.
utq; ad fin.Hist. Succell.
p. 367.

† F. 659.

land; where I must observe that the word *constituendo* is a Participle of the future Tense, and cannot signify the present making or appointing of a King, or that he was thereby constituted so as the Doctor falsely renders it, but only signifies, that he was yet to be made or constituted; and if the Doctor would have been but pleas'd to have given us this Author's words, that stand but a little higher in the same Page, we might have seen they could have had no other meaning, unless he should downright contradict himself; the words are these, in the long Death-bed Speech which this Author relates King William to have made. *Neminem Anglici Regni Heredem constituo, sed Aeterno Conditori, cujus sum, & in cujus manu sunt Omnia, illud commendo; non enim tantum Decus Jure Hereditario possedi, sed Diro conflictu, & multâ effusione cruoris, perjuro Regi Haroldo abstuli: i. e.* "I do not appoint any Body Heir of the Kingdom of England, but I commend it to the Eternal Creator, whose I am, and in whose hand are all things; for I did not obtain so great a Dignity by any Hereditary Right, but I snatched it from that Perjur'd King Harold by a cruel Fight, and a vast effusion of Human Blood. From whence you may observe, that tho this Author represents this King as not to have thought he gain'd the Kingdom only by the Right above-mention'd, yet neither does he found it upon his Conquest of the Nation, but upon his Victory over Harold.

I COULD wish that this above-mention'd Epistle which the King wrote to Arch-Bishop Lanfranc were now extant; for then we might have judg'd whither he had bequeath'd the Kingdom by an Absolute Right, or else did only recommend his Son to the Estates of the Kingdom, to be by them elected in pursuance of his Testamentary Designation. I confess, William of Malmesbury informs us that he was, *à Patre, ultimâ valetudine decumbente, in Successorem adoptatus*; but he also adds, that he was much helped by the favour of Arch-Bishop Lanfranc, by whose endeavours he was crown'd, and that he was likewise received by the general good Wills of all the * Subjects: but Bromton's Chronicle expressly tells us that he was Crown'd, *Convocatis Terra Magnatibus*, that is, in or by a Great Council of the Kingdom; and Polydore Virgil, I suppose from some Manuscript History now lost, says more fully, *Optimates frequentes ad Westmonasterium in Conciliam convenere, ubi post longam Consultationem Gulielmum Rufum Regem fecere*, i. e. The Great men of the Kingdom met in great numbers at Westminster, and there after a long consultation they made William Rufus King. And that this was a down-right Election, I have a much more ancient and express Authority, viz. a Manuscript History of the Abbey of Colchester, written by a Monk of that Place in the Reign of King Henry the First, in which this Author tells us, that Eudo, the King's Dapifer or Sewer, (who was the Founder of this Monastery) was immediately, upon the Death of King William, sent over by his Son Rufus, to secure the Castles of Dover and some others in Kent for him; and accordingly he made those who had the Custody of them to take an Oath of Fidelity to him; by which means, whilst the Lords in Normandy were debating about the Succession, Rufus by the help of this Eudo, was * elected, consecrated, and confirm'd in the Throne.

NOW I desire the impartial Reader to consider whither Dr. Brady deals ingenuously here or not, when he will only have Rufus to

In Bib. Cott. sub. Nerone, D. 8. Vid. Mon. Anglic. Vol. 2. p. 889.

* Eligitur.

† Ib. p. 367. 368.

be recognized as a Testamentary Heir, and says, that whoever rightly considers this Story, cannot call it an *Election*?

BUT as for K. Henry the First, I need not use many words to prove his Title to be wholly owing to the *Election* of the Great Council of the Kingdom; for M. Paris expressly tells us, that they agreed he should be crown'd, upon condition he would restore and confirm the Antient Laws of King Edward, as he afterwards did: and that this King was not ashamed to own his Title, he declares it in the very beginning of his Charter of Liberties. *Sciatis me (says he) misericordiam Dei, & Communi Concilio Baronum Regni Anglie, ejusdem Regni Regem Coronatum esse, &c.*

ib. p. 369.

BUT to these so direct Authorities the Doctor has nothing to object but this, "That K. Henry was a plain downright Usurper; he had no pretence of Donation, no Testamentary Right from his Father; and therefore, as Malmesbury shews us more particularly, he was advanced by a Faction; there being only five Great Men, (*viz.* Robert Fitz Haymon, Richard de Redvers, Roger Bigot, Henry Earl of Warwick, and Robert Earl of Mellent his Brother) all Normans that favoured him, and that chiefly by the Contrivance of Henry Earl of Warwick he was elected King; for all the rest sent privately to Duke Robert to come and be their King, and openly reproached Henry. This was an excellent *Election* made by a Faction and an Army, and perhaps with a *hawling Multitude* after them: and indeed there could be no other *Election*, than such an one as this; for Rufus was slain in New-Forest on the second of August, being Thursday, and * Henry was Crown'd on the 5th of August following, being Sunday: so that it was impossible for all that were, or ought to be concern'd in such an *Election*, all the Kingdom over, to have notice, meet, and dispatch that Business in two days time.

* Flor. Wigorn. f. 649.

NOW I desire to argue this matter a little calmly with the Doctor, and would fain know of him how this Right of the Nobility and People of England, which they enjoyed before the Conquest, came to be lost, whereby they often elected, not the next Heir by Blood, but him whom they thought most fit for the Throne, during the Minority or the Inevitable Absence of the next Heir by Blood, and that even when there was no Testament of the Predecessor to justify such an *Election*, as in the Case of Edward the Confessor above-mentioned? for as to his being left Heir by Harde-Cnut his half Brother, it is mentioned by no other Author but Guliel. Gemeticensis, who being a Foreiner, and living many years after, deserves no credit, when he contradicts the Saxon Chronicle, and all the rest of our Historians who lived nearest that time. And indeed it is highly improbable that this King should be able to make any such Bequest of the Crown, since he died suddenly of a Debauch at Lambeth in the Flower of his Youth, when no body expected it; and therefore I would fain be satisfied, why the Nobility and People of England had not as good a Right to elect Henry to be their King, in the absence of his Brother Duke Robert in the Holy Land, as they had before to chuse Edward the Confessor, when Edward his Brother's Son remain'd an Exile in Hungary, and whom they might as well have sent for thither, as the Nation could have been without a King till the return of Duke Robert from where he was?

AND

AND as to what the Doctor says of *Henry's* being *elected* King by a Faction of Five Great Men, I desire him to tell me why the same Objection might not be made against that of King *Edward*, since he was advanced to the Throne by the Favour and Interest of Earl *Godwin* and those of his Faction? Nor can I see, when there was no Law to the contrary, that it was more a Faction of those Noblemen (who were much the greater and stronger party) to chuse *Henry*, than it would have been in the others, who would have made Duke *Robert* King.

BUT the Doctor does not love to follow his Authors farther than he thinks they make to his purpose; for if he had, we should have also seen in * *William of Malmsbury*, that *Henry* was *elected* King, not by any Faction, but by the major Votes of the *Common Council* of the Kingdom there present; and that after some debate, tho chiefly by the Reasons and Persuasion of the Earl of *Warwick*, an honest and pious Man (as our Author calls him:) nor does he any where say, that none but the five Great Men above-mention'd favoured *Henry*, but that it was done with the general Applause and Good-will of the People, who now began to revive after so many Oppressions: nor does this Author here name one Person who either reproached *Henry*, or then sent to his Brother to come and be their King, as the Doctor there suggests without any just grounds. For what happen'd of this kind, was not till some time after the Coronation of *K. Henry*, when Duke *Robert* was return'd from the *Holy Land*; then indeed most of the *Norman* Noblemen grew discontented, upon slight Causes, but chiefly because the King refused to grant them the Lands they would have begged from him, as the same Author acquaints us; and for that reason it was that they sent privately over to Duke *Robert* into *Normandy* to come over and be made their King.

BUT to conceal none of the * Doctor's Evidence, I grant indeed that in his History † he tells us a Story from *Ordericus Vitalis* (whom he commonly follows rather than our *English* Writers) that upon King *William's* Death, *Henry* posted to *Winchester*, where the Royal Treasure was, and demanded the Keys of *William de Breteuil* a *Norman* Baron, who followed him in great haste intending to prevent his Design, and said thus to him, *We ought legally to remember the Faith we have engaged to your Brother Duke Robert, who is the first-born Son of King William; and I, and You my Lord Henry have done him Homage, and therefore we are in all things to keep our Faith to him, as well absent as present.* But *Henry's* Power increasing, he drew his Sword, and swore, he would not permit any Stranger, by frivolous delays, to seize upon his Father's Scepter; so that at last, through the Mediation of Friends, and some wise Counsellors that were then met together, by their sound Advice, lest there might be made a greater Division, the Castle and the Royal Treasure were delivered to *Henry*; and so he went to *London*, and was Crown'd as has been already related.

BUT if we examin this Story thoroughly, we shall find the most considerable Circumstances of it will prove false, or else make rather against than for the Doctor's partial representation of this matter. For in the first place, I believe the Baron above-named did never make any such dissuasive Speech to *Henry*, since it is mention'd by no other Author of

of that time: and *Ordericus* is often found too apt to magnify the Rights and Grandeur of the *Norman* Dukes, for a Reason I have already mention'd. But if *William de Breteuil* did ever give *Henry* such a *Memento*, it was certainly false and impertinent; for if *Henry* had ever done his Brother Duke *Robert* Homage, it could only be for some Lands and Territories he held of him in *Normandy*, and which the Duke his Brother had either mortgaged or sold out-right to him; and which he afterwards disseizing him of by Force, that Obligation was wholly cancel'd, as all Writers concerning *Feudal* Tenures agree. But that *Henry* never did him Homage for the Kingdom of *England* is certain, for *Robert* was never at any time declared either Heir or Successor of it by his Father; and till this was done, there was no Homage ever due, or to be perform'd by any Subjects of *England*, to the King's eldest Son. And for this I appeal to the Doctor's own History, concerning the Homages that were done to Prince *William*, eldest Son to *Henry* the First, and afterwards to his Daughter *Maude* the Empress, as also to Duke *Henry* upon his Agreement with King *Stephen*, and his being by him adopted for his Son, and declared his Lawful Successor in a Great Council of the whole Kingdom: But as for the rest of this Author's Relation, had the Doctor been so just as to have translated it truly, it would then plainly appear, that the delivering up of the Treasure to *Henry* (as is above reported) as it was done by the best Advice of all the Counsellors and Great Men there present for the Peace of the Kingdom, so it was also upon the Challenge or Demand of the present Heir, whose Power now encreasing, he clapt his hand upon his Sword, &c. for *Ordericus* in the Latin says thus, *Multitudine vero circumfluente heredis presentis qui jus suum calumniabatur, virtus excrevit; Henricus manum ad Capulam misit, &c.* Which words of *Henry's* challenging the present Heir, the Doctor (according to his laudable custom in things of this nature) thought fit to omit.

NEITHER is the Doctor's last Objection material against the manner of this Election, that it was only done by a Faction, and an Army, or perhaps a bawling Multitude after them (as the civility of his Phrase is) which he endeavours to prove by the shortness of the time (*viz.* two days) between *Rufus's* Death and *Henry's* Coronation. As to the Faction I have sufficiently spoken, but as for the Army and the bawling Multitude's having any thing to do in this Election, it is purely owing to the Doctor's fertile Invention, and for which he has no Author to warrant him.

'TIS true indeed, the above-cited *Ordericus* relates, That at the time when King *William* was kill'd, he was preparing for a Great Expedition into *France*, * that he might hinder his Brother *Robert's* return into *Normandy*, and also take possession of *Aquitain*, and extend the Bounds of his Empire as far as the River *Garonne*; and to this end had (at the time of his Death) a great Army and Fleet (which I suppose lay at *Portsmouth*) ready to sail.

BUT tho no Author says, that this Army did at all concern it self, or influence *Henry's* Election, yet it may very well shew us the reason why there was so great a Confluence of the Nobility then at *Winchester*, and who were present at K. *William's* Funeral there; for the greatest part of the Earls, Barons and Tenants in Capite, might be then summon'd to go over with the King into *France*; and being now met accordingly, did also

* Ib. 780.

also attend *Henry* to *London* in order to his intended *Election* and *Coronation*: and this being suppos'd (as it may very well) it will be no such great wonder or impossibility (as the Doctor makes it) for a great number of the most considerable Persons of *England*, not only to have had notice, but to have also been present at the King's Coronation. And this may serve for a sufficient Answer to all that the Doctor hath said against the Legality of this *Election*, by reason of the small numbers that could be present at it through the shortness of the warning.

BUT admit it were as the Doctor would have it, and that not the one half of those who ought to have appear'd, were present at it: yet since it was looked upon as a sufficient Council of the Kingdom at that time, it is no more an Objection against King *Henry's* being then elected by a Great Council of the Kingdom, than it would be against a Modern Historian's relating, that *Richard Cromwel* was chosen or recognized Protector by an Assembly which then call'd it self the *Parliament of England* (as it was then constituted) tho there were indeed few Citizens and no Burgesses summoned to it, as also few or none of the Antient Nobility.

BUT the Doctor ought first to prove, that there was at this time a certain course of Succession established in *England*, before he can assert this Election of *Henry* to be an Usurpation.

BUT the Doctor being at last convinced, from the general Consent of all our Historians, that King *Henry* was thus elected, produces P. 370. a notable Authority from *Henry de Knighton's* History, why *Robert* was rejected and *Henry* chosen: "For, says he, this *Robert* was always so averse and harsh to the Barons of *England*, that by full Consent and Advice they voted him *Illegitimate*, because he was not begotten lawfully by *William the Conqueror*; and for that Reason, by unanimous Assent, they refused him, and set up *Henry* his Brother to be their King. And from this Passage of *Knighton* the Doctor concludes, that the Baronage of all *England* fixed the Right of Succession in the Legitimate Right of Blood: the rest being nothing to the purpose, I omit.

NOW I cannot but here observe, that the Doctor is willing to lay hold of a Passage in this Modern Author (who often writes things either fabulous or false) to prove that the *English* Barons might very well be justified in thus preferring *Henry* before *Robert*, which Relation is certainly false; for if King *William* had believed that this eldest Son had been none of his by his Queen, who was known to be *Robert's* Mother, the King would have been so far from leaving him any part of his Dominions, that it is most likely he would not only have excluded him from the Succession in *England*, but *Normandy* also. And this Story of Duke *Robert's* Illegitimacy, is also a great Reflection upon the Chastity of Queen *Mathilda*, to whom all Writers give the Character of a chaste and vertuous Princess; and indeed there is no Historian that I know of, who relates this idle and improbable Tale, except this Author from whom it is borrowed by the Doctor, who does not value how much he detracts from the Reputation of the best of Princes, provided he can thereby any way support his own Hypothesis.

* Argumen.
Antinorman-
nicum, p. 265.

BUT I believe (if the truth were known) the main Reason why the Doctor is so great an Enemy to the Title of King *Henry*, is, not because he thinks him an Usurper, but rather in that he redressed the Grievances of the Subjects, and granted that Charter of Liberty to the Clergy and Laity upon which the Doctor has made so long a Comment: for * he tells us, that *Henry* made what haste he could to get himself King; and therefore before it should be known to the Nobility that his Brother was returning home, as a means to accomplish his Purpose, immediately upon the death of his Brother *William Rufus* he sent his Edict throughout *England*, and prohibited the unjust Institutions of him and *Ranulph* Bishop of *Darham*, the great Oppressor of the People under him.

THEN the Doctor proceeds to give us the History how the Charter above-mentioned came to be granted, and which he will needs insinuate to have been done only as an Indulgence and Abatement of the rigour of the Common *Feudal* Law, granted to the *Norman-English*, viz. such of them as lived in *England*, rather than to the Antient Natives or *Saxon-English*.

* Ib. p. 265.

BUT before I answer this, I cannot but here observe the * Doctor's great over-sight, who makes this first Reformation of the Abuses committed by *Rufus*, to have been done by *Henry* only in order to his being made King; whereas any one who reads this Story in *William of Malmesbury* (whom the Doctor himself cites) may see that it was perform'd immediately after his Coronation, and therefore could not be done to curry favour with the Nobility, in order to obtain the Crown, as the Doctor falsely represents this Transaction.

Ib. p. 269.

THEREFORE as for the Assertion, that the Native or *Saxon-English* had little or no benefit by this Charter, but only his *English-Normans*; the truth of this will appear, when the Doctor can make out, that no *English*-man then held any Estate in Capite of the King, and in that sense could not be called one of his Barons in this Charter; neither yet was a Tenant by Knight's-Service, nor was concern'd in the Duty of * *Moneage*; nor was concern'd in any Pleas or Debts to the Crown; nor were any of them guilty of any Murders or Manslaughters, for which the Mulcts or Fines were due to the King; nor had any Interest in the Laws of King *Edward*, which he now confirm'd and restored to them: I say, when the Doctor can prove that no *English*-man had any share or concern in all or any of those Liberties, Pardons and Privileges granted by this Charter, then, and not before, shall I come over to his fanciful Opinion, that all these things concerned none but the *Norman-English*, but that the *English-Saxons* had little or nothing.

* The Latin is
Monetarium.
See for this
Grand Customier,
C. 15.
and Dr. Brady's
Comment on this
Charter, Ib. p. 266.

* Ib. p. 266.

I HAVE dwelt the longer upon the manner of this Prince's Accession to the Throne, as well to vindicate his Right to it, as the Power he had to relieve the *English* Nation from so many Oppressions they had lain under, and to restore the Nobility and People to some of those Privileges they enjoy'd in the times of their *English-Saxon* Kings, and were not (as the * Doctor would have them) the Grants of an Usurper who could deny nothing.

HAVING now done with the Reign of King *Henry* the First, I come next to that of King *Stephen*; the manner of whose obtaining the

the Crown (as the Doctor cannot deny) was by the Election of a great Party of the Bishops and Lay-Nobility; and as he himself recites in his † Charter, he was elected King by the Assent of the Clergy and People of *England*, and crowned by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. Which Act I will not defend to have been justly done, as being contrary to the Oaths and Homages which the Clergy and People of *England* had before taken to *Maud* the Empress, as Heiress to her Father *Henry the First*: Yet the Doctor himself has found out a very good excuse for their thus electing *Earl Stephen*, which is a Story related by * *Radulph de Diceto*, who says, "that *Hugh Bigot* Steward of † *Will. Malmsh. p. 101. a.* the late King's Household, came quickly out of *Normandy* (where the King died) into *England*, and made Oath before the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, that King *Henry* on his Deathbed, upon some differences which had happened between him and his Daughter the Empress, did disinheret her, and made *Stephen* Earl of *Boloign* his Heir: Whereupon *William* ABp of *Canterbury*, giving too much credit to the words of the Steward, consecrated this *Stephen* King at *Westminster*. From whence the Doctor would infer, that if this Story was true, *Earl Stephen* had a Legal Right as Testamentary Heir, and by that Right was made King; yet since he cannot deny but that there was an Election of *Stephen* precedent to his Coronation, it sufficiently confirms my Assertion, that notwithstanding this pretended Will of the deceased King, an Election of the Great Council of the Kingdom was then thought necessary. † *Col. 50.*

BUT the Doctor thinks he has got some advantage by the Clergy and People of *England* their swearing Fealty to the Empress *Maud*, "To whom as his only Child King *Henry* had bequeath'd all his Dominions, as well on this, as on the other side the Sea; and in pursuance of which, when the Bishops had fallen out with King *Stephen*, and would unking him, *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester* his Brother, being then the Pope's Legate, called a Council of the Clergy at that City, to consult of the Peace of the Kingdom; where at last they concluded, That the Right of chusing and ordaining Kings chiefly belonged to them; and therefore having first called upon God, they chose *Maud the Empress, Queen*. Here the Doctor indeed has also given us the Latin, which is sufficient to shew us the unfairness of his Translation; the Clergy's Declaration runs thus, *Invocatâ itaque in auxilium Divinitate, Filiam Regis in Angliâ, Normannique Dominam eligimus, &c.* Now I will leave it to any one to judg, whither *Elegimus in Dominam* can signify grammatically, we Elect her Queen: For if these two Titles had been all one, then there would have been no difference between *Rex Angliæ, & Dominus Hyberniæ*, as our Kings had it engraven upon their Seals, until the middle of King *Henry the Eighth's* Reign; and it would have been very needless for the Empress *Maud* to have stiled her self in her * Seals *Regina Romanarum, & Domina Anglorum*, had she looked upon her self as equally Queen of both Nations: but she very well knew the difference between those two Titles, for at this time, and as far as *Henry the Third*, none of our Kings took upon them that Title till after their Coronations; and that *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester* did not believe her to be Queen for all this Election that he and the rest of the Bishops had made, appears by the Speech of this Bishop at the next Council at *Westminster*, which

† *Will. Malmsh. p. 101. a.*

† *Col. 50.*

† *p. 371.*

* See the Draught of them in Speeds Chron. and in Sandford's Genealogical History of the Kings of England.

which he called not long after, when he was now reconciled to his Brother King *Stephen*; where he tells all there present, That all those who favoured the Countess of *Anjou* (i. e. the Empress *Maud*) should be *Excommunicated*; and he immediately after calls her *Andigavorum Dominam*, which Title (according to the Doctor's Translation) should be render'd Queen of the *Anjovins*, which (I think) was never heard of.

I COME now to the Doctor's next Proof for the Antient Hereditary Right of the Crown of *England* by Blood, and it is from the Agreement that was afterwards made between King *Stephen* and *Henry* Duke of *Normandy*, Son to the said Empress, whose Title was now quite laid aside, notwithstanding her being her Father's Heir, and late elected Queen of the *Engliss*; and indeed the * Doctor has here begun to give us a very just account of this Transaction from one who lived very near that time, viz. † *Gervase* of *Canterbury* who relates that the Arch-Bishop of that Place and *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, and all the Bishops mediated a Peace between *Stephen*, and *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, Son to the Empress; by which it was agreed, that *Stephen* should adopt *Henry* for his Son, and after his death should enjoy the Crown, but *Stephen* should quietly wear it during his Life, &c. Yet if the Doctor had been pleased to have transcribed but a little further out of this Author, he would have found these words, and he (viz. the Duke) at that same time gave him (the King) Reverence in the presence of them all, and acknowledged him as his Father and Lord. But this is more fully exprest in the Charter of Agreement, between the * Col. 1037. King and the Duke, which you may find at large in * *Bromton's* Chronicle, wherein King *Stephen* appoints *Henry* Duke of *Normandy* his Successor by Hereditary Right, and grants and confirms the Kingdom of *England* to him and his Heirs; in consideration of which Honour, it is there recited, that the Duke pay'd the King Homage, and promised upon Oath to be faithful to him, and to preserve his Person, and observe all the Agreements contain'd in this Charter.

NOW it is plain that Duke *Henry* could never succeed King *Stephen* by any Hereditary Right, any otherwise than by this Adoption, or Declaration above-mention'd; which was agreed to, and ratified by the Great Council of the Kingdom, as appears by what immediately follows in * *Gervase* in the leaf above-cited; viz. After all these things were solemnly perform'd, and ratified by the mutual Oaths and consents of the King, and all the Bishops and Temporal Lords there present, a firm Peace, which had been banished *England* for many years, was at length happily restored: with whom agrees *Henry* of *Huntington*, an Author who then lived, and not long after wrote the History of this Transaction; his words are these, *Ipsam (scilicet Ducem) siquidem Rex in Filium suscepit adoptivum, & Heredem Regni constituit*, i. e. The King adopted the Duke for his Son, and appointed him Heir of the Kingdom. Now our Author must certainly here mean as Heir to the King himself, and not to the Empress his Mother, who was then alive; for it is an old Rule of the Civil as well as of our Common Law, *non est Heres Viventis*, i. e. There can be no Heir to a Person so long as he is alive.

BUT the Doctor wisely conceals all this, as being directly against his Hypothesis; and therefore slighting the Writers of that time, he rather

ther chuses to make use of more Modern Authors, and would needs have this Agreement to be more fully and clearly related by *Matth. Westminster*; which Passage I shall give you in *English* according to the Doctor's Translation (which I grant is always very true when it makes for him) the Passage is this: "King *Stephen* not having any Heir, "except only Duke *Henry*, did acknowledg in an Assembly (or "Council) before the Bishops and other Chief Men of the Kingdom, "that Duke *Henry* had the Hereditary Right to the Kingdom of Eng- "land; and the Duke kindly granted, that King *Stephen* should, dur- "ing his Life, peaceably enjoy his Kingdom. The rest concerning the Confirmation of the said Agreement of the King, and all the Bishops and Lords there present, that Duke *Henry* should succeed after the King's death, I pass by, as being no more than what others have said before.

BUT in answer to this Passage, which is found in no other Author but *Matthæus Paris*, from whom *Matth. Westminster* borrowed it, this must needs be a Mistake; for how could Duke *Henry* be any ways Heir to King *Stephen*? for tho his eldest Son *Eustace* was dead, yet he had another Legitimate Son named *William*, who was then Earl of *Warten*, as may appear by King *Stephen*'s Charter above-mentioned: and what Hereditary Right could the Duke then have to the Crown, whilst his Mother (by whom it came) was still living, and who never made any Grant or Cession of it to her Son, as I can any where find, tho I have looked diligently for it in all the printed and Manuscript Authors that I could meet with? Now I leave it to the Reader's Judgment to determine, whose Testimony is most likely to be true, that of those Authors who either lived in or nearest to those times, or *Matthæus Paris* who lived and wrote above eighty years after, and from whom *Matth. Westminster* transcribed it in the Reign of *Edward the Third*, above 160 years after King *Henry*'s coming to the Crown?

TO whose Reign we are now arrived, and who tho he were thus declared Heir and Successor to the Kingdom (as you have already heard) yet is called by no other Title in *Matth. Paris* and other Authors before his Coronation, than *Henry Duke of Normandy*; and that he was not looked upon as complete King before that, the Author last mentioned shews us by this Passage, viz. "That after the death of "King *Stephen*, there was notwithstanding a firm Peace, for Fear "and Love of Duke *Henry*, *Quem omnes venturum, & Regem futurum, sperabant*; whom all hoped would come over, and be made "King. Which were a very impertinent way of speaking, had he then been looked upon as King already. And tho few of our printed Authors do either mention his Election or Coronation, yet I find both expressly mentioned by *Radulphus de Diceto*, as well in the printed as Manuscript Copies, where in the very beginning of this King's Reign, he says, 14th Kal. Jan. die Dominica ante Nativitatem Domini, apud Westmonasterium ab omnibus electus, & in Regem consecratus est Theobaldo Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi; that is, *Henry the Second*, on the 14th of the Kalends of January, the Sunday before the Nativity of our Lord, was elected at Westminster by all the People, and was crown'd King by *Theobald* Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.

WHERE the Reader may observe, that his Election and Coronation are here mention'd as two distinct Actions, tho he had already been declared

declared Heir and Successor of the Kingdom: but as for the Empress his Mother, she was not only then alive in France, but lived there for some years after, viz. till the end of this King's Reign, and then died; after whose decease his eldest Son Richard is likewise call'd by no other Title in all our Antient * Historians, than Duke of Normandy, as appears by this Passage in *Hoveden* which the Doctor has thus translated: "The Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons, and a copious multitude of Knights met him (viz. the Duke) by whose Advice and Assent the Duke was crowned King of England by *Balwin* Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, many other Bishops there named assisting. Now I desire the Doctor to tell me why it is here said the Duke was crowned King, if this Author had suppos'd he was so before his Coronation?"

* V. R. *Hoveden*, M. Paris, &c. sub hoc anno.

* In hoc anno.

BUT the Doctor lays most stress on the Testimony of * *Ralph de Diceto*, then Dean of St. Paul's, who in the vacancy of that Church, supply'd the Office of the Bishop of London at King Richard's Coronation; and he writes thus: *Comes inquit Plantagenet Richardus, Hereditario Jure promouendus in Regem, post tam Cleri, quam Populi subleuatum & debitum Electionem, inuoluntus est acceptis Sacramentis, &c.* Therefore Richard Earl of Poitou, being by Hereditary Right to the said Kingdom, after the solemn and due Election, as well of the Clergy as of the Laity, swore to three things, &c. Which being the substance of his Coronation-Oath, I omit; but tho' the Doctor hath put those words, *Hereditario Jure promouendus*, in Capital Letters, yet he does not like to do so by the words in *Regem*, &c. that immediately follow; for from hence it would plainly appear, that notwithstanding all this Hereditary Right, he was still to be promoted to be King, &c.

* *Ib.* p. 373.

† P. 374. 2.

BUT that which will best explain this Author's meaning, is, that part of the Charge which the Arch-Bishop gave Duke Richard when he was just about to crown him, and is set down in * *R. Hoveden*, who has given us the most particular account of this King's Coronation: the words are these, *Deinde ductus est (scilicet Dux) ad Altare, & ibi prædictus Archiepiscopus prohibuit ei, ex parte Omnipotentis Dei, se hunc Honorem sibi assumere, nisi in mente haberet supradicta Sacramenta & Vota quæ facta inuoluntus servare; & ipse respondit, se per auxilium Dei omnia supradicta seruaturum sine fraude: i. e.* "The Duke was led up to the Altar, where the said Arch-Bishop forbade him on God's behalf, not to assume to himself that Honour, unless he fully resolved inuoluntably to keep the Oath and Vow he had now made; whereupon he answered, That he would, by the help of God, observe all the afore-said Particulars without any deceit."

Ibid.

* Col. 647.

DR. BRADY, being aware of the Cogency of this Proof, would soon lessen, if not take away the Authority of it, because * *Ralph de Diceto* (then Dean of St. Paul's) and who in the Vacancy of the See of London (as I have already said) perform'd the Office of that Bishop at that Coronation, says nothing of any such Charge given by the Arch-Bishop: but this is only a Negative Argument at the best, and proves little; since not only *R. Hoveden*, but *Mat. Paris* and *Bromton's Chronicle* do both expressly relate it, as the Doctor himself allows.

BUT

BUT before I leave *Richard the First*, I only desire the Reader to take notice, that the Great Assembly of the Clergy and Nobility above-mention'd was indeed a Great Council or Parliament, as *Polydore Virgil* thus describes it; *Richardus in Angliam profectus—Londinum properat, convocatoque Concilio, Rex creatur, & a Baldvino Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, more Majorum inuictus sacatur: i. e.* "Richard being arrived in England, makes hast to London; and a Council (or Parliament as we stile it) being called, he is made King; and according to the Custom of his Ancestors is anointed and consecrated by Baldwin Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.

HOWEVER I will not conceal one main Authority, whereby the Doctor would prove, that this King was looked upon, and esteem'd a full and complete King before his Coronation; for it is true what * *Hoveden* says, that whilst he was in Normandy, and before his arrival in England, every Freeman of the whole Kingdom, by the Command of his Mother *Eleanor*, † swore Fidelity to *Richard King of England*, Son of King *Henry*, as to their Leige Lord, against all men: I confess this would be a very material Authority, could we be assured that these were *Hoveden's* own words, without any alteration of the Copier's; for tho I grant that the words *Regi Anglie* are in several Manuscripts, as well as in all the printed Books, yet I doubt not but there is a mistake in the writing of this Oath, for in the most antient Manuscript Copy of this Author that I have seen, and which formerly was the Lord *Howard's* of *Narworth*, but is now in the * Library of the Royal Society at *Gresham College*, the Oath we now read of is thus, † *Quod fidei portavit Domino Ricardo Filio Regis Henrici*, without the words *Regi Anglie*, as in the printed Copies.

AND that this seems to have been the antient reading, will farther appear from the next Reign of King *John* (whom the Doctor also allows to have claim'd by Hereditary Right as well as his Brother) wherein we find the like Oath requir'd to have been taken to him; as that before Earl *John* arrived in England, *Hubert* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and *William* the Marshal, caus'd all the men of the Kingdom, both of Cities and Boroughs, with the Earls, Barons, and Free Tenants, to swear Fidelity to *John Duke of Normandy*, Son of King *Henry* and the Empress *Mabilda*, against all men. Where you see he is not stiled King of England, but only Duke, &c. and I see no reason, why this Title of *Rex* should have been omitted in the one Oath more than in the other, had he been then looked upon as King of England; which does not prove him to be King in a legal sense, any more than the like Oath, as also the Homage which was made to Prince *Lewis* Son to *Philip* King of France, after his being Elected King by the Barons in opposition to King *John*, when upon his arrival at London, (as *Matt. Paris* relates) he received the Homages and * Fealties of all the Barons and Citizens, who there expected his coming; and yet I suppose neither the Doctor nor any body else will affirm, that *Lewis* was ever for all his Election above-mention'd called or reputed King of England: nor will it avail him to aver, that this was only because *Lewis* was an Usurper, and had no Right to the Crown by Blood; for then the same Objection may also hold good against King *John*, (upon the Doctor's Principles) for Duke *Arthur* was then alive, and claim'd the Crown as Heir to Earl *Geoffrey* his Father, and was so according to the Rules of Succession at this day.

BUT

Ibid.

* F. 373.

† Quod quidem portabit Regi Anglie Richardo Regis Hen. Filio Fidelitatem, &c.

* No. 150.

† P. 94.

* Note, This Fealty was ever made by Oath, either to the King or to the Lord of the Fee.

P. 374.

* P. 449. b.

* Ibid.

† P. 196.

BUT notwithstanding all this, the Doctor in his *Exact History of the Succession to the Crown*, takes no notice of this Usurpation of Earl John till afterwards, as you shall see by and by; but sounds all his Right to the Kingdom (as he had done *William Rufus's* before) upon the last Will of his Predecessor; and for this cites this passage out of *Hoveden*, "That when the King (*viz. Richard*) despaired of Life, he devised to his Brother *John* the Kingdom of *England*, and all other his Territories, and made all there present to swear Fealty to him, and commanded that his Castles, and three parts of his Treasure should be delivered to him; and then he goes on to tell us, how all Orders of men swore Fealty to him, as has been already said. Here the Doctor takes no notice of the Right of Duke *Arthur*, till he comes to observe, that *† Matt. Paris* relates this matter somewhat differently from *Hoveden*, *viz.* that when Arch-Bishop *Hubert*, *William* the Marshal, and *Geoffrey Fitz-Peter*, and other Great Men of the Kingdom, called before them at *Northampton* all the Chief Nobility, whom they suspected or most doubted of, *Fecerunt illi Eidem quod Comes Johannes Jura sua redderet Universis*. They promised Earl *John* should restore to every one their Rights: and then *Sub tali igitur Conventionione Comes & Barones. Comiti memorato Fidelitatem contra Omnes Homines juraverunt*. So that it was upon such Condition or Agreement, that the Earls and Barons swore Fidelity to the before-mention'd Earl against all men.

* P. 375.

BUT I desire the Reader to observe from the Doctor, that so soon as this promise of restoring every body their Rights was made, from that very moment Earl *John* commences an Usurper, and now he has no Right at all to the Crown: for in the * next Page he tells us, "That these Rights (if the Historian had noted them) in all probability were no other than theirs (*i. e.* the Nobilities) large Demands, which they called so; and whatever they were, Earl *John* was forced to grant them, for at that time he was an Usurper; and the Barons, or major part of them, always bargained and made Terms with Usurpers to their own Advantage, tho' to the Disadvantage of the Crown, as the Constitution of the Government was then, as they had done with *Henry the First*, and King *Stephen*. NOW I desire to ask the Doctor this one Question, *viz.* how it comes to pass that King *John*, notwithstanding the Crown was bequeathed to him by his Brother King *Richard*, is still a downright Usurper, whereas he gives no such Character of *William Rufus* who reign'd not a hundred years before, and had no better Title? And I would fain also have him tell us, how the Law of Succession came to be alter'd within this time? since I could never find any Law or Statute for it; and therefore till the Doctor gives us a better Reason, I shall be very apt to believe, that his great Spight against him, is, that he now by these Great Men made this gracious Promise above-mentioned; but especially for his granting this Charter, which the Doctor would needs have to be gain'd from this Usurper (as he calls him) by mere Force and Rebellion; but he might, if he had pleas'd, have remember'd, that it was not as yet settled in *England* by any Law who should succeed to the Crown, the Uncle, or the Nephew whose Father was deceased; since it is very certain, that before the Conquest the Uncles were always prefer'd to the Throne before the Sons of the Elder Brother,

ther, as I have sufficiently made out in my *Introduction* to the former Volume; and which is also granted by the Doctor in his *History of the Succession* now before us: nor was this Point settled in the Case of private Subjects, in the Reign of *Henry the Second*, when *Glanvill* wrote his Treatise of the Laws of *England*, where in the Seventh Book and Third Chapter, after giving us the Arguments on both sides, as well for the Nephew whose Father was dead, the Grandfather being alive, as also for the surviving younger Brother, Uncle to the Nephew, he after all leaves it a Moot-point undecided, unless in some few Cases which he there puts. And that the Laws of several Countries in *France* were different about this Matter, appears by what all our Historians relate (and which the Doctor himself here also agrees to) that Earl *John* was invested with the Sword of the Duchy of *Normandy* as Lawful Heir to his Brother without any Contradiction; * whereas ^{R. Hoveden, ib.} at the same time the Great Men of *Anjou, Tourain* and *Maine*, adhered to *Arthur* as their Liege Lord, saying, It was the Law and Custom of those Countries that the Son of the Elder Brother should succeed before his Uncle in the Patrimony and Inheritance due to him, and which his Father Earl *Geoffrey* should have enjoyed if he had out-lived King *Richard*; where it is plain, that these Countries held a different Course of Succession from that of *Normandy*. Therefore * *Grotius*, ^{* Lib. 3. Cap. 7; Sect. 30.} in his Learned Work *de Jure Belli & Pacis*, leaves this as a Question not to be decided by the Law of Nature or Nations, but only by the particular Laws and Customs of several Kingdoms and Principalities, as you may see by the Examples in his *Annotations* to this Section; and where you will also find the various Opinions of Authors about this matter; only (he says) that among the *Germans* the Law of Representation, i. e. that of the Eldest Son's Son inheriting before the Uncle, was not observed: and for the same reason, I suppose, the *Saxons* here being derived from the antient *Goths*, this manner of Succession to the Crown took place in *England*; and therefore (notwithstanding what modern Historians have written to the contrary) I am not satisfied that King *John* was an Usurper of his Nephew *Arthur's* Right, either according to the Laws of *England* or *Normandy*; neither ought the Doctor to stile him so upon his own Principles: for certainly King *Richard* had as much Right to appoint his Brother Heir of that Duchy, as Duke *Robert* had to declare *William* his Bastard Heir thereof, to the prejudice of the next Heirs by Blood, which the * Doctor ^{* Lib. p. 886} falsely represents, as if it had been done by that Duke's sole Authority; whereas both *Gulielmus Pictaviensis & Gemeticensis* expressly say, it was done in an Assembly of the Estates of that Country; and the latter has these words: They (*viz.* the Great Men) *Elected William* Successor to his Father, upon his earnest request to them. But the * Doctor ^{* Hist. Success. p. 367.} not liking this word *Election*, sliely passes by this Passage untranslated, tho he has set down the Latin at large, which yet can deceive no others, than only such as do not understand that Language. So likewise he would fain top upon them a Passage in *R. Hoveden*, who affirms it to have been the Custom in *Norway* (from whence the *Normans* came) for Bastards to inherit, and that in his time it was so. But what is this to *Normandy*, where at this time the Law was otherwise, when *D. William* succeeded to his Father? Otherwise what need had there been for Duke *Robert* to have assembled the Estates of the

* P. 425. 2.

Dutchy to declare his Bastard Successor, when his own Testament had been sufficient? Neither will the Passage he has cited out of *Hoveden* make out what he alledges; for * he only says, that it was the Custom in *Norway* even to this day (*viz.* the time when he wrote) that he who is own'd to be the Son of the late King, tho a Bastard and begotten of a Concubine, challenges as much Right unto the Kingdom of *Norway*, as the King's Son born in Wedlock; and therefore upon the death of the King, there are constant Battles between them (the Brothers) till one of them is kill'd, and the other overcomes.

above-mention'd.

* Ib.

NOW this is not to give a Bastard a Right to the Throne, but only that he might be one of the Competitors to fight for it, which is not to settle any Rights of Succession at all, but to leave it still in dispute. To avoid which, Duke Robert wisely settled the Succession of his Dutchy by the Consent of the Estates; and therefore it is fallly concluded by the * Doctor, that from the force of this *Norwegian* Law, the like contention happened in *Normandy* between the Curators of Duke William in his Nonage, and the other Pretenders, as Heirs to his Grandfather of that Dutchy.

above-mention'd.

AND certainly those next Heirs by Blood had been very much in the right, since the Ecclesiastical or Canon Law was at that time received in *Normandy*, by which Bastards are expressly prohibited to succeed as Heirs to their Fathers, unless they had also married their Mothers; which *Arlotte* Mother to this William, never was to Duke Robert above-mention'd.

* Col. 1281.

* In Regem Coronatur.
† P. 197.

BUT to return to the manner of Earl John's Succession to the *English* Throne, from which (to discover the Doctor's unfair dealing) I have made some Digression; * *Bromton's* Chronicle expressly tells us, that in a Great Assembly of Earls, Barons, and other Noblemen, Earl John was anointed and crowned King: and † *Matt. Paris* gives us the Speech that *Hubert* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* then made before his Election and Coronation, wherein he desires them all to take notice, that no one ought to succeed another in the Kingdom for any previous Reason, or Consideration, unless he were *ab Universitate Regni unanimiter electus*, i. e. elected by the General Body of the Kingdom (right old *English-Saxon* Doctrine) and which King John himself acknowledges in his * Charter, wherein he expressly declares he came to the Crown, (*Jure Hereditario, & mediante tam Cleri quam Populi unanimi Consensu & Favo*) not only by Hereditary Right, but by the unanimous Consent and Favour, as well of the Clergy as Laity.

* Vid. Chart. moderationis feodi magni Sigilli an. 1. Johan. ex vet. Reg. in Archivis Archiep. Cant.

* Ib.

I SHALL now answer the * Doctor's Objections against these Authorities. I confess he has given us Arch-Bishop *Hubert's* Speech at large, as also the Relation how it was received by those that heard it, who *must not doubt of what he had said, knowing the Arch-Bishop had not thus decreed this matter without cause.* But Earl John and all there acquiesced in what he had said, *ipsamque Comitum in Regem eligentes & assumptes, exclamant, dicentes, vivat Rex, i. e.* "chusing and receiving the Earl for their King, shouted, saying, *Let the King live.* Where I cannot but observe the Doctor's wonted Artifice, who here translates the word *Assumptes*, without any warrant from his Dictionaries, they chusing or acknowledging him for their King: Now I desire him to tell me, whether he thinks chusing and acknowledging are one and the same thing?

*

BUT

BUT to come to the Doctor's main Objection against this Authority, which is from the words immediately following in this Author: But Arch-Bishop *Hubert* being asked afterward, why he said these things? answered, That he guessed, and was taught and ascertained by certain Oracles (or Prophecies) that *John* would bring the Kingdom and Crown into great Confusion, and therefore lest he might take too much Liberty in doing it, he affirm'd, he ought to come in by *Election*, and not by *Hereditary Succession*: and so he was crown'd, as before is rehearsed.

FROM whence the * Doctor draws this Conclusion, that this * *ib.* learned Doctrin and Preachment of the Arch-Bishop asserts not any Right of *Election* in the Convention of Bishops, Earls, Barons, and others required to be at the Coronation; but that his own Answer, when he was asked why he said these things, clearly discovers only a Design and Artifice in the Arch-Bishop to cause them to set up, and make *John* King; by which also he denies any such Right of *Election*: *Hoveden* (says he) hath none of (nor doth he mention) this Harangue, and therefore it rather seems to be an Invention of *Matt. Paris*, than a Sermon of the Arch-Bishop's: Historians commonly make Speeches for other men they write of; *Bromton's* Chronicle takes no notice of it. Here then the Doctor gives us his words concerning the Oath of Fidelity sworn to him before his Coronation; which, since I have already made use of, I pass by, only must take notice, that the Latin words are much more Emphatical than the *English*, they being thus; *Ab Huberto Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo inungitur, & in Regem Anglia coronatur*; where the words being in the Accusative Case, do plainly infer, that it was the Anointing and Crowning that made him King. But as for *Hoveden's* omitting this Harangue, to argue from thence that it was never made, is a very fallacious way of proof, since one Historian often sets down what another omits; nor could this Speech be *Matt. Paris's* Invention, for the Doctor might also have found it in the Manuscript History of *Roger of Wendover* in the Cottonian Library, which he might have seen if he had pleased. And tho' I grant it is sometimes the Custom of Historians to make Speeches for those they write of, yet is it not likely this Author did so now, since all the Circumstances of it look too exact and particular to be invented; and the Doctor himself has put a Bar to this Objection, by admitting the Speech to be real, but that the Arch-Bishop made use of it only as an Artifice to cause them to set up *Earl John* to be King. Which Inference is certainly false, for either the Arch-Bishop then believed that *Earl John* had an Hereditary Right, or else that he had none: if he were perswaded of the Former, and if all the Assembly were of his mind, it had been ridiculous for him to have preached up this Doctrin of an *Election*; and if neither he, nor they were satisfied of his Hereditary Right, nor of that by his Brother's Testament (which is not here mention'd) then the Arch-Bishop's Speech was very proper at that time, since he could have no other Title but their *Election* (besides his near Relation to the late King) to recommend him to their Favour. But as for that place the Doctor has cited from *Gervase of Canterbury*, from whence he would prove that neither *Henry I.* nor any other King came in by *Election*, for that it was manifest and known almost to all men, that the Kings of England were only obliged and bound to God for

for the obtaining of the Kingdom, and to the Church of Canterbury for their Coronation; this is certainly either a Mistake, or a manifest Contradiction of himself in this Author, who expressly allows King Stephen to have been *elected* King by all there present: but indeed the words do rather make against the Doctor's Opinion; for if God is here excepted, so likewise is the Church or Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; and so the King is by this Doctrine as much obliged for his obtaining or possession of the Throne (as the Doctor translates it) to the latter, as to the former; and if that be once admitted, then see what he will gain by it, unless perhaps he had rather, that Kings should own their Crowns to God and the Arch-Bishops of *Canterbury*, than to God and the Election of the People. But indeed this Authority does not deserve any serious Confutation, for this Monk lays down this Assertion from a false Prejudice and superstitious Persuasion (then current among them) that it was a Prerogative of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, not only to crown, but to make Kings; as may be seen by some Passages in the Letters and Speeches of *Thomas Becket* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* in the ensuing History.

BUT to conclude, the Doctor puts a very false Gloss upon the words of King *John's* Charter above-mention'd, where by the words, *unanimous Consent of the Clergy and Laity*, he would needs have no more to be meant than their acknowledgment and submission to him; for (says the Doctor) according to *Hoveden's* Relation of his coming to the Crown (which is the most exact we now have) they submitted and swore Fealty to him against all men some time before his Coronation. But to this I need say no more than what I have already noted, that this Oath was not taken to him as present King, but only as such in Designation; for otherwise it had been a much easier matter for the Arch-Bishop and others above-mention'd to have made this Oath to be taken to him as King of *England* in direct Terms, without calling him only Duke of *Normandy*, &c. as is expressed in that Oath in *Hoveden* above-mention'd. But the Doctor flubbers over this Oath, by expressing it only in the general Terms of *Him*, without saying who was meant by it, whither the Earl or the King.

I AM come now to the last King of this Period, of which I have written (*viz.* *Henry the Third*) who if his Father King *John* was an Usurper, so was also his Son; for *Eleanor*, Sister to his Cousin *Arthur*, was living five and twenty years after he came to the Crown. But the Doctor being aware of this Objection, grants as much as I can desire; for * he says, that at this time, *viz.* at his Father's Death, King *Henry* had no good Hereditary Title; and therefore † *Matthew Paris* relates, that King *John*, when he departed this Life, appointed his Son *Henry* to be his Heir: And this Donation of his Father, or his making him his Heir, was his best Title; for until *Eleanor* (the Daughter of his Uncle *Geoffrey*) died, in the 25th year of his Reign (as before has been said) he was not true Heir by Right of Blood.

A VERY ingenuous Acknowledgment I must confess; and then I would fain know of the Doctor, whither this Testamentary Right signified any thing, or not? If it signified nothing, why does he mention it? But if any thing, why shall not the like Pretence of Testamentary Right still hold good at this day? But tho the Doctor is very loth to

* Id. p. 377.

† P. 288.

own it, yet it will appear, that notwithstanding King *John's* Testament, this young Prince's best Friends did not think fit to rely upon that alone, but rather upon the Consent and Election of the Great Council of the Kingdom, who met at *Gloucester* (as *Matthew Paris* tells us) *ut Henricum Filium Johannis in Regem exaltarent*, that they might advance *Henry* Son to King *John* to be their King. But another Author of good Credit and Authority, *viz.* * *Walter Hemingford*, in his *Chronicle* relates, that *William* the Mareschal, Earl of *Pembroke*, who was at that time a Man of great Authority and Wisdom, made a Speech to the Great Council of the Bishops and Nobility then present at *Gloucester*, on the behalf of the young Prince (not yet ten years old) whom he now design'd to advance to the Throne, to this effect; "Tho we have prosecuted the Father for his evil Deeds, and that justly, yet this young Infant is pure and innocent from those his Actions: you know what the Scripture saith, *The Child shall not bear the Iniquity of the Father*; therefore we ought to have compassion on his tender Age, and because he is the King's Son, and to be our Lord, let us make him King, and cast out the French King's Son and his People, &c. Then after some Objections of the Earl of *Gloucester* against it, at last the whole Council, as if they had been inspired from Heaven, cried out with one Voice, *Fiat sic, fiat Rex, fiat Rex*, let it be so, let him be made King: Whereupon they appointed *St. Simon* and *Jude's* day for his Coronation, when, as *Matth. Paris* and * *Thomas Wikes* both agree, he was encircled with a Chaplet of Gold for want of a Crown; from which day (being the 28th of *October*) *William* of *Risbanger* (*Matt. Paris's* Continuator) reckons the years of this King's Reign, and not from the Death of his Father King *John*; the Author's words are these, *Regnavit* (i. e. *Henricus Tertius*) *56 annos, & amplius, quantum distat à festo Sanctorum Simonis & Judæ usque ad festum Sancti Edmundi Pontificis, id est, viginti diebus*; King *Henry* the Third reigned 56 years, and as much more as is from the Feast of *St. Simon* and *Jude* to that of *St. Edmund* the Arch-Bishop; that is just twenty days. And that this is to be understood not only in an Historical, but a Legal Account, appears by what the above-cited *Thomas Wikes* says in the same place in these words; *From which day* (viz. of his Coronation) *the date of this King's Reign begins in all Writs and publick Writings*. But *Matthew Paris* is more concise; who in the very Title to this King's Reign, which he begins at his first Coronation with a Golden Chaplet, adds thus, *Aqua Coronatione supputantur anni Coronationis ejus*. From all which Testimonies put together, nothing can be more clear, than that *Henry* the Third was not looked upon as a Legal King before the time of his Coronation.

NOW let us look back to his Father K. *John*, who you'll find was crown'd the 27th of *May* 1199, and deceased on the 17th of *October*, *Anno Dom.* 1216. being *St. Luke's* Eve; according to which Account he reigned (says * *Thomas Walsingham*) 17 Years, five Months, and four Days; which account being reckon'd from the 27th of *May* to the 17th of *October*, makes just five Calendar Months of 28 days apiece. But his Reign can by no means commence from the day of his Brother King *Richard's* death, for that fell out on the 6th of *April*, just seven weeks and three days before his Coronation; which if computed into his Reign, would make up not five, but six compleat months, besides

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three weeks and three odd days, which are never counted into his Reign.

TO proceed higher yet to his Brother *K. Richard*, who had the most indisputable Hereditary Right of any King since the Conquest, tho his elder Brother the young King *Henry* died without Issue; yet you will find that his Reign is also computed by all our Historians, not from the death of King *Henry* his Father, which fell out on the sixth of *July* 1189. but from his own *Coronation* which was on the third of *September* following: from which time if you count to the 26th of *April*, A. D. 1199. being the day of his Death, you will find he reigned just nine years, seven months, and four days; for so it should be, and not six months, as in the printed Copies of *Rad. de Diceto*. But if we should reckon his Reign from his Father's Death, which was three months before his *Coronation*, wanting but three days, then he must have reigned nine years and nine months wanting but three days, which is more than any Historian assigns him.

SO likewise if we compute the years of King *Henry* the Second's Reign from his *Coronation*, (which happen'd on the nineteenth of *December*, A. D. 1184.) to the day of his Death, which was on the *Octave* of *St. Peter and Paul*, or sixth of *July* (as hath been already said) you will find it makes thirty four years, seven months and four odd days, which is the longest time that any of our Historians allow him to have reigned; but if you should reckon his Reign from the Death of King *Stephen* his Predecessor, instead of seven months and four days, it would make eight Kalendar months and six days, beyond what any of our Historians acknowledged him to have reigned.

HAVING thus calculated the years of the Reigns of these four last Kings of this Period, contained in the following History, and finding every one of them to have begun at their *Coronations*, and not from the Death of their Father or next immediate Predecessor, it will be needless to look higher back into the Reigns of the four other Kings, since it is owned on all hands, that they having no Titles by Right of Blood, could not date their Reigns sooner than from their *Coronations*; not but that I grant that even such Princes did, by virtue of their bare *Election*, and the Homage and Fealty that had been sworn to them as Supreme Lords of all the Lands of *England*, exercise several Regal Prerogatives even before their *Coronations*. Thus you will find in the Reign of King *Stephen*, that in about a month's time which passed between his *Election* and *Coronation*, he quell'd an Insurrection of certain Rebels or Lawless Men, who had taken the opportunity of an *Inter-Regnum* to raise a Disturbance in the Kingdom.

See the following History,

SO likewise the Empress *Mathilda*, being declar'd Heir to her Father in his Life-time, and having received by virtue thereof the Homage and Fealty of all the Freeholders of *England*; and being also again elected Lady of the *English* by the Bishops and Clergy at the Council of *Winchester*, tho not by the Title of Queen, yet took upon her to create *Milo* her Favorite Earl of *Hereford*, and to confirm her half-Brother *Reginald* in the Earldom of *Cornwal*, which had been before conferred upon him by King *Stephen*; and also disposed of several Castles and Crown-Lands to those Great Men that took her part: yet I do not find she ever proceeded to any other higher Acts of Sovereign Power, as either to coin Money, or make Laws; for King *Stephen*

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phen was all this while looked upon as King-in-Law, even by his Enemies, and that too whilst he was in Prison; for you will find that *Theobald* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* refused during that confinement to swear Fealty to the Empress without that King's Consent, to whom he then applied for it; and he is by *William* of *Malmesbury* (who on all occasions shews himself his Enemy) stiled *King*, notwithstanding his Imprisonment, and the former Election of the Empress, which this Author would never have done, had he not believed that this King's Election and Coronation had conferred upon him, not only a bare Title, but Regal Power and Authority.

THE like I may say of Prince *Lewis* of *France*, who after he was elected King, and called into *England* by the Barons against King *John*, did, by virtue of that, and the Homage and Fealty which all the Barons and Tenants by Knight's-Service then made him, exercise many Acts or Prerogatives of Regal Power, as to confer the Honours, Offices and Estates of those that held with King *John*, upon such as had sided with him; yet he never took upon him the Title of King of *England*, because he was never crown'd, and upon that account there was no Renuntiation of his Right to the Crown required of him upon the Pacification that was made between him and King *Henry* the Third, as you may see in the beginning of his Reign, where all the Conditions are set down at large. So that I can compare the Authority of such Elect Kings to nothing better, than to the Power that Bishops Elect exercised in those times; for after their Election by the Chapter or Convent, and that they had been confirmed by the Pope, and had done their Homage to the King for their Temporalities, they could let Leases of the Estates belonging to their Bishopricks, but had no place in the Choir, nor in Ecclesiastical Synods, till after their Consecration and Installation in their Sees.

I SHALL now say no more concerning this Point of the Succession to the Crown, but shall before I conclude, run over the other main Constituent Parts of the Government, and inquire how far it was alter'd after the Conquest.

AND first as to the Representatives of the Nation in their Great or Common Council of the Kingdom, from what it was during the Government of the *English-Saxon* Kings: as I have already proved in my last Volume that the *Aldermen* or *Earls* of Counties, as also the Superior and Inferior *Thanes*, together with the Representatives or Deputies of Cities and Boroughs had places in them; so all the Alteration I can find to have been introduced in the Great Council, or Parliament, after the Conquest, was, that Earldoms became now Hereditary, whereas before they were generally for life only.

BUT as for the *Thanes* or Barons by Tenure, whither of the higher or lower Degree, as also of those who held of them by like Military Service, and likewise as to the Cities and Boroughs, whither there was any Alteration as to their appearing and voting in the Great Council of the Nation from the Conquest till the 49th of King *Henry* the Third, when *Sr. Henry Spelman* and *Mr. Pryn*, (whom *Dr. Brady* likewise follows) do assign the Commons as represented by *Knights*, *Citizens*, and *Burgesses*, to have been first summon'd to Parliament; I will not at this time take upon me to treat of it, tho I at first intended it, since this Introduction has already swell'd beyond its bounds; and there:

therefore I shall reserve what I have to say on that Subject to the *Introduction* before my next Volume, when (God willing if I live) I will fairly represent all the Arguments and Authorities that have been made use of, either on the one side or the other, in this great Question, especially since many of the most material of them arise from a Claim of Prescription of the Cities and Boroughs made in the Reigns of the three first *Edwards*; which falling beyond the Period that this Volume extends to, may more properly serve for the succeeding.

I SHALL therefore conclude, with giving the Reader some Account of the most material Alterations that were made in Ecclesiastical Matters, either relating to Things or Persons, after the Conquest. And the greatest Change I can find, as to the latter, was, that of the Tenures of the Bishops and greater Abbots, in the beginning of King *William the First's* Reign, when they were brought under the Yoke of Knight's Service; and as Barons or Tenants *in Capite* they had from that time a place in the Publick Councils of the Kingdom, whereas under the *English-Saxon* Kings they sat there only in their Spiritual Capacities, and as a separate Estate, that held their Lands only by *Frank-Almoign*: not but that many of those who did not hold by Barony, were often summon'd to the greatest or most General Councils of the Nation, upon extraordinary Occasions, either to contribute Money, or to give Advice in the most difficult and arduous Affairs; as appears by that great Summons to Parliament in the 49th of *Henry the Third*, when it still remains upon Record, that not only the Abbots, and Priors who held *in Capite*, were then summon'd to Parliament, but also most of that Order in *England*, as Dr. *Brady* in his Answer to Mr. *Petyt* sets forth; which (notwithstanding the Doctor's Assertion of the contrary) I do not believe was a new Institution, since, if it had, the Historians and Annalists of those times would most likely have taken notice of it as an Innovation, especially when the Service of Abbots and Priors in Parliament was then look'd upon as a Burthen to their House, and an Avocation from their Spiritual Functions. And hence it was, that so many of them excused their appearance in succeeding Times, by pleading they did not hold of the King *in Capite*, nor by Barony, of which you will find many Instances in Mr. *Selden's Titles of Honour*.

BUT the most considerable Change that I can find to have happen'd in the County and other Inferior Courts after the Conquest, was, the separation of the Ecclesiastical from the Civil Jurisdiction; " For
 " * whereas under the *Saxon* Kings the Bishops, and the Earl, or the
 " Sheriff as his Deputy, sat together in the County-Court, Hundred,
 " and Sheriff's Courts and there promiscuously determined both Eccle-
 " siastical and secular Causes; and thus it continued for some time after
 " the Conquest, till the year 1085. † Then King *William* ordained,
 " That no Bishop nor Arch-Deacon, should for the future hold Pleas
 " in the County, Hundred, or other Inferior Courts, concerning Epis-
 " copal Laws, or Canons, nor should bring any Cause pertaining to
 " the Government of Souls before a Secular Judicature; but that every
 " one who had transgressed the Episcopal Laws should be judged in
 " such place as the Bishop should appoint, according to the same
 " Laws and Canons; and that if any was so obstinate as not to ap-
 " pear at the third Summons, he was to be *excommunicated*, and if
 " need were, the King's or Sheriff's Power was to be added; and
 " further

*Vid. Sir Hen. Spelman's *Epist. before the first Vol. of Councils.*

† Id. Vol. 2. p. 14, 15.

"further commanded, that no Sheriff, or Lay Officer, should inter-meddle with Episcopal Laws.

THIS is the sum of this King's Writ directed to R. Bannard and G. de Mandeville, P. de Valognes, and all his faithful Subjects of Essex, as also of another like Writ of this King's enrolled by *Laurence* in the Tower, and cited by Sir William Dugdale in his Preface to his Antiquities of Warwickshire.

Cart. Rich. 2.
per Insper. m.
13. n. 4.

AND from this Time we are to date the beginning of Ecclesiastical or Bishop's Courts, which the King hereby gave them authority to hold in their own Names, as they do at this day.

SO likewise in the *Witena Gemot*, or great Council, of the Kingdom, the Clergy and Laity, till now, late and acted together as one Body, as they did under the Saxon Government; and the same Synod made both the Civil and Ecclesiastical Laws, as I have already proved at large in my former *Introduction*; but some time after King William's coming in, the Bishops and Clergy began to hold their Synods or Councils apart, especially whenever the Pope sent over his Legate into England, the first Example of which I find A. D. 1070, being the fourteenth year of this King's Reign; when, as *Howden* tells us, there was a great Synod, or Council of the Clergy at *Worcester*, in which the Pope's Legate, *Gerard* Bishop of *Sarum*, and others presided, and where Arch-Bishop *Stigand* was deprived for several Crimes and Irregularities; as were also his Brother *Agilnoth* Bp of *Helmsham*, and several Abbots. This is the first Synod or Council that ever took upon them to deprive an Arch-Bishop by their sole Authority, without the Consent of the Lay-Part of the great Council; but was indeed a *Papal Operation*, the Clergy only being summoned by his Legate without any Lay-men there, as I can find: But before this, that Bishops were often both elected and degraded by the whole *Witena Gemot*, or great Council of the Kingdom, confirming both of the Clergy and Laity, I have already made out in my said *Introduction*, from several Authorities of the Historians of those times.

BUT that the Great Council of the Kingdom had not yet wholly lost their ancient Rights of electing and confirming the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, even in this King's time, appears by the manner of Arch-Bishop *Laurence's* Election to that See; indeed *William of Malmesbury* says, he was elected by the King; but the Ancient Latin Copy of the *Saxon Annals*, that is in *Bennet College Library*, sets it forth more particularly, how that this Year *Laurence* Abbot of *Evesham* being sent for by the King, came into England, and took upon him the Primacy of the Church of *Canterbury* (the rest I shall give you in the Latin Original) *Eligentibus eum Seniores* *bas quatuor Ecclesie, cum Episcopis, & Principibus, Clero, & Populo Anglie* *et c.* The Senior Monks of the said Church electing him, together with the Bishops and Chief Men, viz. the Clergy, and Laity of England, in the King's Court, or Great Council; with which likewise agrees almost *verbatim*, that short Account of this King's Reign, which you will find printed at the end of *Taylor's History of Gospelism* from an ancient Manuscript in the *Bodleian Library*.

BUT tho the Lairy soon lost their Voices in the Election of Bishops, yet the Suffragan Bishops of the Province of *Canterbury* long after maintained their Right of joining with the Monks in the Election of the Arch-Bishop, as you will find by divers Instances in the ensuing History; till at length the latter being supported by the Pope, took upon them alone to elect the Arch-Bishop. But the first I can find so chosen by the Monks, without any precedent or subsequent Consent of the Suffragan Bishops, was *Stephen Langton*, A. D. 1205. soon after the Death of Arch-Bishop *Hubert*. Pope *Innocent* wrote to the Bishops of that Province, not to intermeddle or molest the Monks of *Canterbury* in their choice of an Arch-Bishop: A Copy of which Letter or Bull you may read at large in * *Mart. Foss*; and the King at the same time hoping to make his advantage of the Monks, by causing them to elect the Bishop of *Norwich* (whom he then much desired to prefer to that See) gave them also the sole Power of choosing one: but the Pope declaring his Election that *Stephen Langton* was thereupon chosen Arch-Bishop by a few of the Monks, who had been a little before sent to Rome upon the clandestine Election of their *Sub-Prior*, as I shall shew hereafter. And tho the Suffragan Bishops then likewise sent their Proctors to Rome to protest against this Election of an Arch-Bishop without their Consents, yet it signified nothing; for the Pope made this small Committee to elect Cardinal *Langton* to that See, as hath been already said. From which time, during the Reigns of King *John*, and *Henry the Third*, the Pope, under the pretence of confirming or approving the Election of Bishops, vacated them at his pleasure, whenever he did not like the Man they had chosen, or had a mind to prefer a Creature of his own; so that the Election of the Convents and Chapters of Churches, then signified little or nothing.

* P. 212.

BUT I cannot here omit another very notable Inroadment the Pope now made on the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Church of *Canterbury*: for whereas till the coming in of *William the Conqueror*, the Popes sent Legates but very rarely into *England*, and that only upon great and extraordinary Occasions; so after that time they came not hither but when they were particularly desired by the King; for the Arch-Bishops of *Canterbury* were the Pope's constant and customary Legates in this Kingdom: But in the latter end of the Reign of *Henry the First*, it is observed by *William of Malmesbury*, in his * *de Gestis Pontificum*, that now began the frequent coming over of Legates into *England*, the Pope prevailing upon the weakness of Arch-Bishop *Reynold* to admit him to send them when he pleased. But the King by his Prudence put a check to this Innovation, and would not after that Arch-Bishop's decease, own any Legate in *England* besides the Metropolitan of *Canterbury*; which you also find more particularly set forth in *Eadmerus*. But this Abuse was again renew'd in the Reign of King *Stephen*, who suffered the Pope to do what he pleased here; and was continued, and daily increased in the Reigns of his Successors; and at last in that of King *Henry the Third* came to be an intolerable Grievance.

* L. 1. p. 231.

BUT since I am now entred upon this Subject, I shall briefly shew by what degrees the Popes so far advanced their Temporal Power here in *England*, under the specious colour of Spiritual Jurisdiction.

YOU

But you have already heard how Pope Alexander the Second sent Duke William's consecrated Banner, with his Blessing and Approbation of his Excommunication against King Harold: In return to which Favour, Pope Gregory the Seventh (Alexander's immediate Successor) by his Epistle to William being now made King, demanded that he should swear Fealty, and be wholly obedient to him; a Copy of which Letter you may find among that Pope's Epistles.

BUT the King was of too haughty a Spirit to yield to so mean a Subjection, and therefore returned this resolute Answer (which is also printed among Arch-Bishop Lanfranc's Epistles) that for the Oath of Fealty he had not taken it, neither would, because he never promised it, neither did he find that even his Predecessors had so done to Gregory's Predecessors. But tho the Pope was much displeased at this, and chief Arch-Bishop Lanfranc in another Letter for his persuading the King to do it; yet for all this the Arch-Bishop could never prevail upon him, and so he kept his Point, nor would permit any Pope to be acknowledged here but whom he pleased; and also retained the old Privilege of investing Bishops and Abbots, per Bannum & Mautuum; notwithstanding the late Decrees of the Lateran Council against it. Thus it continued during all this King's Reign, as also that of William Rufus his Son and Successor, for all that the Pope and his Arch-Bishop could do to the contrary.

BUT when King Henry the First came to the Crown, and Anselm was again returned into England from his voluntary Exile, the King demanded of him the accustomed Homage, which the Arch-Bishop refused to pay him, alleging the Decrees of the late Council at Rome. But tho the King was very loth to lose the Investiture and Homage of the Bishops, yet being afraid of the Pope's Excommunication, and that he should set up his Brother Robert's Title against him, he was at last forced to be reconciled to the Arch-Bishop, and give him leave to come home, he having been before banished by this King, who now quitted his Privilege of Investiture, only reserving the Ceremony of Homage of the Bishops in respect of their Temporalities; which was also allowed by Pope Pascal upon his Agreement with King Henry, and by him confirmed in a great Council at London. To this also Arch-Bishop Anselm consented, provided it were done before their Consecration; and so this Custom continues to this day, only it is now done upon every Election or Translation of Bishops. Yet the same Pope having yielded this Right of Investiture to the Emperor Henry the Fifth (as Florinus and William of Malmesbury relate) Anselm thereupon wrote to the Pope, that the King was resolved to resume the same Right too, and that they both actually did so. And Mr. Parsons and Mr. Westminster expressly say, That this King invested Richard (the very next Arch-Bishop) with the Staff and Ring after the Ancient Custom; tho it seems this did not hold long, for upon the Emperor's quitting that Right, I suppose this King quitted it too.

BUT the King did not then part with this Right of Investiture alone, but in the same Council last mention'd, he granted the free Elections of all Bishops, and Abbots; whereas in the Reigns of his Predecessors, Canonical Elections were but rare, the King himself very often in the Common Council of the Kingdom, nominating the Persons whom he would have to succeed, and their Consents were given, as it

were,

* Vid. Epist.
Greg. VII. l. 7.
Ep. 25.

Ep. 2.

Edm. p. 6.

to An. B. W.
1201. 12.

1215. 12.

Id. p. 66.

1215. 12.

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were, in way of Confirmation, so such precedent nominations. O And
 tho after this way was dissolved they were chosen by the Deans and
 Chapter, or the Bishops and Convents, according to the custom of their
 several Churches: Yet notwithstanding the King still retained his An-
 cient Privilege, not only in recommending the Person but also in
 most part to be chosen Arch-Bishop or Bishop, but also, the better to se-
 cure and influence the Election, often sent for the Dean and Chapter,
 or some of them, who should be empowered by the rest to come to
 Court, and by him the Abbot or Convent sent up their Bishop
 with some of the Senior Monks, fully commissioned for that purpose,
 who waiting in the Royal Chapel, at some Church nearby, there
 chose such Persons as the King had before recommended to them, as
 you will see in this History, concerning the manner of Thomas Becket's
 Election to the Arch-Bishoprick of Canterbury, as well as of his Success-
 ors: and the like was also done in other Bishops. And thus it was
 till King Henry the Second's Reign, the Brethren of the
 Clergy some Interposition for that King, having a powerful Competi-
 tor in the Bishops, who was obliged, for obtaining the Pope's Fav-
 our, to put all Ecclesiastical Matters under the Pope and Jurisdiction
 of his Legats and the Bishops. And therefore the King's own (Brother)
 the Bishop of Winchester, then the Pope's Legat, told him, That if the
 Bishops did any thing amiss, the King had nothing to do to judge them, that
 they must be left to the Pope's judgment: that the King was bound to give them
 as much as the Pope would give them, and that the King was bound to
 give them as much as the Pope would give them. And thus the King advanced the
 Papal Authority, by allowing his Legats so large a Power, as had never been
 heard of before in England: And now Appeals to Rome grew very
 troublesome and frequent (as our Historians complain) and the King
 so far lost his Prerogative of nominating, or so much as recommending
 any one to a Bishoprick, that William Arch-Bishop of York (tho a ve-
 ry good Man) was deposed by the Pope, merely because he was no-
 minated by the King, and Henry Marshal chosen in his stead, without
 the King's Consent or Approbation: and about this time the Right of
 Investitures was again condemned in a Council or Synod held at West-
 minster A.D. 1143, by which also no secular Person was to lay violent
 hands, or imprison any one in Holy Orders.
 SUCH was the state of things here, when King Henry the Second
 came to the Crown, and upon this Impunity of the Clergy, great Lo-
 solences and Villanies were committed by Men in Orders under the
 colour of Ecclesiastical Liberty, or the unaccountable of Clergy-
 men for their Actions to any Civil Tribunal: Which when the King
 went about to reform, he was openly opposed by Arch-Bishop Becket,
 who would not suffer any such Person to be delivered to Justice, tho
 after Degradation, nay, he retracted his own Consent to the Consti-
 tutions of Clarendon, wherein he had owned that Power in the Tem-
 poral Courts: for all which I refer you to the following History.
 BUT the Arch-Bishop being afterwards murdered, the King, to
 make his Peace with the Pope, was not only forced to renounce all in-
 termeddling in the Elections of Bishops and Abbots, but also to leave
 the Persons of Ecclesiastics to be punished only by their own Ordi-
 naries, or Abbots, so much did Holy Church (as they called it) then
 domineer over the Civil Power.

Hist. Brit.
 7. l. 11. v. 3. 11. 12.

Ep. 1.

Vid. Will. of
 Malmesb.

Id. p. 101.

Chron. Ger-
 val. Col. 1363.

C. Rich. Hag.
 Col. 327.

IN the next Reign of King *Richard the First*, the great Affairs of the Nation were almost wholly manag'd by the Pope's Legats, during his absence in the *Holy Land*; and in the latter end of his time, the Pope began to take upon him to dispose of the best Ecclesiastical Preferments in *England*, either by Translations, Provisions, or Collations.

BUT this was carried much higher after King *John's* Resignation of his Crown to the Pope's Legat, to whom he did Homage, and swore Fealty for his Kingdoms, under a certain Tribute of a thousand Marks per Annum: * After which Pope *Innocent the Third* by his Bull, not only accepted of this Resignation, but declared, That "whereas
" before these Kingdoms were subject to the Roman See in Spirituals,
" they were now become subject in Temporals too; and from thence-
" forth required an Oath of Fealty from the King himself, and all his
" Successors. But tho the King and Parliament did, in the fortieth
Year of King *Edward the Third*, deny to pay the Pope any more Tri-
bute, because of the Invalidity of King *John's* Charter, as being
granted without any consent of the Great Council or Parliament; yet
we must remember what Pope *Gregory the Sixth* had before wrote to
the Princes of *Spain*, That a Kingdom once belonging to the See of Rome,
can never be alienated from it; and altho the Use be discontinued, yet the
Right still remains.

* Vid. Odor.
Reynald. A.D.
1213. n. 83.
Regist. P. Inno-
cent. L. 16.
Ep. 131.

Greg. Ep. lib. 1.
Ep. 131.

AND it is also certain, that King *Henry the Third* did Homage, and swore Fealty to the Pope at his Coronation; and promised to pay the above-mention'd Tribute, as he did several times during his Reign. However the * whole Body of the People protested against it in the
" Council of *Lyons*, as a Grievance, which was extorted by the Roman
" Court unjustly in a time of War, and to which the Nobles of the
" Kingdom had never given their consents, nor ever would. But
whatever opinion the Nobles were of, the Pope had the Bishops sure to him, for upon his Message to them some time after, they all set their Hands to a Manuscript of King *John's* Charter, because the Original was then lost or burnt: which so highly provoked the King, that he solemnly swore, he would stand up for the Liberty of the Kingdom, and never pay the Tribute more whilst he breathed. But he had not Courage enough to keep his word: For notwithstanding all the late Complaints made by the English Deputies in the
Council of *Lyons*, of the infinite number of Italians who were then benefited among them, and that more Money went out of England into Italy every year, than the King's Revenues amounted to; and that the Pope's Legates grew every day more intolerable, and by their Reservations and Provisions, and one Trick or other, the Patrons were defrauded of their reasonable Pensions; and whoever would not presently submit, his Soul was immediately put into the Devils Custody by Excommunication: Notwithstanding, I say, all these Complaints, the Pope goes on in the same way with them, and resolved to try how much the *Asses* back would bear without kicking. The English Ambassadors go away highly incensed from the Council, and resolved to defend their own Rights; but they yet wanted a Prince of Spirit enough to head them. Before this time the Insolence of the Roman Clergy was grown so intolerable to the Nation, that the Nobility and Commonalty joyned together in a Resolution to free themselves from this Yoke, and threatened the Bishops to burn their Goods if they went about to defend them; they

Mat. Paris.
A. D. 1216.

* Id. p. 666.
Universitas
Regis.

Id. p. 681.

Id. p. 667.

Mat. Paris,
A.D. 1231.
p. 371.

Mat. West-
minster, A.D.
1232.

sent abroad their Letters to several places, with a Seal with two Swords, between which were written *Ecce duo Gladii*, in abuse of the Roman Court; and it seems they destroyed the Goods of several Roman Clergymen; but *Mat. Paris* saith, they were all excommunicated by the Bishop of London and ten Bishops more: although *Mat. Westminster* saith, the Bishop of London was cited to Rome, for favouring them, and having his House well emptied was sent home again.

Mat. Paris,
p. 691.

IT seems the Pope was so nettled at the Remonstrance of the English Nobility at the Council of Lyons, that he entered into a secret consultation with the King of France, either to depose the King of England, or to bring him wholly to his will, so that neither he nor his People should so much as dare to mutter against the Oppressions of the Roman Court; and the Pope offered the utmost assistance of his Power for it, but the King of France declined the employment. However the Pope goes on with his Work, and grants a Bull for raising ten thousand Marks out of vacant Benefices in the Province of Canterbury; which so incensed

* Id. p. 693.

the King, * that he issued out a Proclamation, that whosoever brought any Bulls of Provision from Rome, should be taken and imprisoned: but this did little good, saith *Mat. Paris*, because of the fickle and uncertain humour of this King. The † same year a Parliament was

† Id. p. 691.

called about the intolerable Grievances of the Roman Court; which yet had no effect, because many of the Bishops favoured the Pope's Party: But at the Parliaments next meeting at Winchester, the Ambassadors were newly returned from the Pope, who gave a lamentable account of their Embassy, viz. that instead of any redress, the Pope plainly told them, the King of England kicks and plays the Frederick (whom he had lately deposed from the Empire in the Council of Lyons) the King hath his Council, and I have mine, which I will follow; and withal * they say'd, they were scorned and despised as a company of Schismatics for daring so much as to complain. Upon this the King issues out another Proclamation, that no Money should be sent out of England to the Pope: At which his Holiness was so enraged, that he sent a severe Message to the Bishops of England under the pain of Excommunication and Suspension, to see his Money punctually paid to his Nuntio, by such a day in London; and at last the King by the persuasion of the Bishop of Worcester and some others, fairly yields, and gives up the Cause to the Pope.

* Id. p. 709.

Id. p. 716.

AFTER this the Pope sends for a third part of the Profits of all Benefices from Residents, and half from Non-Residents throughout England, with an Italian Gentleman called *non restans*, that almost undid the Nation: the Clergy meet at London about it, and make a grievous Remonstrance of their sad condition, declaring, that the whole Kingdom could not satisfy the Pope's Demands; but it seems the Bishops brought the Inferior Clergy to their Beck against the consent of the King and Parliament.

Id. p. 719.

Id. p. 721.

THE next Year the Parliament made another Remonstrance of the Grievances of the Clergy and People of England, which they sent to the Pope and Cardinals; wherein they declare, that it was impossible for them to bear the Burdens laid upon them; that the King's necessities could not be supplied, nor the Kingdom preserved, if such vast Payments were made; that the Goods of all the Clergy of England could

could not make up the Sum demanded : but all the effect of this, was only a Promise, *that for the future the King's leave should be first desired*; which, saith *Matthew Park*, came to as much as nothing. By which we may judg of the miserable condition of this Nation under the intolerable Usurpations of the Court of *Rome*, during the long and uncertain Government of this Pious but Weak Prince, with whose Reign I conclude this Volume.

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Of the AUTHORS both in *Print* and *Manuscript* that are made use of in this Volume, and how denoted in the Margin.

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Book.

The Black-Book of the Exchequer, commonly called Geruasiu Tilba-
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Two ancient Originals of King John's Magna Charta, the one in the
Cotton Library; the other among the Archives of the Dean and
Chapter of the Church of Salisbury.

* You will find them particu-
larly recited
in the end of
K. Henry 3d's
Reign. Several other * ancient Manuscript Copies of Magna Charta, and
Charta de Foresta, dated Anno secundo, and again confirmed anno of
King Henry the Third.

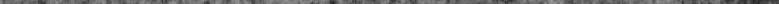
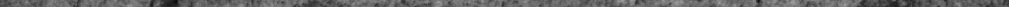
An Original Charter of anno of that King, now in the possession of
Sir Nathaniel Povel Baronet.

The Reader is desired that, as to all the Authors already cited,
where the Page is not set down, he would consult the Year of our
Lord.

Adver-

...that you
...the fear of

and Clinton Fawcett, who made his name as the Wolf which
on *Water*



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THE

General History

OF

ENGLAND

BOTH

Ecclesiastical and Civil.

VOL. II. BOOK I.

The Reign of King *William I.* commonly called the Conqueror.

SINCE we are now arrived at a Period, in which the violent Entrance of a Foreign Prince, and the coming over, and settling of so many Strangers in this Kingdom, produced so great a Change in the Laws, Customs, and Manners of the *English* Nation: It will not be amiss in the first place to give you *William of Malmesbury's* Account of the difference between the *English* and *Norman* way of Living; that so you may be able to make a better Judgment of the Change which was introduced by the Latter.

It was the manner, says he, of the *English* Nobility and Gentry of these Times to live in mean Houses, and to spend the greatest part of their Revenues on good Cheer and Drink, in both which they were intemperate. As for their Habits, they used short Coats reaching but to their Knees, wearing their Hair cropped, loading their Arms with gold Bracelets, and staining their Skins with various marks, though in what manner it was done he does not inform us.

As for the *Normans*, he describes them to have been very curious in their Cloaths, choice in their Diet, but without Excess; being a People used to War, and scarce knowing how to live without it; quick in assaulting their Enemy, and if open force could not prevail, they would either over-reach them by Trick and Stratagem, or corrupt them with Money; they built large Edifices, though they lived in

* Hist. Lib. 3.
p. 10.

An Account
of the old
English way
of living.

The manners
of the *Normans*.

them at a moderate Expence; they were apt to envy their Equals, and desired to surpass their Superiors, yet defended those that were Subject to them from the violence of Strangers; *they were, whilst pleas'd, faithful to their Lord*, yet would easily renounce their Fidelity on a slight occasion, judging of their Perfidy according to Success, and changing Sides for Advantage; yet being very Humane, they treated Strangers with the same Civility and Respect as they did themselves, nor did they disdain to marry with those that were Subject to them; and this must be own'd for their Honour, that by their coming hither they revived the Discipline of the Christian Religion, then almost extinct in *England*: Whence (as our Author observes) you might see Churches new built in the Towns and Cities, and Monasteries erected after a nobler way of Architecture, inasmuch that the whole Country began to flourish in a better manner.

The Advantages of the English Nation by the coming in of the Normans.

These were the Advantages the Nation reapt in general by this Change, though it proved destructive to several Noble Families; to which we may also add, That the *English Nation* had before been but little known abroad for Achievements either of Peace or War, their Princes seldom or never making Invasions upon their Neighbours; nor do we read of any Foreign Expedition by the *English*, unless when King *Canute* made use of their Assistance in his Wars against the *Swedes*, as has been already related in the former Volume. But you will find in this, that the *English Nation* under the Conduct of their Princes of the *Norman* Race made a greater Figure abroad, and in a short time conquer'd that Country by which they had been before subdued.

But since the coming in of the *Normans* was the cause of so many and such great Alterations, it is fit we should say something more of their Nation, of which (as we have hinted somewhat already, so) we shall from *Cambden's* Introduction to his *Britannia* go on to give you a short Account of the Original of this Nation, and how they came to be first settled in *Normandy*.

Their Original.

As in former Ages the *Franks* first, and afterwards the *Saxons*, that came out of the North-East parts of *Germany*, for many years plagu'd *Gaul* and *Britain* with their Piracies, and Invasions; so in succeeding Times the *Danes* first, and then the *Normans* following the same method, came from the same Coasts; and had the like Successes over the *Franks* and *English-Saxons*; as if Providence had so order'd it, that those Countries should constantly produce and send forth a Race of men to Conquer a great part of *France* and *England*, and to establish new Kingdoms in them.

The Normans whence derived.

* Helmoldus.

† Lib. Sangal. de Gestis Caroli Magni.

The Mischiefs they did in France.

These *Normans* took their names from the Northern Parts from whence they came, (for *Normandy* signifies no more than the Country of Northern men) in which Sense they are likewise term'd in * *Saxon*, *Nordland*, i. e. Northern People; as being a mixt multitude of *Norwegians*, *Swedes* and *Danes*, that in the time of *Charles the Great* carried on their Piracies after such a barbarous manner, both in *Frisland*, *England*, *Holland* and *France*, as made that † Prince, when he saw their Vessels in the *Mediterranean*, to cry out with a deep sigh, and with tears in his Eyes: *How am I troubled that they should venture upon this Coast, even while I am living: And I foresee what a plague they are like to prove to my Successors*, and therefore in the publick Prayers and Litanies of the Church there was afterwards inserted this Clause; *From the fury of the Normans, Good Lord deliver us: ** And at last they brought the

the

the French to such extremities, that Charles, surnamed the Bald, was forced to buy a Peace of *Hasting*, the Chief Commander of these Norman Pirates, with the Gift of the County of *Chartres*; and Charles the *Grosse* gave *Godfrid* the Norman part of *Neustria* with his Daughter in Marriage; so that by force of Arms they fixed themselves near the mouth of *Seine*, in those parts which formerly (by corruption) had been called *Neustria*, as being part of *Westrasia*, (for so the Writers of the middle Age term it) by the Germans stil'd *Westenrich* (i. e. the Western Kingdom) containing all that lies between the *Loire* and the *Seine*, to the Seaward. Whence you may observe that the Normans had seized great part of *Neustria*, before its last Invasion and total Conquest, by *Rollo* the Norman or Norwegian, Anno Dom. 910, and Charles the Simple, King of France, being at last forced to make Peace with him, granted him this Country in Fee, together with his Daughter in Marriage, and then it first began to be called *Normandy*.

This *Rollo*, who at his Baptism was named *Robert*, is by some thought to have turn'd Christian out of design only, but by others, not without Deliberation and Piety; these latter add, that he was moved to it by God in a Dream, which sounding so like a Legend, I shall not trouble my Reader with it; only this much is certain, that *Rollo* then became a Christian, and all his Followers with him.

This Prince had a Son named *William*, who succeeded him, and was called *Longa Spata*, from a Long Sword he us'd to wear, and this *William's* Son was *Richard*, the first of that name, who was succeeded by his Son, and Grand child both likewise *Richards*; but *Richard* the Third dying without Issue, (and by Poison as was suppos'd) his Brother *Robert* succeeded to the Dukedom: This Prince, after about eight years Reign, being touched in Conscience for the death of his Brother, (of which it seems he thought himself guilty) resolved to expiate that offence by a Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*; but before he undertook it, he summon'd the Estates of *Normandy* to *Fescamp*, and acquainted them with his design; and to secure the Succession in his Family, he shew'd them a young base Son of his, called *William*, whom he had begot upon one *Arlotta*, the Daughter of a Skinner of *Falaife*; (whom he had for some time kept instead of a Wife) this Child he earnestly intreated them to own for his Successor, telling them, that tho' he was yet in his tender years, he doubted not but they should have great cause to rejoice in him; whereupon the Estates freely agreed to elect him for their Prince, immediately swearing fealty to him, as Successor to his Father.

Duke *Robert*, having thus obtain'd his desires, committed his Son to careful Tutors, and having settled the Government of the Country during his Absence, as well as he could, immediately began his Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, and performed it; but in his Return home he died at *Nice* in *Bythinia*, being (as were also the rest of his Predecessors) a Prince of great Valour and Personal worth, so that out of that love and respect his Subjects bore him, all things continued in Peace and Tranquillity, so long as they thought him alive; yet no sooner did they receive the news of his death, but they fell into great tumult and disorder, by reason of the contending Factions of the Nobility, some of whom being nearly related to the late Duke, thought themselves to have a better Title to the Duchy than this Boy, whom they looked upon as a Bastard.

Anno Dom.
MXXXI.

Rollo first
Duke of Normandy.

Anno Dom.
MXXXII.

The Successors
of Rollo.

Anno Dom.
MXXXIII.

* Guil. Pitev.
William, surnamed the Bastard, declar'd Successor to his Father Duke Robert.

Who then
went to the Holy Land,
but died in his Return.

Anno Dom.
MXXXIV.

Anno Dom.
MXXXIV

* Now Eu in
Normandy.

The State of
Affairs in the
Minority of
Duke William.

* Will. Gomet.

Who was first
opposed by
Roger de Tony.

As also by Guy
Count de Ver-
non, and
others.

* Now call'd
Constantin.

Anno Dom.
MXLVII.

The Battel of
Walefdune,
wherein the
Rebels were
routed.

Prodig. New-
frise, 434.
Duke William's
Wars
against the
Duke of An-
jou.

But since he proved afterwards so great a Prince, it will not be amiss to give you a short view from *Will. of Malmesbury*, and *The Wal-*
ingham's Itinerary Neustrie, and other Writers, of the principal Actions
of his Life, before he obtained the Crown of *England*.

Gilbert Count of * *Om*, who had been appointed Tutor to this young
Prince by the Duke his Father, (tho' under the protection of *Henry* King
of *France*), performed his Trust with great Fidelity; but upon the news
of the Duke's death (as you have heard) the People's Love and Dutiful
Affection, quickly changed, so that all the Noblemen began to fortify
their Towns and Castles, and to seek all occasions of quitting their Al-
ligiance to the young Prince; by which means Count *Gilbert* had much
ado to defend his Right against them; and at last he being slain by one
Ralph his Cousin, the whole Country became broken and divided; Civil
Dissentions, Robberies, Murders, and Burning of Towns were every
where practised, insomuch that *Solomon's* saying was remarkably made
good, *Woe be to that Land whose King is a Child*.

The first that presumed openly to question his Title, was * *Roger de*
Tony, Standard bearer of *Normandy*, who was descended from *Malehalein*
Uncle to *Roll* the first Duke, and an Adventurer with him in the Con-
quest. This *Roger* being newly return'd out of *Spain*, (where he had
performed great things against the *Saracens*) and finding Duke *William*
then but a Child, to have lately succeeded *Robert* his Father, was much
displeased at it, and scorned to obey him, saying, that a Bastard ought
not to rule over the *Normans*. Whereupon confederating with divers
other Conspirators against the young Duke, he entered the Territory of
Humphry de Vexilis, destroying it with Fire and Sword. But *Roger de*
Beauvont, *Humphry's* Son, encountred *Roger de Tony* with what Forces
he could raise, and with such good success, that he routed his Army,
and slew both him and his two Sons, *Helbert* and *Elinant*.

The rest, who after him gave Duke *William* any disturbance, were
Guy, Count de *Vernon*, and *Bryon* a *Burgundian* by Nation, Grand-son to
Duke *Richard the Second* by his Daughter, who, (though bred up with
Duke *William*, and obliged to him for many favours, yet) unmindful
of these benefits, combined with *Nigel*, Viscount of *Constantine*, * *Rad-*
ulph, Viscount of *Tembray*, and other Noblemen of that Country, and
raised a dangerous Rebellion against the young Duke, in which War
the several Towns and Castles that were taken and retaken on either
side are too tedious to relate. But in short, the King of *France*, not be-
ing unmindful of the Duke his Father's Kindnesses (who had contri-
buted very much to the making him King) and finding it now abso-
lutely necessary to assist his Pupil, raised an Army, and fell upon the
Rebels at a place called *Walefdune*, where many thousands of them were
slain and drowned, in passing over the adjoining River *Othe*; Count
Guy himself narrowly escaping, saved himself in the Castle of *Bryon*,
but was at last forced to seek for Peace, and within a short time after
quitting the Country came to an untimely End.

Sometime after this *Geoffrie*, surnamed *Marcel*, Earl of *Anjou*, Invaded
Normandy and took the Castle of *Danfront*, which Duke *William* besieging,
and finding it too strong for him, blocked up, and went his way; for be-
ing told by certain Spies, that the Castle of *Alvergon* might be easi-
ly taken, he marched towards it; but finding in a certain Fort, not far
from it, some Soldiers in Garison, and having taken it by Storm, he not

only burnt it, but commanded the hands and feet of those who held it, to be cut off, because they had cried out when he came before it, *La Pel, La Pel*, (i.e. the Skin, the Skin) reproaching the Duke with the baseness of his Birth, which Severity (when those in the Castle heard of it) so terrified them, that they presently surrendered to him: From thence he returned to *Danfront*, where the Besieged hearing how he had already treated those of their Party, straight deliver'd up the Castle to him, notwithstanding Count *Geoffrey* had marched to its Relief with a numerous Army, and also made great brags in a message to Duke *William* what feats he would do when he arrived; yet for all this he was forced to Retreat out of the Country, for the Duke not only took that place, but removing thence, surprised *Hambroies* a Frontier Town belonging to Count *Geoffrey*, where the Duke built a Castle on the Bank of the River, and having strengthened it with a Garrison and store of Provisions, he returned to *Rouen* in Triumph.

These Assaults abroad, and Conspiracies at home, he had passed over before he was full Twenty two years of Age: But now to strengthen himself against future Attempts, he Summon'd an Assembly, or great Council of his Prelates, Barons, and Noblemen, causing them to renew their Oath of Fealty, and Raze their Castles, which being done, and all things settled, he Married *Matilde*, the Daughter of *Baldwin*, the Fifth Earl of *Flanders*, though not without great trouble; for his Uncle *Mauger*, Archbishop of *Rouen* soon after Excommunicated him for Matching within the forbidden Degrees of Consanguinity, she being the Daughter of *Eleanor*, who was Daughter to Duke *Richard* the Second, and so his Father's Sister's Daughter; to expiate which Offence (upon a Dispensation obtained from Pope *Viktor*) they were enjoined the Building of certain Hospitals for Blind People; and Two Monasteries, the One for Men, the Other for Women, which were both Erected at *Caen*.

Sometime after this, *William*, Count of *Arque*, the Duke's Uncle (but base born) who had been always changeable and unfaithful, raising another Rebellion, Fortified the Castle of *Arque* against him, having corrupted those to whose charge the Duke had committed it; but he quickly marching thither, Besieged his Enemy therein, and blocking it up by raising a strong Fort before it, presently marched off to more important Undertakings; for he knew that *Henry* King of *France* being now jealous of his success, was about to bring Relief to the Besieged; and though the Duke declin'd meeting with him in open Field, yet the King at length (things going ill on his side) was forced to return into *France*; whereupon the Count d' *Arque* being closely Besieged, and almost Famished, was forced to surrender the Castle, his Life only being granted him.

But King *Henry* did not indulge his ease, for being vexed that Duke *William* had thus gained the better of him, he raised a great Army, and with it invaded *Normandy* in Two Bodies, which obliged Duke *William* also to divide his Forces in like manner, and marching gently toward the King's Camp, that then lay in the County of *Exenx*, so streightned him, that he gave him neither leave to fight, nor yet to waste the Country before him; whilst the Duke's Commanders, *Robert* Count d' *Eu*, and *Hugh* de *Montfort*, with others, late down

before

Anno Dom.
MXLVIII.

His Victories

and his death

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Ann. Dom.
MLIV. X
Is sent to flight by the Duke's Commanders.

* W. M. p. 97.

Idem. ib.

Duke William's Generosity towards his Enemies.

of the Duke's Generosity towards his Enemies.

W. M. p. 97.

† Claims the Earldom and City of Mans as his Inheritance, and takes the City of Mans.

VIII
The Duke's Expedition into Britain.

before Mortimer Castle, to stop the progress of Count Odo the King's Brother, who engaging in a Fight, and making small Resistance, for the Number of his Forces (as not being able to bear the shock of the Normans) first turn'd his back and fled, whilst Guy Earl of Pontieu was there taken Prisoner, together with many others of great quality. * So soon as Duke William received this news, he immediately caused it to be proclaimed near the King's Tent, which when he had heard, after some days stay in Normandy, he retired into France; and not long after, Ambassadors passing between them, a Peace was concluded upon these Conditions, "That the Prisoners taken by the Duke should be discharged, and that he should also restore to Count Geoffrie what ever had been taken from him."

It would be tedious and unnecessary to relate how great the Quarrels were between these Two Princes, and how Duke William still got the better of him, and that with such a wonderful presumption of success, that he scorned to set upon his Enemies by surprize, and before he had sent word what day he would give them Battle; the greatness of his Courage, contemning the more cautious, though safer method of Fighting used in our times.

I shall pass by the particular Relation of the next War between that King and the Duke, and how the former breaking the League he had lately made, again Invaded Normandy, and came as far as the River *Deive*, bragging, that only the Ocean should stop the progress of his Arms. Duke William, who found himself (by reason of this late dissembled Peace) extremely surprized, was forced to retire for a while; but watching his Advantage, he soon set upon one part of the King's Forces as they were going over the River, whilst the other part of them who were already got over, were not able to assist them; and he gave him such a terrible Defeat, that most of the French Forces were either cut off, or taken Prisoners; whereupon the King was obliged with all speed to retire out of Normandy; and after this France stood in dread of nothing more than to provoke the Norman Courage; but the hasty death of King Henry, as also of Count Mortimer not long after, put an end to these quarrels. I should have been more exact in setting down the particular years when these great Actions were done, had Guil. Gomer. Ordericus Vitalis, and Walsingham in his *Ipodigma Nessi*, thought fit to Note them.

† But I cannot here omit the War which the Duke made some years after upon the Earldom and City of *Mans*, to which he laid claim by the Testament of *Hugh* the last Earl thereof: When the City rather inclining to take *Walter* Earl of *Medan* for their Prince, were made dearly to repent of their Error, the Town being taken, and all the Castles throughout the whole Country subdued, in which the Duke placed sufficient Garisons to restrain their Insolence for the future; so having taken the Oath of Fidelity from the Subjects of that Country, he returned home with Honour. This was the last Expedition the Duke made before his coming over into England, being about the time that *Earl Harold* was driven into the Country of *Pontieu*, as you have already heard; and though Duke William made another Expedition into Britain, *Earl Alan*, then but in the prime of his Youth, was so afraid of him, that coming to him of his own accord, he yielded himself and his Country to his Discretion.

Some

Some years before the death of King *Edward the Confessor*, [1.] In *Anno Dom. MLIV.* *golph* relates, that Duke *William* found leisure to come over to visit his Cousin King *Edward* with a great Retinue, and that the King received him very Honourably, and entertaining him here for some time, carried him on Progress to shew him the principal Cities and Castles of the Kingdom; so that in all probability he came upon some more important Affair than a meer Visit; but yet for all this, the same Author tells us, That though the Duke had some hopes of his Succession to the Crown, yet there was then no mention made of it: So that the time when the King declared the Duke to be his Successor is very uncertain; for as for his assuring him of it about a year before his Death, by *Robert Archbishop of Canterbury*, it must needs be a mistake; That Archbishop being deprived and dead long before, as has been already shewn in the former Volume; only this we may depend on for Truth, That King *Edward* did sometime before his Decease really nominate Duke *William* for his Successor, or else he could never have had the confidence to have pretended it.

Anno Dom. MLIV.

[1.]
P. 510.

For this year King *Edward* deceasing, Duke *William* demanded the Crown from *Harold*, and being refused such his reasonable demand, he invaded *England*, and meeting with *Harold* near *Hastings*, fought that bloody Battel so fatal to the *English*, in which that King was slain, as has been already related; so that beginning to continue the thread of our History, and report from *Guil. Pictaviensis*, (who was then one of Duke *William's* Domestick Clerks, or Chaplains) what was perform'd by the Duke in pursuance of his Victory.

Anno Dom. MLXVI.

Will. Pictav.

P. 204.

His Actions after the Victory.

The day after the Battel above-mentioned, he commanded the dead Bodies to be buried, which being performed, he purposed to make the best advantage he could of his success, and therefore like a wise General, before he proceeded any further, resolved not to leave any strong place untaken behind him; so having left a sufficient Garrison in the late built Fort at *Hastings*, he marched from thence to *Romney*, and revenged himself upon the inhospitable Inhabitants of that place, for the slaughter of some of his Men, who by a mistake had landed there.

Id. ib.

[2.]

Dover Castle and Canterbury

surrendered to him.

Id. ib.

[3.]

Guil. Pictav.

[4.]

Vid. Decem. Scriptor.

Col. 1785.

[2.] He continued his march along the Coast as far as *Dover*, whither a great multitude of People of those parts had fled for Refuge, as to a place, which, by reason of the strength of its Castle, was then esteemed impregnable; yet all these upon the first approach of the Conqueror without making any Defence, timely yielded to mercy; after which bestowing about Eight days in the further Fortification of the Castle, and leaving there his Sick Men, who had many of them been taken with the Bloody Flux, by reason of the too much fresh Meat they had eaten; he marched from *Dover* towards *London*, when not far off the *Kentishmen* came in to him of their own accord, Swearing Fealty, and giving Hostages for the performance; whereupon the City of *Canterbury* presented him with her Submission by certain Deputies sent for that purpose: This Relation being made by so faithful an [3.] Author and Eye Witness of these Transactions, may serve sufficiently to confute that plausible (but fictitious) Story related by *Thomas Spot*, Monk of the Abby of *St. Augustine's* in *Canterbury*, in his Manuscript History of the Abbots of that Abby, and which is also from him repeated by *William Thorne* in his [4.] History of the same Abbots,

Ann. Dorn.
MLXVI.

Kentishmen,
the Story of
their Treat-
ing with
King William.

Abbots, who both say, that after the Battel of *Hastings*, *Stigand* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Egelfin* the Abbot of *St. Augustine's*, being the chief Persons of *Kent*; and sensible that (though as yet there were no Villains in *England*) they should all be now in Bondage to the *Normans*, they summon'd the whole Country, and shewed them their imminent danger, the insolence of the *Normans*, and the sad condition of the Slavery they were like to be put under; whereupon they unanimously resolved, rather to die fighting than lose their Country's Liberties, and so they chose the Archbishop and the Abbot for their Leaders, and at a stated day they all met at *Swanescomb*, and there hiding themselves in the neighbouring Woods, with their Boughs in their hands, they beset the way, carrying every one of them a green Bough in his hand.

[5.]
I. l. ib.

The next day as the Duke was Marching near *Swanescomb*, he seem'd amazed to behold a [5.] moving Wood, as he thought, approaching towards him; and at the same time the *Kentishmen* betook themselves to their Arms, whilst the Archbishop and Abbot went directly to the Duke, and saluted him with these or the like Expressions, viz. "Behold, Sir, the *Kentishmen* are here come out to meet you, being willing to receive you as their Leige Lord upon this condition, That they may for ever enjoy their ancient Laws and Liberties; which if denied, they denounce War against you, and are here ready to defend them." The *Norman* Duke perceiving himself in this freight, wisely complied with their Request, and Hostages being given on both sides, the *Kentishmen* directed the *Normans* the way to *Rocheſter*, and delivered up the whole County to him, with the Castle of *Dover*. And it is to this Action that Authors ascribe the custom of *Gavelkind*, and the reason why there were no Villains in *Kent* in their times.

Gavelkind in
use before
Duke William's
coming
here.

But the learned Mr. *Somner* in his Treatise of *Gavelkind* has, one would think, sufficiently confuted this Relation, not only proving that there were Villains in *Kent* long before Duke *William's* coming over, but also that *Gavelkind* was in use there before that time; and we have already shewed from the Authors abovementioned, that the Duke did not immediately march towards *London* before he had taken *Dover*, which was not surrendered to him by Composition as these Monks report; not to mention the improbability of Green Boughs in the beginning of *November* when Duke *William* marched that way. So that though this Story has been made use of by divers Writers, yet it is certainly no better than a Monkish Fiction, to magnify the Valour of their Abbot and the *Kentishmen*. So that we may now return again to our History, which the same [1.] Author thus continues.

The Story ex-
amined and
disproved.

[1.]
Guil. Pittav.
p. 205.
Received In-
telligence
that the Eng-
lish were
about to
make Edgar
Atheling King.

The Duke being now come as far as a place called *Fracta Turris*, the *Broken Tower*, (where it was we know not now) he received Intelligence, that *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, together with the Earls *Godwin* and *Morchard*, and they backed by the City of *London* and its *Mariners*, intended to set up *Edgar Atheling* for their King, whereupon the Duke resolved to make what hast he could to prevent them, and so marching towards *London*, encamped not far from thence; but some Troops falling out upon the Duke's Forces, he detached Five hundred *Norman* Horse, who soon drove them back over the Bridge into the City, with the Slaughter of a great number of them.

Marches to-
wards *London*
but finding
himself un-
able to take
it,

[2.] But

But the Duke, not being able as yet to enter the Town, was resolved, first to subdue the Countries lying *South-West* on the other side of the *Thames*; so having fired all the Buildings (which we now call *Southwark*) lying on that side the River, he marched towards *Wallingford*, whither *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and divers of the *English* Nobility followed him, and, renouncing Prince *Edgar*, made their Peace with the *Norman*, and received him for their Sovereign. And thus far these Foreign Writers and Ours agree.

But *Florence of Worcester*, and *R. Hoveden*, more at large relate, that Duke *William* marching clean through *Sussex*, *Kent*, *Hampshire*, *Mid-dlesex*, and *Hertfordshire*, absolutely reduced those Counties to his Obedience; nor ceased he burning of Towns, and killing the Inhabitants, until he came to a place called *Beorcham* (being that which we now call *Berkhamstead*) where *Aldred* Archbishop of *Tork*, *Wulfstan* Bishop of *Worcester*, with *Edgar Atheling* himself, and other Noblemen, finding it in vain any longer to resist, quitted *London*, and submitting themselves, Swore Fealty to the Duke, and upon their giving Hostages, he made a firm * League, or Contract with them; nevertheless he still permitted his Men to Burn and Plunder all the way they marched.

Now this must be understood of such places as had not yet submitted to him, otherwise it had not only been unjust, but also impolitic to destroy those who had already yielded.

The Feast of *Christmas* now approaching, Duke *William* with all his Army marched up towards *London*, that so he might be there acknowledged King, the Chief Men of the City going out to meet him; at which time all the Bishops and Lay Nobility requested, That he would accept the Crown, saying, *That they had been always accustomed to Obey Kings*, and therefore they would accept him for their Lord and King; whereupon the Duke advising with those who had accompanied him in this Expedition, and of whose Prudence, as well as Courage he had had long experience, he communicated to them the main Obstacles that moved him to deny their Request; for he alleged, that at present his Affairs were disturbed and unquiet, and that many continued still in Arms, therefore he rather desired to see the Kingdom better settled before he accepted of so great a Dignity, and (which if God thought fit he should attain to) he desired his Wife might be Crown'd with him.

[4.] But his intimate Counsellors dissuaded him by all means from these delays, because they very well knew the Army desired nothing more than his Coronation; and *Haimar* of *Aquitain*, One of his Chief Commanders, who was both Eloquent and Valiant, farther told him, that the common Soldiers were never consulted in such Debates, nor was there need of any long deliberation about that which every one desired might be speedily performed: So the Duke having well weighed all these matters within his own Breast, consented at last to the request of so many several Parties, who at once unanimously desired the same thing, hoping that as soon as he should have taken upon him the Title of King, he could the more easily crush all those who might presume to Rebel against him; yet ere he would enter *London*, he sent some of his Men before, to build a Fortress that should secure the City, and others were dispatched to prepare all things befitting a Royal Corona-

Anno Dom.
MLXVI.

[3.]

Id. Ib.
Marches into
Berkshire.
Archbishop
Stigand and
the English
Nobility
come to Wal-
lingford, and
there submit
to him.

Aldred Arch-
bishop of
Tork, with
other Noble-
men, meet
him at Berk-
hamstead.
* Fædus Pepi-
gis.

Note.

Idem.
Duke William
received by
the Bishops,
Nobility, and
City.

[3.]

Guil. Pict.
p. 205.
Brompton's
Chron.

[4.]

Id. Ib.
He is desired
by all Parties
to be Crown-
ed King.

Anno Dom.
MLXVI.

He abhors the
Name of a
Tyrant.

tion. So that all danger being now over, he for some time took his pleasure in Hunting and Hawking, and did not return to Town untill a little before *Christmasts*.

Brompton's Chronicle farther informs us, That the Duke abhorring the Name of a Tyrant, much rather desired the Title of a Lawful Prince, and therefore at first seem'd willing to be Crown'd by Archbishop *Stigand*, but he (as some relate) refusing to lay his hands on a Cruel Man, and the Invader of another's Right, could by no means be persuaded to do it; wherefore *William*, when he came to be King, though he seem'd to pay him great Respect, yet could never afterwards endure him; but this sounds like the invention of some *English* Monk that loved not King *William's* Memory; for what *Florence of Worcester*, and *Simeon of Durham* both affirm, is much more probable, viz. That Archbishop *Stigand* then standing accused to the Pope for not having obtained his Pall Canonically, Duke *William* therefore refused to be Crown'd by him.

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[3.]
W. M. p. 57,
58.

W. P. p. 205,
206.

The Duke is
Elected.

But leaving these Circumstances, all [5.] Writers agree, That on the day of Christ's Nativity he was solemnly Crown'd King in the Abby-Church at *Westminster*, the manner of which I shall here give you at large from the abovementioned *Guil. Pictaviensis*: The day of his Coronation being now come, *Aldred*, Archbishop of *York*, who was to perform this Ceremony (for being a Wise Man he thought it best to yield to the times, and submit to Divine Providence) in a handsome but short Speech, first asked all the *English* there present, whether they did Consent to have the Duke Crown'd King, who all cheerfully, and with one voice, gave their Assents; in the mean time the Bishop of *Constans*, making a speech in *French* to the *Normans* to the same effect, asked likewise their consent.

* *Electus in*
Regem.
And then
Crown'd
King.

† MS. *Penes*
R. Dr. Gale.
|| See the
Form of this
Oath, Intro-
duct. to Vo-
lume I. p. 58.

William being thus * *Elected King*, Archbishop *Aldred* set the Crown upon his Head, and placed him on the Throne in the presence of all the Bishops, Abbots, and Lay Nobility; and the old Book of † *Ely*, as also *Florence of Worcester*, gives us the Form of the Coronation-Oath which was then taken by him (|| being the same in effect with that of the *English-Saxon* Kings) Swearing at the High Altar before all the Clergy and Laity, "That he would Protect the Holy Church and its Governors (i. e. the Bishops) That he would Govern all the People Subject to him prudently and justly; That he would ordain and keep right Law, and wholly forbid all Rapines and unjust Judgments; to which [1.] *William of Malmesbury* also adds, "That he would behave himself mercifully towards his Subjects, and would Govern both the *English* and *French* by the same equal Law.

[1.]
De Gest. Pon-
tiff. p. 154. b.

From whence we may observe, That this Prince was so far from claiming as a Conqueror, that he accepted the Crown upon the same conditions, and took the like Oath which the *Saxon* Kings, his Predecessors, had done before.

[2.]
W. P. lb.

Nor can I here omit one Circumstance which is likewise related by the [2.] same *Norman* Historian, that during the Coronation, those Guards of Horse and Foot which were placed about the Church to secure the solemnity, mistaking the great noise of the People's Approbation within, for some sudden Tumult, rashly set Fire on the City; though what the event of it was, this Author does not tell us, but only thus pursues this Relation; that after the Coronation was over,

the

the new King [3.] did not act like many Princes, who indulge their Pleasures upon their first Accession to the Throne, but immediately began to perform Acts worthy of a King; so that this Prince seemed inflamed with a new zeal of performing great and worthy Atchievements, using his utmost endeavours, both in Divine and Secular Affairs; for in the first place he distributed a great deal of that Treasure which had been hoarded up in King *Harold's* Exchequer, amongst his faithful Friends and Followers; as also a great many rich Gifts which he bestowed on the Monasteries, and the several Alms he gave to the Poor; in the doing of which he was very much assisted by the Benevolence of all the Cities, and of divers great and wealthy Men, to obtain the favour of their new Lord; he likewise presented the Pope with a great Sum both in Gold and Silver, besides that memorable Standard of King *Harold*, which hath been already described.

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[3.]
His Actions
after his Co-
ronation.

[4.] In the mean time most of the Monasteries of *France* sang *Te Deum* for his late Success, to whom in gratitude he sent Gilt Crosses, or other rich Presents; but *Normandy* was so transported with Joy, that all its Cities, Towns, and chief Monasteries, sent Deputies to Congratulate his Accession to the Throne.

[4.]
Id. lb.
Te Deum is
Sung in
France for
King *Willi-*
am's Success.

[5.] Then after a great Eulogy given to this Prince, as if *England* had not been enough sensible of its happiness, the same Author proceeds to acquaint us what the King perform'd before he left *London*, where he ordered all things, *Justly*, *Wisely*, and *Mercifully*, some of which tended to the particular Honour and Advantage of that City, whilst others proved highly Beneficial to the whole Nation; and in all other matters he chiefly consulted the good of the Church and Kingdom; so that whatever Laws he constituted, it was still upon the best and most prudent considerations, nor did any one in vain appeal to his Justice, though a domineering Injustice under a specious pretence of punishing the Guilty, too often condemned the Innocent to get his Estate; yet this King (at first) condemned none, unless it were such whom it had been greater injustice not to have punished: Then he farther tells us, "How he enjoined all his Great Men to observe Equity in all their Actions, and ever to regard that Eternal Monarch by whose Assistance they had overcome; and that though they were Victors, yet they ought not to Oppress the Conquer'd, who were likewise *Christians* as well as themselves, lest they might by their Injuries provoke those to rise up against them whom they had already subdued."

[5.]
Id. p. 207.

The new King
perform'd
many things
for the good
of the Nati-
on.

In the next place he restrain'd the common Soldiers by severe Edicts from violating the Chastity of the Women, or so much as frequenting common Stews and Taverns, since Drunkenness too often produces quarrels, and frequent Murthers; he also strictly forbid all Murthers, Robberies, and Tumults; thus as he bridled the People by Arms, so those very Arms were restrained by just Laws, appointing Judges to inflict severe Punishments upon those common Soldiers who should dare to transgress his Orders; and he was no more partial to his *Normans*, than to any other Nation at that time in his Service.

Id. lb.
Restrains the
Insolence of
the common
Soldiers.

[1.] And tho he did not approve of *Stigand's* continuing Archbishop, because he judged it not to be Canonical, yet he thought it better to expect the Judgment of the Pope, than too precipitately to depose him himself; besides he had other reasons inducing him to comply with the

[1.]
Id. p. 208.
How he dealt
with Arch-
bishop *Sti-*
gand.

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Retires out
of London for
some time to
Berking.

W. P. ib.
The Earls Ed-
win, Marchar,
and Coxo with
many other
Noblemen
submit to
him.

Id. ib.
Goes on Pro-
gress through
divers Parts
of the King-
dom.

[3.]
Id. P. 208.
How the King
advanced Ed-
gar Atheling.

And also Re-
warded his
own Soldiers.
[4.]
Id. ib.

The strong
Places gari-
son'd with
Frenchmen,
and divers
new Castles
built.

times, and therefore rising up to him, and also giving him the chief place in all solemn Processions, he still treated him with much outward respect, and the more so, because his Authority was then very great among the *English*; though at the same time the King was thinking with himself how he might advance to the Metropolitan See some worthy Person of a holy Life and unsported Reputation, who might not only set a good Example to his suffragan Bishops, but be also highly Beneficial to the Church by his vigilant care over his Flock.

These were the happy beginnings of this King's Reign, but he not staying long in *London*, soon after his Coronation retired to a place not far off, called *Berking*, where he spent his time in Rural Sports, until the Fortress that had been begun at *London* was finished; for he saw it was absolutely necessary to Curb the sickle Humours of that great and stubborn People.

At [1.] this time also, as the same Author (with greater probability, than the other Historians) relates, That the Earls *Edwin* and *Marchar* being the greatest Men in *England*, both for Nobility and Power, submitted themselves to the King's Mercy, begging his Pardon for having offended him; in which they were followed by many other Noblemen of great Estates, among whom was that stout and honest Earl *Coxo*; to all whom (trusting to his Clemency) he restored their Estates, and having taken their voluntary Oaths of Fidelity, he received them into his Favour.

After this, [2.] he made a Progress into divers Parts of the Kingdom, every where ordering such things as were not only profitable for himself, but for his People in general; and now where-ever he went he found none to oppose him, nor the Roads any ways obstructed, all Men willingly submitting themselves to him, whilst he looked upon the Common People with a benign Aspect, commiserating their Condition, and ordering his Men to treat them with Mercy, especially when he observed poor Widows with their little Children on their Knees imploring his Clemency.

As [3.] for *Edgar Atheling*, whom the *English*, after the fall of *Harold*, would have made King; to alleviate the Regret he might receive by so great a loss, he conferr'd upon him very large Possessions; and likewise gave Lands to many of the *English*, as a Token of his Royal Bounty, and as an Addition to the Estates they had already received, either from their Ancestors, or former Kings; he also distributed great Rewards to many of those who had been hitherto Partners of his former Dangers and Labours: *Tet* (says my [4.] Author) *nothing was bestowed on any Frenchman, which had been unjustly taken away from any Englishman*; which must be understood in the beginning of this King's Reign, for, before the middle of it, I grant it was much otherwise.

Lastly, He placed strong Garisons of *Frenchmen* in his principal Castles, and particularly at *Winchester*, which our Author calls a strong and noble City, whose Citizens, as well as the Inhabitants of the adjoining Country, were rich and daring, but unfaithful, and who could easily call in the *Danes* to their Assistance: Here therefore he built a strong Citadel within the Walls of it, and therein placed *William Fitz-Osborn*, one of the chief Commanders of his Army, and

and in whose Fidelity, as having been bred up with him, he had an intire Confidence, that he might govern (under himself) the Northern Parts of the Kingdom; but as for the Castle of Dover, he committed that, together with the adjoining Coasts and County of Kent, to Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, his half-brother by the Mother, who was one of known sufficiency both for Ecclesiastical and Secular Affairs: And here our Author runs out into mighty Eulogies upon this Prelate's great Parts and Merit; for the History was written about the beginning of this King's Reign, when as yet this Bishop stood very high in his Prince's Favour, which how he afterwards lost, you will hear in due time.

I have been the more exact in this Account of King William's Access to the Throne, and how he carried himself when he first came to it, which I have fairly given you from *Guil. Pittav.* abovementioned, that so the Reader may the better Judge whither this Author (who then served him as his Chaplain) took King William for an Absolute Conqueror, or that he at that time treated the English as Slaves and Vassals; for in respect to the French Garisons, which he placed in the Castles, it was no more then what the Exigence of his Affairs then required; and if this King did afterwards behave himself more severely towards the English Nobility, they might in great part thank themselves for it, since they so highly provoked him by their frequent Rebellions.

Nor can I here omit that King William, before his Return into Normandy, gave Orders for the building of that noble Monastery, called Battle-Abby, near Hastings, in Memory of that great Battle, which was there fought between himself and King Harold, and to pray for the Souls of those that were there Slain; the [4.] High-Altar of the Church being set upon that very Spot of Ground, where King Harold's Standard was taken up; others say where his Body was found. This Monastery was dedicated to St. Mary and St. Martin, and was filled with Benedictine Monks from the greater Monastery of Winchester; and it was by the King's Charter not only discharged from all dependance on that Abby, but was also thereby exempted from all Episcopal Jurisdiction whatsoever, as appears by the Charter at large, which you may see in *Monasticon Angl.* and though without any date, yet it could not be seal'd till above four Years after its Foundation, as appears by Archbishop Lanfrank's Subscription to it.

I have nothing more to add concerning this Abby, but that there was here kept an ancient List of all the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Families, that came over with King William; this was called Battle-Abby-Roll, of which *Stow* and *Hollinsbed* have each of them given us Copies, though with some difference as to the Names therein contained; but whither it proceeded from the difference of Copies, or mistakes of the Writers, I cannot decide.

There is also another Catalogue of the chiefest of those Noblemen and Gentlemen, which you will find in Mr. * *Foxe's Acts and Monuments*, and was taken out of *William Tayleur*, a Norman Chronicler of good Credit; but whither right, or no, I will not affirm; since the Names of a great many Families, which were certainly French, or Norman, are not there to be found; and divers Earls and Great Men are there set down, tho we do not find that they ever came over with King

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Whither King William then pretended any Claim by Conquest.

He gives Orders for the building of Battle-Abby.

[4.]
Vid. Hist. MS. hujus Abbatis in Bib. Cot. Domitian. A. 2. Printed in Monast. Angl. Vol. I. P. 311, 312. Id. ib.

Of the List of those Noblemen and Gentlemen, that came in with King William, call'd Battle-Abby-Roll.

Divers Copies of it, scarce any of good Authority.
* Vol. I. Edit. 1641. P. 236, 237.

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King William at all; such as are the Count *D'Anjou*, the Count *de De-nevers*, the Prince *de Alemaigne*, &c. but since I do not pretend to play the Herauld, I shall refer the Reader that is curious in such matters, to the Authors abovementioned.

[5.]
Britan. p. 152.

Therefore [5.] Mr. Camden's Censure of this Roll in his Remains, though very severe, yet is not to be slighted, as proceeding from an Author of so great Judgment, viz. "That whosoever considers it well, shall find it to be forged, and those Names to be inserted, which the time in every Age favoured, and were never mentioned in that Authentick Record."

[1.]
W. P. p. 208,
209.
The King re-
turns into
Normandy.

But [1.] the King having now settled his Affairs in *England*, as well as it was possible in so short a time, resolved to return into *Normandy*; and therefore having committed the Government of the Kingdom to Bishop *Odo*, and *William Fitz-Osborn* abovementioned, he took his Journey to *Pevenfic*, where he had first landed, and where his Fleet then lay ready to receive him, being attended thither by most of the chief Men of *England*, as well of the Clergy as Laity; some of the Principal of whom he resolved to carry over with him, being those, of whose Power and Fidelity he was most Jealous; such as were Archbishop *Stigand*, *Edgar Atbeling*, with the Earls *Siward*, *Morcar*, and *Waltheof*, and several others of the first Nobility, whom he designed to keep as Hostages till his Return; since he very well knew, that a whole Nation is never able to Rebel, when the Persons most fit and able to Head them are absent.

And takes di-
vers of the
English Nobil-
ity over with
him as Hosta-
ges.

[2.]
Id. ib. 211.
He is received
at Rouen with
great Solemn-
ity.

King [2.] *William* being happily arrived in *Normandy* in the beginning of *March*, made his Entry into *Rouen* in great Triumph, the whole City going out to meet him; what he did in particular, whilst he stayed in *Normandy*, is not my Province to relate, only that in general he bestowed great Gifts upon the principal Churches there, especially that of *St. Stephen's* in *Caen*, which he himself had founded; he kept his *Easter* at the Abby of *Fescamp*, together with a great number of Bishops and Abbots, the new Church being then consecrated, where also met him, *Rodolph*, the Potent Father-in-Law to the King of *France*, with many of the *French* Nobility, the handsomest of whose Youth envied the Beauty of the young *English* Gentlemen, whilst others admired the richness and magnificence of the King's Habit, as well as those of his Attendants, as also the number of his Silver and Gold Plate, which (according to our Author) would be incredible to relate; so that when these Noblemen returned home, they did nothing as it were but extol their magnificence, more especially the Generosity of their Master, who passed all that Summer, and the beginning of the Winter following, in his own Country.

The French
Nobility
come to Con-
gratulate
him.

[3.]
Wil. Pittao.
p. 212.
How his Lieu-
tenants used
their Power
in his Ab-
sence.

Whilst the King thus remained in *Normandy*, it is fit we relate what happen'd in *England* during his absence, [3.] where *William Fitz-Osborn* and Bishop *Odo*, whom he had left here as his Lieutenants, (according to this Author) govern'd the Provinces committed to their charge with great Prudence and Justice, sometimes acting separately, and sometimes joyn'tly, assisting each other as occasion required; but the *English* could neither by Fear, nor Favour, be kept in quiet, yet *Ordericus Vitalis* gives us another different, and (I believe) truer Account of the behaviour of these two Lieutenants, and the *Normans*, who were left in *England*; as that the *English* were ex-
treamly

treably harrassed and abused by their Insolencies, and that the lesser Governors of Castles and Places of Strength did also oppress and vex the noble as well as the middle sort of People with great Exactions and many Contumelies; and especially Bishop Odo and William Fitz-Osborn, who being too much transported by Success, refused to hearken to the Complaints of the *English*, so as to do them right, but rather countenancing their Soldiers in their Robberies and Rapines, and deflowering their Women.

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MLXVII

Bishop Odo
provokes the
English by his
Severity.

Whereupon
the *Kentishmen*
invited over
Eustace, Earl
of Boloign.

[3.]
Guil. Gemet.
L. 7. C. 39.

But which of these Reports is most in the right, I will not presume to determine; but however it seems, as if these Abuses were chiefly (if not only) in *Kent*, and the Countries adjacent, which were under the Government of Bishop Odo, and those were so great, that he thereby caused the *English* of those Parts to Rebel: And some of the Chief of the *Kentishmen* sent privately to Eustace, Earl of Boloign, (a skilful Warrior) and told him, That if he would come over into *England*, and Besiege the Castle of *Dover*, they would joyn with him. [3.] The Earl therefore passing over by Night, was very like to have surprized the Castle; Bishop Odo, and Hugh de Montfort, (who had the next Command under him) being then both absent on the other side of the *Thames*; but the Garison sallying out, and making a vigorous Defence, the Earl was forced to betake himself to his Ships with but a few Men, for most of the rest in their Flight towards the Sea, were driven down the Rocks and Precipices, and there broke their Necks; as for the Earl himself, he was, for all this, not only some time after reconciled to the King, but also highly honoured and entrusted by him.

There [4.] was also at this time a certain Potent Nobleman in the Borders of *Wales*, called Edric, (Surnamed the *Wildman* or *Forester*) whose Lands (because he refused to submit himself unto the King) the Garison of *Hereford*, and Richard Fitz-Scrope, frequently wasted; but as often as they made Incursions upon him, they were forced to retire with the loss of a great many of their Men; therefore the better to secure himself against the *Normans* for the future, he called into his Assistance, Blethyn and Rywalhon, the two Princes of *Wales*; and about the Feast of the Assumption of our Lady, the said Edric, together with the *Welsh* Forces invaded and spoiled the County of *Hereford*, as far as the Bridge over *Luce*.

[4.]
F. W.
Edric, Sir-
named the
Forester, holds
out in the
Borders of
Wales.

About this time likewise, that Noble Earl Coxo was Slain by his own People, for continuing firm to King William, and not taking up Arms against him, with the rest of his Countrymen.

About [5.] the beginning of Winter, the King having now settled his Affairs in *Normandy*, and left the Government of it to the Queen his Wife, and his Eldest Son Robert, (who was then in the prime of his Youth) returned into *England*, to prevent the Designs of the *English* and *Danes*; and having landed at *Winchelsea* went to *London*, where he was received with a Solemn Procession, and all other tokens of Respect: he then treated the *English* Bishops and Nobility with great Affability and outward Kindness, granting them whatsoever they asked, and readily hearing what they offered to him; he also cajoled the *Welsh*, who then made him their Addresses; yet he privately forewarned the *English* to be prepared to prevent their Treacheries; so that all Countries where the King had been, and where he

[5.]
O. V. p. 509.
The King re-
turns into
England.

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MLXVII

[1.]
R. W.
Some Rebelli-
ons after his
Return, by
reason of his
imposing a
great Tax.

The City of
Exeter refuse
to swear Fe-
alty to him,
or admit of a
Garison.

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to swear Fe-
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or admit of a
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Garison.

he had placed Garisons, readily obeyed; only the *Western* and *Northern* Parts gave him some Disturbance; the occasion of which was thus.

The [1.] King, not long after his Return from *Normandy*, laid a heavy Tax upon the *English* Nation, though indeed it was no other then that of *Danegelt*, which had been remitted by King *Edward the Confessor*, as you have already heard in the former Volume; yet this being again set on foot by the Power of the King's Prerogative, without the Consent of the Great Council of the Kingdom, seems to have been the occasion of a fresh Rebellion; for first, the City of *Exeter* refused to swear Fealty to him, or admit of a Garison there, although they offer'd to pay him Tribute; but not being at all satisfied with this, he sent them word, That he was not used to such Subjects; therefore, though it was now Winter, he marched in Person with an Army against them, still placing the *English* in the front; when he drew near the City, divers of the principal Citizens went out to meet him to Treat of Peace; and in order thereunto promised to do whatever he Commanded, and presently gave such Hostages for their performance, as the King thought fit to accept; but in the mean time, the ordinary sort of Townsmen refused to deliver up the City, whereupon he commanded his Army to make their Approaches to it; then bringing one of the Hostages before the Gate, there put out his Eyes, and beginning to batter and undermine the Walls, they within at last implored his Mercy, which he readily granted, by the Mediation of those that at first came out to him, as also of the Clegy, who all submitted themselves, confessing and excusing the Folly and Obstinacy of the Common People; so that all things were forgiven them, and they had their Goods secured from the Violence of the Soldiers, by placing Guards at the Gates to keep them out: Thus was this stubborn City after a short Siege reduced to Obedience.

But *Githa*, Mother to King *Harold*, with divers others, (who had for their greater Security retired hither) fled out of the Town upon the King's first approach, and with great Riches passed over into *Flanders*: Then the King, having chosen a place within the Walls fit to build a Castle on, left *Baldwin* the Son of Earl *Gilbert* to see it performed, with many Soldiers, to be made a Garison; and marched into *Cornwal*, and having settled all things in those Parts to his satisfaction, he dismissed his Army, and returned to *Winchester*, there to recreate and refresh himself after so great a Fatigue.

The [2.] same year also, not long after the late *Western* Expedition, (as *Henry Huntingdon* relates) the King divided the Lands among his *Norman* Commanders, as well as those of other Nations; which is yet to be understood, only of the Lands of those who had been slain fighting with King *Harold* in the Battel of *Hastings*, or else had escaped out of it; as also of those who had been engaged in the late Insurrections against him; but *Mat. Paris* indeed says, That the King now turn'd many of the *English* Nobility out of their Estates, and bestowed them upon his Commanders and Soldiers; and that which was left to the Natives was clog'd with the burthen of perpetual Servitude; by which I suppose he means, that of *Knight Service*, which about this time began to be imposed upon all Lands held of the

Crown

Imposes
Knights-Ser-
vice upon all
Lands held by
Gentlemen.

Crown: And though it was in use among the *English* for some Lands held by the chief Nobility and Gentry before this time, yet did it not till now become the general Tenure of most Estates of Men of Quality.

Anno Dom.
MXLVII.

The Spring after the King's Return out of *Normandy*, [3.] *William Gemeticensis* informs us, That he discovered a dangerous Conspiracy of certain *English* (whom this Author calls) Robbers, and seem most likely to have been such as the King had lately turn'd out of their Estates; their design was to destroy the King himself, and all his Followers, as they were to go to Church barefoot on *Asb-Wednesday*; but these Conspirators being discovered, fled into certain inaccessible Places in the *North Parts*, and there fortified themselves within a strong Fort at the City of *Durham*; but however true the former part of this Relation may be, the latter cannot fall out now, (as he lays it) since *Durham* was not seized by the *Northumbers* till the year following, as you will find by and by; though it is very probable that divers of the *English* Nobility, who had lately lost their Estates, fled into the *Northern Parts*, which were not then fully subdued, or else took Refuge in *Scotland*, and others in *Denmark*, where they solicited King *Sweyn* to invade *England*.

Anno Dom.
MLXVIII.

[3.]
Lib. 7. Cap. 40.
A dangerous
Conspiracy
of certain
Englishmen
discovered.

About [4.] *Easter* following, *Mathilda*, Wife to King *William*, arrived in *England*, being sent for over by the King, her Husband, and soon after she was Crowned Queen with the usual Solemnities, by *Aldred*, Archbishop of *Tork*; and before the end of the Year, she was brought to bed of a Son, named *Henry*, who was afterwards King; her two other Sons being born in *Normandy* before her coming over hither.

[4.]
F. W.
The Queen
sent for over
to be Crown-
ed.

And much about this time [5.] (as *Ordericus Vitalis* relates, for it is found in no other Author) happen'd the first Rebellion of the Earls, *Edwin* and *Morchar*, the occasion of which was thus; Earl *Edwin* had been promised by the King one of his Daughters in Marriage; but through the envious Persuasions of some of his *Normans*, he had not kept his Word with him, which double dealing with this young Nobleman, (who had for some time expected his Mistress) and the late Affront he put upon him, in carrying him beyond Sea against his will, to be shewn as it were in Triumph, provoked him and his Brother *Morchar* now to take up Arms; and they being both very popular, many in the *Northern Parts*, where their Governments lay, came into their Assistance, especially their Nephew *Blethyn*, Prince of *North Wales*, with a good number of *Welshmen*.

[5.]
Page 511.
The Earls *Edwin* and *Morchar* Rebel, and on what occasion.

Upon this, King *William* inquired into all places of Strength, which he thought might be of Service to them for a Retreat; and to prevent their seizing them, fortified such as he found most advantageous; as the Castle of *Warwick*, which he now built, and committed to the Custody of *Henry de Beaumont*, (or *de Newburgh*, a Place in *Normandy*, where he was born) afterwards made first Earl of *Warwick*. The King at the same time, likewise, built *Nottingham* Castle, and gave the Custody of it to *William Pendel*, a *Norman*; which so discouraged the Earls abovementioned, that doubting of their Success, they soon craved the King's Mercy, and submitted themselves, and were thereupon (in outward shew at least) received again into favour; then those *English* at *Tork*, as soon as they heard this News,

Id. Ib.
Whereupon
he builds and
fortifies di-
vers Castles.

The Earls
submit, and
crave Pardon.

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MLXVIII

The King of
Scots accepts
Conditions
of Peace.

[1.]
Saxon Chron.
Sim. Dunelm.
Flor. Wig.
Earl Gospatric,
Edgar Atheling,
and others, fly into
Scotland, and
are there re-
ceived.

Many Noble
Scottish Families
derive
their Original
from thence.

[2.]
O. V. p. 512.
Divers Norman
Gentlemen return
home, with
the Reason of
it.

N. B.

A great mistake in the
Chronology
of the Saxon
Annals.

delivered up the Keys of the City (which they had hitherto kept for their Earl) to the King, who was then marched down on purpose to take it; but he suspecting their Fidelity, immediately raised a Fortrefs in the City, placing there a Garison of choice Soldiers. Hereupon one *Archil*, a Potent Nobleman of *Northumberland* made his Peace with the King, and delivered his Son as an Hostage to him; likewise *Egelwin*, Bishop of *Durham*, was now received into Favour, and by his Mediation, Conditions of Peace were offer'd to *Malcolme*, King of *Scots*, which being by him accepted, he then swore to a faithful Observance of this Peace with King *William*; who in his Return from this Expedition, built Castles or strong Forts at *Lincoln*, *Huntington*, and *Cambridge*, placing in each of them Valiant Commanders.

But [1.] this Peace with the *Scottish* King did not last long, for about *Autumn* following, the Earl *Gospatric*, and another *Northern* Nobleman, called *Marlesweyn*, with several of the *Northumbrian* Nobility, (fearing they should be clapped up in Prison, as many others at that time were) taking along with them *Edgar Atheling*, (whom they had drawn into their Party) together with his Mother *Agatha*, and his Sisters, *Margaret* and *Christina*; they all passed by Sea out of the *North of England* into *Scotland*, where being kindly received by King *Malcolme*, they remained all that Winter in peace.

And it is to this coming in of the *Northumbrian* Nobility, that the *Scottish* Historians attribute the Original of several of the most Ancient and Noble Families in *Scotland* (needless to be here particularly recited) who having had Estates conferr'd upon them there, have continued in that Country ever since.

About [2.] this time *Ordericus Vitalis* relates, That divers *Norman* Gentlemen, either being weary of *England*, or else having a mind to retire to their own Estates and Wives, (who it seems could not live longer without them) took their leaves of the King, and returned into *Normandy*; such as were *Hugh de Grentmesnel*, and *Humphry de Telol*; the former, Governor of the Castle of *Winchester*; the latter, of the Fort of *Hastings*; with many others, whom he does not name. And besides these Commanders, very many Common Soldiers tired out with the perpetual Desolations of the Country, where they saw nothing but Rapines and daily Slaughters committed; not only by themselves, but by the Natives, issuing out of the Woods and other Retreats, and killing the *Normans* at unawares, desired now to be Disbanded, that so they might return into their own Countries, there to live in Peace and Quiet; which request was readily granted by the King, who kindly dismissed them, having first well paid and rewarded them for their late Services. This I take notice of, to let the Reader see, that all Foreign Officers and Soldiers had not Lands given them in *England*, as some have (without just grounds) supposed.

Nor can I here omit taking notice of a great mistake in the *Saxon Annals* under this Year, in which they are followed by *Matt. Paris*, who both make *Edgar Atheling* to have come with the *Normans* to *Tork*, and that King *William* marching down thither with all his Army, destroyed that City: which was not so, for neither did *Edgar Atheling* then invade *England*, nor did King *William* destroy *Tork*; which

which was not burnt till the Year following, as you will see by and by.

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MLXVIII

But whilst [3.] these things were transacting, *Godwin, Edmund, and Magnus*, Sons of the late King *Harold*, coming out of *Ireland*, landed in *Somersetshire*, whom *Eadnoth*, that had been formerly Master of the Horse to King *Harold*, being sent to oppose with an Army, and joyning Battel with them; was Slain, besides a great many others: These young Princes thus obtaining the Victory, carried away a great deal of Plunder out of *Devonshire* and *Cornwal*, and so returned into *Ireland*.

[3.]
F. W.
The Sons of the late King *Harold* invade *England*.

And to this Invasion, I refer that Passage of [4.] *William* of *Malmesbury*, when he says, That in the Third Year of this King's Reign, the *English* that had before fled into *Ireland* and *Denmark*, now invaded *England*, against whom the King sent as General, one *Eadnoth* (for so is his Name in the Margin) with an Army all of the same Nation; in which (says he) the King imitated the Policy of *Cæsar*, who when he had subdued the *Gauls*, made use of their own Arms against each other, whenever they rebell'd.

[4.]
Page 58. b.

[3.] As to Ecclesiastical Affairs nothing happen'd worth our notice, only that there was this Year a great Schism at *Rome*, two Popes being chosen at once, (*viz.*) *Alexander*, Bishop of *Lucca*; and *Cadotus*, Bishop of *Parma*; the former of whom clearing himself of Simony, which (it seems) was laid to his Charge, was within some time after generally own'd for Pope, and the latter quite laid aside.

[5.]
F. W.
A great Schism at *Rome*.

[4.] The King having resolved to settle and reduce that Part of *Northumberland*, lying North of *Tine*, entirely to his Obedience, by setting a new Governor over it; to that end created *Robert Cumin*, a *Norman*, Earl of that Country, who presently marched into the *North* with a small Force, and came as far as *Durham*; near which, *Egelwin*, the Bishop, meeting him, advised him to beware of Treachery; but he despised his good Advice, for he did not believe any one would dare to oppose him; but the *Northumbers* having before hand unanimously resolved never to submit to a Stranger, agreed either to kill him, or else to dye themselves. But the Earl coming to *Durham*, suffered his Men to treat the People like Enemies, killing some of the Bishop's Tenants; and yet for all this he was kindly and honourably received by him; but the *Rebellious Northumbers* being now got together, and marching all Night, came to *Durham* by break of Day, and forcing open the Gates, killed the Earl's Followers, they being wholly unprovided for any Defence; so that great Cruelty was there used, and the Soldiers being tired, were Slain in the Houses and Streets; then they assaulted the Bishop's Palace, in which the Earl was quartered, but finding those within resolved to defend themselves with Arrows, they set fire to the House, and therein burnt the Earl, and all that were with him; and there was so great a Slaughter that the Streets ran down with Blood; so that of Seven hundred Men, but one escaped; this cruel Massacre was acted on the 28th of *January*. Nor had the Church been preserved, had not a strong *East* wind risen of the sudden, and driven the Flames from it; which our Author makes to have been done by a Miracle of *St. Cuthbert*.

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[4.]
Id. S. D.
Robert Cumin, a *Norman*, made Earl of *Northumberland*.

The new Earl coming to *Durham*, and having used the People ill, is there killed.

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MLXIX.

[5.]
S. D.
The King sends
down an Army
to revenge
his Death.

[5.] As soon as King *William* heard of this Infurrection, he sent down a certain Commander (whom our Author does not Name) with an Army to revenge the Earl's Death, but when they came as far as *Alverton*, (now *North Allerton*) and were that Morning about to march to *Durham*, so thick a fog arose, that they could scarce see each other, and so could not find their way; whereupon fancying that this mist was raised by *St. Cuthbert's* means, they all agreed to March back again; so that those against whom they were sent, never knew any thing of it, till after they were gone; which Relation sounding so like a Legend, and not meeting with it in any other Author, I shall not insist upon the truth of it; but for ought we can find, the *Northumbrian* Rebels kept *Durham* (though without doing the Bishop, or his Clergy, any Injury) until the beginning of Winter following, when King *William* marched thither on purpose to take in that place.

[1.]
F. W. S. D.
The two Sons
of *Sweyne*,
King of *Den-*
mark, invade
England.
And are
joyn'd by *Ed-*
gar Atheling,
Gospatrie, and
other Noble-
men.

[1.] For about the end of *August*, *Harold* and *Cnut*, Sons of *Sweyne*, King of *Denmark*, together with Earl *Osborn*, their Uncle, as also another *Danish* Earl, called *Turkil*, (being incited by the exiled *English*) sailing from *Denmark* with two hundred and forty Ships, arrived in the Mouth of the River *Humber*, where *Edgar Atheling*, Earl *Waltheof*, and *Merlesweyn*, and divers other Noblemen, coming thither by Sea, met them; in the mean while Earl *Gospatrie*, with the *Northumbrian* Forces marched by Land to their Assistance, being all resolved to the utmost to oppose the *Normans*. But so soon as *Aldred*, Archbishop of *Tork*, heard of their coming, he fell into a deep Melancholy, which brought him into such a lingering Sickness, that about the beginning of *September*, he ended his Days, as he had before desired of God, and was buried at *Tork* in the Church of *St. Peter*: But [2.] *William* of *Malmesbury* relates, That though this Archbishop once loved King *William* like a Son, and honoured him as his King, whilst he used any Moderation towards his Subjects; so, when he had imposed that insupportable Tribute upon them already mentioned, the Archbishop sent Messengers unto him about it, (and I suppose to put him in mind of his Coronation-Oath) who being hardly admitted, and dismissed with a rugged Answer; the Archbishop immediately upon their return denounced a Curse against the King, and all his Posterity, saying, That he might very deservedly bestow his Curse, where he had undeservedly before bestowed his *Benediction*, which when it was told the King, he sent some to appease him, but before they arrived, the Archbishop was Dead.

Aldred, Arch-
bishop of *Tork*
dies.

[2.]
De Gest. Pontif.
Lib. 3. p. 271.

But first be-
stows a Curse
upon the King
and all his
Posterity.

[3.]
Idem.
The City of
Tork burnt by
the *Normans*.

But [3.] about eight days after the Bishop's Death, the *Normans* who kept the Castles of *Tork*, fearing lest the Houses near them, being pulled down, might help the *Danes* to fill up the Ditches, set them all on Fire, which raged so violently by reason of a high Wind, that it soon burnt the whole City, together with the Cathedral Church, and the Monastery of *St. Peter*; but the Divine Vengeance severely punished this Barbarity, for before the City had done burning, the *Danish* Fleet arrived, and then both the *Danes* and *Northumbers* besieging the Castles, quickly took them, *Robert Fitz-Richard* the Governor, with Three thousand *Normans* being there slain; and only *William Malet*, then Sheriff of *Torkshire*, his Wife, and

The Castles of
Tork taken by
the *Danes*, and
the Governor
kill'd.

and Two Children, and *Gilbert de Gant*, with some few others escaped with their Lives: then the *Danish* Fleet, together with the *Northumbers*, being loaded with Plunder, retired to their former Quarters.

[4.] *Ordericus Vitalis* passes by the Death of these *Normans*, and fallably makes the *Northumbers* to have only Slain the Governor of the Castle; but that *William Malet* still kept the City for the King, and that it was then besieged by the *Danes*: but what follows is more certain, That *Edgar Atheling*, and the Noblemen abovemention'd, presently joyned themselves with them, upon which ill News the King in all haste sent away the Queen into *Normandy* for her greater Security, before he would go to Chastise those Rebels.

But before I relate the rest of this warlike Expedition, I cannot omit a most remarkable Civil Transaction, that happen'd some time before it: For to this Year I refer, what *Matthew of Westminster* now relates, That King *William* upon receiving this ill News, and perceiving the greatest part of his danger to have proceeded from his too severe Usage of the *English* Nobility, he was now resolved to mollify them as much as he could, and therefore before this Northern Expedition, he somewhat curbed the Insolence of his *Normans*, and recalling many of the *English* Noblemen from Banishment, made a firm League with them.

To this time, whilst the King was under this Apprehension, we may also refer that considerable Transaction related by [5.] *Roger of Hoveden*, (though under the Reign of King *Henry the II.*) and which is also to be found in the old Chronicle of *Litchfield* to the same effect, viz. That King *William* in the Fourth Year of his Reign, (this very Year) by the Council of his Barons, caused certain Wise and Noble *Englishmen*, throughout all the Counties of *England* to be summoned, that he might hear from them the Laws and Ancient Customs thereof; whereupon Twelve Men were chosen from each County of the whole Kingdom, for that purpose, who first took an Oath, that they would without any Prevarication faithfully set down their Ancient Laws and Customs, not omitting or adding any thing whatsoever; Now these Men being met, and beginning with the Rights of Holy Church, they delivered the Laws concerning their Liberties and Securities in the Form there set down; which, though they may be genuine in the most material Points, yet certainly have had many later Additions made to them by some Monkish Interpolator, as appears by that Copy which *Hoveden* has given us of them; many of which Interpolations are not found in two other very Ancient Manuscript Copies of those Laws, in the *Cottonian* Library, and in that at *Lambeth*.

I shall now give you the occasion of the promulgating these Laws, which was this: King *William* (says our Author) did more approve of the *Danish* Laws, which were observed in *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and *Deira*, (i. e. *Northumberland*) where the greatest part of the *Danes* and *Norwegians* formerly inhabited, and he would therefore have had them observed throughout his whole Kingdom, because all his Predecessors, and most of the *Norman* Barons had come out of *Norway*; but since *R. Hoveden's* Account is more particular in the rest of this Transaction, then the Book of *Litchfield*, I shall from him transcribe it Verbatim in *English*.

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MLXIX.

[4.]
Pag. 515.
Ordericus's mistake in this Relation.

The King sends away the Queen, and then Marches towards the North.

[5.]
Pag. 301.

The Laws of King Edward again renew'd and confirm'd.

The Laws of King Edward again renew'd and confirm'd.

[5.]
Id. p. 304.

The Laws of King Edward again renew'd and confirm'd.

The Laws of King Edward again renew'd and confirm'd.

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[2.]
Id. Ib.
The English
Nobility Pe-
tion the King
to be govern'd
by their own
Laws.

N. B.

The [2.] Noblemen of *England* (who had before delivered those Laws but now mention'd) hearing that King *William* was resolved to make the *Danish* and *Norwegian* Laws (especially those concerning Fines and Forfeitures) to be observed all over *England*, they thereupon were very much dejected, and unanimously intreated him to suffer them to enjoy their own Laws and Ancient Customs, in which they and their Ancestors had lived, and been brought up, because it seemed very hard for them to receive unknown Laws, and to judge concerning those things of which they were ignorant; but the King being very hard to consent to it, they again importuned him, beseeching him, by the Soul of King *Edward*, who had bequeathed him the Kingdom, and whose Laws these were, that he would not compel them to live under other Laws, than those of their own Country; thereupon the King advising with his Barons, did at their Intreaty consent to it: From which time (says my Author) the Laws of King *Edward*, which had been first ordained by King *Edgar*, his Grandfather, being now confirm'd by the King's Authority, became respected, and observed throughout all *England*, before all other Laws of that Kingdom.

Yet I must own, that this could not be literally true, since in all other Writers we find, That in this King's Reign, as also in those of his Successors, great Complaints of the Breaches that were made on those Laws of King *Edward*; and that therefore King *Henry* the First was at his Election and Coronation, particularly sworn to observe them. But as for those Laws, the Reader may find them at large in *Hoveden* and Mr. *Lambard's Archaionomia*, from whence I have translated them into *English*, and are inserted at the end of the Reign of King *Edward* the Confessor, in the former Volume of this History; yet, that King *William* did not long keep his fair Promises he now made to the *English*, you will find by what he did the Year following.

But it is now time to return to *March* Affairs. After this Council or Assembly was over, King *William* having heard what was done in the North, [3.] swore he would quite extirpate the *Northumbers*, and to that end resolved to March against those Rebels; who were joyn'd with the *Danes* at *Tork*; but [4.] he was first obliged to go a little out of his way, because the City of *Oxford* had, about the same time, likewise presumed to Rebel against him; but so soon as he had laid Siege to it, he took it, for part of the Wall falling down of its own accord, it gave an easy Entrance to his Soldiers, from whence he marcht on by [5.] *Nottingham* towards *Tork*, and coming to *Pontfract*, was there forced to make some stay, the River being at that time unpassable, and the Bridges broken down, till one *Lusois*, a Valiant Knight, discovered a Ford, where the King going over with his Army, marched through a rough and woody Country, till he arrived in *Torkshire*, which was then part of the Earldom of *Northumberland*. Where most of the People he put to the Sword, and laid the whole Country wast, to prevent the Enemies harbouring themselves there, who now with their *English* Confederates lay encamped at *Tork*. [1.] Here the King coming to a Battle with them, and routing the *Danish* Army, he thereby so daunted the *English* in the City, that they soon surrendred it; yet *William* of *Malmesbury* makes this Victory

[3.]
R. H.

[4.]
W. M. p. 158. b
The King re-
duces the Ci-
ty of *Oxford*.

[5.]
O. V. p. 514.
Thence he
Marches to-
wards *Tork*.

He in his way
destroys the
Country with
its Inhabi-
tants.

[1.]
M. Paris.
The King fights
the *Danes*, puts
them to flight,
and takes *Tork*.

3

over the *Danes* and *English*, nor to have been so easily obtain'd; but that Earl *Waltheof* in this Fight at *Tork*, cut off the Heads of a great many *Normans* one after another, as they would have forced a Gate which he took upon him to defend, when King *William* took that City; but whether this happen'd before, or after this Fight, is uncertain.

Therefore [2.] *Ordericus Vitalis* deserves not much credit, when he relates, that so soon as the King drew near to *Tork*, he received intelligence that the *Danes* were all retired from thence; but this seems more likely, that he left certain Officers and Commanders to repair the Castles, whilst he himself in the mean while marched into certain Mountainous, inaccessible Places, and pursued and drove out his Enemies that there lay lurking; so that his Army spread it self for near a hundred Miles in compass: Nor did the King ever shew greater Cruelty, whilst his Army alike destroyed both the Innocent and the Guilty, in which Action he is (as our Author says) no way to be excused; yet this Severity had this good effect, that [3.] the Rebels in *Durham* hearing the ill Success of their Confederates, and fearing the Kings speedy coming against them, retired into certain remote places by the Sea-side, and getting aboard some Ships, made a Pyritical War.

Let us now see what was done in the mean while in the Southern Parts of *England*, [4.] where during the King's Absence in the *North*, the Sons of the late King *Harold* having procured from *Dermot*, King of *Ireland*, a Fleet of Sixty six Sail, with Seamen sufficient to Man them, they again landed not far from *Exeter*, and like cruel Pyrates plundering and burning where-ever they came, ruin'd the Country; but *Brien*, Son to *Endo*, Earl of *Bretaign*, met and fought them twice in one day, killing Seven hundred of their Men, with divers of the *Irish* Nobility, the rest flying to their Ships, returned into *Ireland*, where they caused great Lamentation for the loss of so many of their Relations.

I have placed this Action here, because it is set by our Author presently after King *William's* Expedition into the *North*, and was certainly a different Invasion from that which the Sons of King *Harold* made the Year before in the same Country, when they went off victorious. But to return again to the business of the *North*.

The King now finding it for his advantage to make a Peace with the *Danes*, and being very desirous to rid the Kingdom of them, [5.] sent privately to Earl *Osbern*, their General, promising him a great Sum of Money, and also permission to take what Provisions he pleased for his Army all along the Sea-Coast, provided he would quietly leave the Country, so soon as the Winter was over: which Conditions he readily embraced, though he did not (it seems) set Sail for *Denmark* till about Midsummer following; where as soon as he arrived, the King, his Brother, banisht him that Kingdom, being suspicious of his Fidelity.

Nor can I here omit a Passage related by [1.] *Simeon* of *Durham*, that upon the news of King *William's* Approach, *Egelwin*, Bishop of that City, being afraid of his Indignation, and advising with the Elder Monks what to do, they all resolved to take up the Body of *St. Cuthbert*, and to carry it into the Isle of *Lindisfarne*, which they immediately

Anno Dom.
MLXIX.

[2.]
ib.

What the
King did after
the taking of
Tork.

[3.]
W. G. l. 7.
c. 42.
The Rebels
quit *Durham*.

[4.]
W. G. l. 7.
c. 40.
O. V. p. 513.

[5.]
F. W.
The King
makes Peace
with the *Danish*
General,
and gives him
Money to leave
the Kingdom.

[1.]
Hist. Eccles.
Dun. Col. 39.
The Body of
St. Cuthbert
removed into
the Isle of
Lindisfarne.

Anno Dom.
MLXIX.

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[2.]  
Id. 10.

How the King  
dealt with  
certain Soldi-  
ers that had  
Robbed a  
Crucifix.

diately performed, and got in Four Days to the Sea-side, where (if you will believe our Author) it being full Sea, it ebbd on the sudden to give them a free passage to that Isle; (but for this we have only the Monks Credit); here they stayed till the *Lent* following, and then their Peace being made with the King, they carried back the Saint's Body to its former station.

The [2.] same Author also tells us, that King *William* in his March from *Tork* towards *Durham*, found all the Country between *Teys* and *Tyne* utterly deserted by its Inhabitants, they being all fled into the Woods and Mountains, and the Church of *St. Paul* at *Girwy*, (or *Tarrow*) being Burnt, certain of the King's Soldiers, who had Robbed the rich Crucifix of that Church of the Gold and Silver with which it was covered, were taken and brought before him, whom he sent (as the greatness of their Crime deserved) to the Bishop to be punished; but the Good Man immediately let them go without any punishment at all; either being afraid of further provoking the King, or else that he thought he had no power to do it. Then King *William* so soon as he arrived at *Durham*, ordered a Castle to be Built there, as well for the security of the Bishop, as to keep the City in due Obedience; he likewise then confirmed to that Church all its ancient Rights and Priviledges.

All the Coun-  
try between  
*Tork* and *Dur-*  
*ham* uninha-  
bited.

But all our Historians agree, that in this War all the Northern parts were so miserably depopulated by the *Danes* and *Normans*, that between *Tork* and *Durham* there remained no Town Inhabited, but the Land lay waste for above nine Years; and indeed it must needs be a miserable sight to behold so many Carcasses lie unburied for want of hands. This was also attended by so terrible a Famine in all those Northern parts, that this year, as well as the next, those few People that remained, were forced to eat Horses and Dogs, nay even Man's Flesh, to save themselves from Starving.

Anno Dom.  
MLXX.

[1.]  
O. V. 514.  
The King  
keeps his  
*Christmas* at  
*Tork*.

[2.]  
W. M.

The Feast of [1.] *Christmas* approaching, that King caused his Crown to be brought from *Winchester* with the other Regal Ornaments, and returning to *Tork*, there kept that solemnity with as much state as the turbulency of the times would permit. Whilst the King continued here, the Earls *Waltheof* and *Gospatric* made their Peace with him, and renewed their Oath of Fealty; and though the former had lately slain many *Normans* with his own hand, [2.] yet the King so much admired his vast Strength and Courage, that he was not only reconciled to him, but not long after gave him his Neice *Judith* in Marriage, together with the Earldoms of *Northampton* and *Huntington*.

[3.]  
O. V. p. 514.  
The King  
Marches a-  
gainst the rest  
of the Nor-  
thern Rebels.

And then  
passes into  
*Cheshire*.

But it was not the King's temper to waste his time in idle Jollity when greater Affairs lay upon his hand, but as soon as the [3.] Holydays were over, he marched against a Party of Rebels who had Fortified themselves in an inaccessible Angle of that Country, almost encompassed either with Bogs, or by the Sea; but they hearing of his approach, stole away thence by Night, he following them as far as the River *Teys*. Then (having now settled his Affairs in the North) he marched over the Mountains, and through Woods, almost cross the Kingdom, into *Cheshire*, to be revenged on the *Welshmen*, who had lately Besieged *Shrewsbury*; but upon his arrival with his Army at *Chester*, he thereby quieted the whole Province of *Mercia*, and *Edric* the Forester having now made his Peace, the King Built a Castle there, and



and another in his Return out of those Parts at *Stafford*, putting strong Garisons into both: from thence he marched Southwards as far as *Salisbury*, where he kept his *Easter*, and then largely rewarding his Soldiers for their Pains in this Expedition, he dismissed them.

The King having met with such great and unexpected Success in his late Northern Expedition, and having now no more Enemies to fear, [5.] (being over-perswaded by the ill Advice of *William Fitz-Osbern*, Earl of *Hereford*) he in Lent after his Return caused all the Monasteries in *England* to be searched, and there seized upon all the ready Money, which the richer sort of the *English* had laid up in them, to secure it from his Violence, which tho the Monks exclaim against as a high Breach of the Privileges of their Houses, yet certainly it was not Sacrilege, but rather down right Robbery, seeing that Money was not given to them, but only deposited for the Owner's use. But it is much worse, if it were as *Mat. Paris* relates, That the King also (to add the greater Contumely to the Church) did not spare so much as the Chalice and Saints Shrines; though I believe it much more certain, what immediately follows in the same Author, That this Year he forced the Bishopricks and Abbies, that held Baroties, (hitherto free from all Secular Servitude) to hold them by Knights Service, enrolling and appointing, according to his Pleasure, how many Men he would have each of them to maintain in time of War; but by thus laying up these Rolls of Ecclesiastical Servitude in his Exchequer, he drove many Clergymen out of his Kingdom, who utterly refused to submit to this hard Constitution.

Notwithstanding, this Author's being thus transported against this Law, as a thing not only new, but illegal; yet Mr. [5.] *Selden*, in his Titles of Honour, is of opinion, That this Burden was not laid upon the Bishopricks, and greater Abbies, without their own Consents given in a Synod, or great Council of the Kingdom, which the King held this Year at *Winchester*, as you will find by and by; though the Law by which it was ordained, be now lost; for the Clergy were then too powerful a Body to have such a Burthen imposed upon them by the King's sole Prerogative, without any Law made for that purpose.

[1.] About this time also *Egelwin*, Bishop of *Durham*, after his Return to his See, finding the State of *England* very turbulent, and dreading the Dominion of Strangers, whose Language he did not understand, was resolved to quit his Bishopricks, and live like a banished Man, where-ever he could find a safe Retreat; so having provided a Ship, and stored it with all things necessary, he lay waiting for a Wind in the Port of *Wircwuthe*, where he also found divers other Ships, under the Command of *Edgar Atheling*, *Seward* (Surnamed *Barrie*) *Marlesweyn*, and divers other *Northumbrian* Noblemen, who upon the late Taking of the Castles at *Tork*, and the Return of the Danes into their own Country, whom they had assisted, (as you have already heard) lay here waiting for a Wind, to carry them into *Scotland*: But I could have wisht our Authors would have told us, where they had stayed ever since that Action, which happened the last Year, when as the same Writers acknowledge the whole *North* was reduced unto the King's Obedience.

Anno Domini  
MLXX.

[4.]  
*Mat. Paris.*

The King  
seizes on all  
the Money and  
Place laid up  
in Monasteries.

As also the  
very Chalice  
and Shrines  
of Saints.

He also made  
the Bisho-  
pricks, and  
greater Ab-  
bies, to hold  
by Knights  
Service.

[5.]  
Page 578.  
Mr. *Selden*'s  
Opinion, that  
this was not  
done by the  
King's sole  
Power.

[11]  
S. D. R. H.  
*Egelwin*, Bi-  
shop of *Dur-*  
*ham* endea-  
vours to  
leave *England*.

He meets with  
*Edgar Athel-*  
*ing*, and o-  
ther Noble-  
men, who in-  
tend to Sail  
for *Scotland*.



Anno Domini  
MLXIX.

[2.]  
Id. 10.  
Malcolme,  
King of Scots,  
again invades  
England.

He plunders  
the Inhabi-  
tants of the  
Bishoprick of  
Durham, and  
Yorkshire.

[3.]  
Idem.  
He meets with  
Edgar Atheling,  
and the  
Ladies, his Si-  
sters.

[4.]  
S. D. R. H.  
Earl Gospatric  
enters Cumber-  
land.

The Errors of  
Hector Boethius,  
and Buchan-  
an, in their  
Relations of  
this War.

Not long after [2.] a great Army of Scots, under the Command of King Malcolme, passing through Cumberland, and then turning Eastward, destroyed all Teysdale, and the Parts adjacent on both sides, and beyond it, with a miserable Depopulation; but when they came to a place called in English, *Hundred's Kelde*, (i. e. a hundred Springs) they there met with, and killed certain English Noblemen; then the King kept part of his Army with him, and sent a great Detachment back again the same way they came with much of the Plunder, which he also did with this design, that so the Inhabitants (who had before fled away, or hid themselves) returning again securely to their Houses, he might there take them unawares, as he did; for having laid wast great part of *Cleveland*, he also did the like in *Heorternesle* by a new and sudden Incurison; and from thence marching through the Lands of *St. Cuthbert*, (i. e. the Bishoprick of *Durham*) bereft all the Inhabitants of their Goods, and some of them of their Lives: He then also burnt the Church of *St. Peter* in *Wertmutha*, himself looking on; as also divers other Churches, together with those who fled thither for Refuge.

But [3.] whilst he rode near the River *Weere*, feeding his Eyes with these sad Spectacles, it was told him, That *Edgar Atheling*, and the Ladies his Sisters, together with many English Noblemen, were arrived in the Mouth of that Harbour; whereupon the King went presently to meet, and bid them all welcome, and promised them a safe Retreat in his Dominions.

[4.] Whilst the Scots committed these Spoils and Devastations, *Gospatric*, Earl of *Northumberland*, (having lately bought that Earldom of the King for a great Sum of Money) in return, entred *Cumberland*, which was then part of King Malcolme's Dominions, and having there made great Depredations, he retired and fortified himself in *Behbanburgh* (now *Bamborough*) Castle, from whence often sallying out, he much weaken'd the Forces of the Enemy; But when King Malcolme heard what Outrages Gospatric had committed upon his Subjects, he was scarce able to contain his Passion, and commanded for the future that they should spare none of the English Nation, but either kill or carry them away Captives; which Order being thus given, it was a miserable sight to behold the Slaughter that was then made; Old Men, Women, and Children, meeting with the like sad fate from the Cruelty of the Scots, whilst the Young Men and Maidens, who were fit for Labours, were driven away Prisoners, and kept as Slaves; so that *Simon of Durham* tells us, That in a very little time Scotland was so stockt with English Servants, that there was hardly a Village, nay, House without them.

But since *Hector Boethius* and *Buchanan*, have given us a far different Relation of this War between the English and the Scots, I shall here give you their Account of it, yet without any distinction of Years, because they do not set down any certain time, when those things were done, only tell us in general, That *Syward*, Earl of *Northumberland*, siding with Prince *Edgar*, who was then again fled into Scotland, had also joyned his Forces with the Scots; and that thereupon King *William* being now puffed up with this late Success, and believing that he might easily subdue the Scots, sent one *Roger*, a Norman Nobleman, with some Forces into *Northumberland*, who

being



being conquer'd, and put to flight, and not long after killed by his own People, *Richard*, Earl of *Gloucester*, was sent with a much greater Army; but he being tyred out by *Patrick Dunbar* in divers small Skirmishes and by him stopped from proceeding farther, when he could do no Good, *Bishop Odo* King *William's* half Brother led a much stronger Army thither, and having wasted almost all *Northumberland*, and slain some, who hindered his Depredations; King *Malcolme*, and Earl *Syward* set upon him as he was returning Home with a good Booty, and they killed and took prisoners a great Part of his Army.

But of all this we find not a Word in any of our *English* Historians, so that the most Part of this Relation is meer Romance, and the rest very uncertain; for in the first Place, Earl *Robert Curmin*, whom their *Scotch* Authors falsely name *Roger*, never invaded the *Scottish* Dominions at all, being slain almost so soon as he came to *Durham*, as you have already heard: And as for *Richard*, Duke of *Gloucester*, who is said to have been worsted by *Patrick Dunbar*, it is so far from being True, that there was not then, nor long after, any such Duke; for *Robert*, base Son, to King *Henry I.* by him created Earl of *Gloucester*, was the First who enjoyed that Title: And as for *Bishop Odo's* being worsted by King *Malcolme*, we cannot find in any of our Historians, that ever he marched at all into the *North*, till he was sent *Anno Dom. 1080*, and then not against the *Scots*, but to revenge the Death of *Walcher* Bishop of *Durham*, as you will hear anon.

King [5.] *Malcolme* being returned Home, found *Edgar Atheling* and those Noble Men that attended him safely arrived, whither also soon after came *Bishop Egelwin* above mentioned, whom a contrary Wind had driven into *Scotland*, though his Intentions were to Sail for *Germany*.

About this Time, also King *Malcolme* married the Lady *Margaret*, Sister to Prince *Edgar*, who though Noble by Her Royal Extraction, yet was much more ennobled by Her Prudence and Piety; through whose persuasions and endeavour the King himself laying aside his former Roughness, became more gentle and civilized: By this Lady he had six Sons, (*viz.*) *Edward*, *Edmund*, *Edgar*, *Alexander*, and *David*, (the three last of whom succeeded each other in the Throne,) besides another Son called *Ethelred*, who as well as his two eldest Brothers dyed without Issue; there were also two Daughters, *Matilda* Queen of *England*, and *Mary* married to *Eustace*, Earl of *Boloign*.

The War being now over, King *William* spent the rest of this Year in Acts of Peace, and of this Time [1.] *Ordoricus Vitalis* relates, That Peace and Security began to be restored to the Kingdom by the Suppressing and Punishing of Thieves, and Robbers; and the *English* and *Normans* lived quietly together in the Cities and Towns, Marrying among each other; so that the Markets and Fairs were full of *French* Tradersmen, and Commodities, and the *English* were much alter'd in their Habit; and now no Body daring to Rob, they fell to tilling the Ground, whilst the Churches were either repair'd, or new Built; and where the Priests constantly celebrated Divine Service: Thus the King's care and diligence was not at all want-

Anno Dom.  
MLXX.

[5.]

Idem.

King *Malcolme*  
Marries *Margaret* Sister to  
*Edgar Atheling*.

[1.]

P. 520.

How much  
*England* began  
to flourish af-  
ter this War.



Anna Dom.  
MLXX.

[2.]  
Idem.  
A Synod held  
at Winchester,  
where Arch-  
bishop Sti-  
gand is depo-  
sed.

Likewise  
Agelmar Bi-  
shop of Helm-  
ham as also di-  
vers Abbots.

[3.]  
P. W. R. H.  
Wulfstan Bi-  
shop of Wor-  
cester, Challen-  
ged divers Pos-  
sessions de-  
tained from  
his Church.

[4.]  
W. M.  
De Gest. Pont.  
Lib. 1. P. 117. b.  
The deposed  
Archbishop  
kept Prisoner  
during his  
Life.

ing to promote what was Good, and he by his Example excited others to do the like.

But to look back to the Affaires of the Church: This [2.] Year also was held a great Council, or Synod, at Winchester on the Octaves of the eighth Days after Easter. King William not only appointing it, but being present at it; the Pope also approving it, and giving it his Authority by his Legates Hermenfrid Bishop of Sedun, and John and Peter presbyter Cardinals; in which Council Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, was solemnly degraded for three Causes, (viz.) First, Because he had held the Bishoprick of Winchester, together with the Archbishoprick of Canterbury; and Secondly, For that he had not only assumed it, (Archbishop Robert being then alive,) but also had sometimes made use of his Pall (which he had left behind him) in the Celebration of Mass; and Lastly, Because he had received another Pall from the pretended Pope Benedict, whom the Church of Rome had excommunicated, because he had simoniacally intruded into the Apostolick Chair.

Agelmar Bishop of Helmham, Brother to the Archbishop, was at the same time likewise degraded, as were also divers Abbots by the Kings procurement; and divers of the English being thus deprived, the King the better to strengthen and support his Power, put those of his own Nation into their Places, and for the same End got some other Bishops and Abbots to be deprived of their Dignities, and kept them Prisoners during their Lives, whom neither Councils nor the Laws of the Land would have condemned: And this barely out of a Jealousy, that they endeavour'd a new Revolution of Government.

But [3.] in this Council, whilst others were afraid, lest they should be deprived of their Dignities, Wulfstan, that venerable Bishop of Worcester, stoutly challenged divers Possessions which had been detain'd by Archbishop Aldred, when he was translated from the See of Worcester to York, and which (he being deceased) were now come into the King's hands, and thereupon desired Justice to be done him by the Legates, as well as the King himself; but because the Church of York, had not then a Prelate who should maintain her Cause, it was adjudged, that his Claim should remaine undecided, till a new Archbishop was appointed, that should defend that Church by answering his Demands, so that both sides being fairly heard, a just Sentence might be given thereupon.

And in this great Council (though it be not expressly mentioned) I suppose the Bishops and greater Abbots gave their Consents, that for the Future their Lands should be held by Knights Service (as we find related in Matthew Paris at the beginning of this Year). And from this time the Bishops and Abbots who sat before in our Councils and Synods as meer Spiritual Persons, appeared hence forward in the Great Councils of the Kingdom among the Lay Nobility, as they do to this day.

The late Archbishop Stigand being thus deprived, as you have heard, [4.] he was all the rest of his Life kept close Prisoner at Winchester, where he sustained Nature with very mean Fare; for his Allowance which was out of the King's Exchequer being but small, he

.. . . . by



by reason of his natural covetousness would not afford himself any thing out of his own Estate; but when his Friends, and particularly Queen *Edgitha*, the Widdow of King *Edward*, persuaded him to live more plentifully, he swore by all that was Holy, that he was not worth a Farthing; but the great Riches that were found hidden under ground after his decease, sufficiently declared his Perjury, which was discovered by a little Key, that was, when he was dead, found hanging about his Neck, and belonged to a certain Box or Chest he had, which being opened, Notes were there found that discovered both the quantity and quality of that hidden Treasure.

On [5.] *Whitsunday* following, the King being at *Windsor*, bestowed the Archbishoprick of *Tork* upon *Thomas*, *Chancellor of Bayeux*; and he gave the Bishoprick of *Winchester* to *Walkelin* his Chaplain; and the next day *Armenfred* Bishop of *Sedan*, the Pope's Legate, again held the Synod alone (the Two Cardinals being then returned to *Rome*) in which *Agilnoth* Bishop of *Selsey* was also Degraded, but not Canonically, and the King presently committed him close Prisoner to *Mear-lestberge* (i. e. *Marleborough*) Castle, though without any Crime laid to his Charge.

There were also many Abbots deposed at the same time: The King in the room of those Bishops who were thus Deprived, conferred the Bishoprick of *Hulmdun* upon *Asfast*, and that of *Selsey* on *Strigand*, who were both his Chaplains; and he gave the Abbies to some Norman Monks; and because the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was then Deposed and the Archbishop of *Tork*, Elect, not yet Consecrated, *Walkelin* above-mentioned, was by the King's Command on the Octaves of *Pentecost*, Ordained Bishop by the said Legate: And about the same time also the Valiant Earl *Edwin* (Surnamed the *Forrester* above-mentioned) was reconciled to the King.

About this time [1.] the King having sent for *Lanfranc*, Abbot of *Caen*, out of *Normandy*, a Lombard by Nation, and a Man thoroughly Learned, and well versed in all the Liberal Arts, as well as in all Divine Knowledge, and as prudent in his Councils and the management of secular affairs, he appointed him on the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and sometime after he was consecrated at his Episcopal See, by *Giso* Bishop of *Wells*, and *Walter* Bishop of *Hereford*, with others of his Suffragan Bishops, and the rest who were absent, either by their Deputies or Letters, gave him the reasons why they could not be there to assist.

But though our Historians mention Archbishop *Lanfranc*'s Being chosen by none but the King, yet it appears from the *Saxon Annals*, that he was *Elected*, or at least *Confirmed* by a Great Council of the whole Kingdom, the Elders (i. e. the Chief, or Senior Monks) of the said Church Electing him, together with the Bishops, Chief Men, Clergy, and People of England, in *Curia Regis* (that is, in the King's Great Council, or Parliament, as we now call it) which is also confirmed by the [2.] Author of the short Relation concerning King *William*, Printed at the end of *Silar Taylor's History of Gavelkind*, which relates, "That *Lanfranc* being arrived in England, the King committed to him the Church of *Canterbury*, with the Consent and Advice of all the Barons, Bishops, and Abbots, and also of the whole People of England, because the King was well satisfied that he knew how to Govern it as he ought.

*Aut. Dom.*  
MLXX.

[5.]  
F. W. R. H.  
*Thomas* the King's Chaplain made Archbishop of *Tork*.  
Another Synod held, in which *Agilnoth* Bishop of *Selsey* is Degraded.

[1.]  
*Idem.*  
*Lanfranc* made Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

*Vid.* The Latin Copy of those *Saxon Annals* in *Bretter Coll.* Library, Printed at the end of *Mr. Woodcock's Edition of Bede.*  
And the manner of his Election.  
Ex MS. per- amano in Bibl. Bodleian.

From



Anno Dom.  
MLXX.

De Gest. Pon-  
tif. Lib. 1.  
p. 117. 4.

A Relation of  
the great dif-  
ference that  
now arose be-  
tween the  
Two Archbi-  
shops about  
the Profession  
of Obedience.

[1.]  
C. S.

[3.]  
W. M. Ib.

Abbot Frethe-  
ric joining  
with Edgar  
Atheling rises  
in Arms.

[4.]  
Vid. Vitae.  
Abbatum.  
S.H. St. Alban.  
p. 47. Edit.  
11k.

From whence we may observe, notwithstanding the encroaching Power of the Pope, and the growing Prerogative of the King, the Great Council of the Kingdom had not then lost its ancient Privilege of Confirming the Two Metropolitans of the *English* Church.

And the same Year (as the *Saxon Annals* and *William of Malmesbury* inform us) *Thomas* Archbishop of *Tork* came (according to Custom) to *Canterbury* to be there Consecrated by that Archbishop, and then *Lanfranc* demanded of him a Profession in writing, declaring his Canonical Obedience, and that also confirmed by an Oath, according to the Customs observed by his Predecessors; whereupon the said *Thomas* answered, That he would never do it, unless he might first read some written Authorities concerning that matter, and hear some Witnesses that should assert its Antiquity, since he could not do it without prejudice to his Church, before he had heard sufficient reasons for it: But this (says our Author) was the effect rather of his Ignorance than Pride; for being a Stranger, and wholly ignorant of the Customs of *England*, he had given too much credit to Flatterers; [2.] whereupon Archbishop *Lanfranc* commanded those Bishops who were come thither for this service, to Disrobe him, which was done accordingly; [3.] and so the Archbishop Elect for that time departed without any Consecration: But the King hearing of it took it very ill, supposing Archbishop *Lanfranc* had trusted to his own Learning, rather than the truth and reason of the thing, though *Thomas* himself was not wanting neither in Wit nor Learning: But after some days *Lanfranc* coming to the King's Court (or Great Council) demanded Audience of the King, and having there given him his reasons, he himself was not only very well satisfied with them, but also all the Foreigners there present; and as for the *English* who knew the matter, they gave Testimony for the Archbishop's assertion; therefore by the King's Command, and by the common Decree of all there present, it was Ordained, That for the present *Thomas* should return to the Mother Church of the whole Kingdom, and there write his profession of Obedience, and having Subscribed it, should read it aloud, and then deliver it to Archbishop *Lanfranc* to be examined in the presence of all the Bishops, in which *Thomas* should absolutely promise (without any conditions) that he would obey his Commands in all matters Ecclesiastical, yet that he should not do it for his Successors, until sufficient reasons should be shewed him in an Episcopal Synod, whereby it should be evidently proved, that all his Predecessors had ever performed the same to the See of *Canterbury*; so he having obeyed these Commands, was immediately Consecrated, and not long after *Lanfranc* required and received the professions of Obedience from all the Bishops of *England*, who had been consecrated by several former Archbishops.

To this Year also (though we cannot fix the precise time further than that it was not long after *Lanfranc's* being made Archibishop) may be also referred that remarkable Transaction, which [4.] *Matthew Paris* in his Life of Abbot *Fretherick* thus relates, That when King *William*, (being now encouraged by having the Archibishop of *Canterbury* on his side) began more openly and severely to Oppress his *English* Subjects; they, seeing their Lives and Estates to be now in danger, assembled together, and made a numerous Army, chusing *Edgar Atheling*, that Valiant young Prince,

adignos on as si move for



for their Leader, One in whom remain'd all the hopes of the *English*, and of whom they had made this Rhime.

*Ann. Dom.*  
*MLXX.*

*Edgar Atheling, England's Darling.*

Also *Fretheric*, Abbot of *St. Albans*, a generous Man, and not a little formidable for his Riches and Power, was a chief Ring-leader and Promoter of his Design; then the King began very much to fear, lest he should lose the Kingdom, which he had acquired with so great an Effusion of Blood. Wherefore following Archbishop *Lanfranc's* prudent Advice, he began to deal more gently with the *English* Noblemen, and proposing to them Terms of Peace, he invited them to a Subdulous Treaty (for so it proved in the end). But the *English* Nobility not suspecting any Treachery, under the Conduct of Abbot *Fretheric* met the King at *Berkensstead*, where after many Disputes he in the presence of Archbishop *Lanfranc* to obtain Peace, swore upon the Holy Relicks of the Church of *St. Albans*, as also upon the Holy Evangelists, (Abbot *Fretheric* administering the Oath) "That he would observe the good, approved and ancient Laws of the Kingdom, which the Holy and Pious Kings, his Predecessors, and chiefly King *Edward* had ordained; so the *English* being hertewith pacified, they all return'd home."

But the King cunningly concealing his Design, within a few days after privately and suddenly endeavoured to ruin those single and apart, whom being confederate together, he could not overcome; and this he performed by killing some, disinheriting others, and outlawing a great many, violating the abovementioned Laws, and spoiling the *English* of their Estates at his pleasure, without any legal Judgment, and thereby enriched his *Normans* to the great Grief of his *English* Subjects, who had of their own Accord made him King. Prince *Edgar* seeing these things fled again into *Scotland*, and did ever after bear him a Grudge; then likewise many of the *English* Nobility fled into *Denmark*, and some into *Normy*, avoiding as much as they could the *Norman* Yoke.

Sometime after, Abbot *Fretheric* began very much to fear, lest the King, or his new Archbishop, should fall upon him, as the principal Patron of the *English*, and depriving him of his Dignity, should either put him to Death, or commit him to perpetual Prison; and therefore one day coming into the Chapter-House, he before all his Brethren, breaking forth into Tears, thus said, Brethren and Sons, according to the Gospei-precept, we ought to fly from those who persecute us, from one City to another. And upon this, with the advice and leave of the Convent, taking with him some Books, Cloaths, and Necessaries for his Journey, he privately fled to the Isle of *Ely*, (being then under the Power of the *English* Lords, who had lately rebelled against King *William*) where falling Sick, a few days after he ended his days. King *William* hearing of the Death of this Abbot, kept the Abby of *St. Albans* vacant in his Hands, and very much oppressed it by cutting down the Woods, and impoverishing the Tenants; and unless he had been restrained by the Reproofs of Archbishop *Lanfranc*, he had irreparably destroyed the whole Monastery; but the Archbishop at last procured of him, that one *Paul*, his Kins-

man,

The King forced at last to swear to observe the Laws of King *Edward*.

*Id. Ib.*  
Abbot *Fretheric* resigns for fear of the King.



Ann. Dom.  
MLXX.

man, (suspected to be his Son) whom he had brought over into England, should be made Abbot thereof; but this did not happen till some years after, (viz.) Anno 1077. Thus I have faithfully given you *Mat. Paris's* Account concerning this great Action, which if it be true (for some question it, since it is related by no other Author) shews, That the English did not then own King *William* as a Conqueror, and that by the Oath abovementioned he wholly barred himself out of that Claim.

But since this Author could not well invent this Story (being most probably found by him in the Annals of his Abby) I think there can be no reasonable Cause to deny the Truth of it; only this must be acknowledged, that *Edgar Atheling* could not be at all concerned in this Affair, for he had fled into *Scotland* near two Years before, nor did he return into *England*, till about three Years after, when he came back in order to reconcile himself to the King, as you will find in its proper place, though this Author makes him to have done this the Year before.

[1.] At the beginning of this Year, Archbishop *Lanfranc*, together with *Thomas*, Archbishop of *York*, went to *Rome*; where when *Lanfranc* arrived, Pope *Alexander* shewed him great Respect, rising up to him, and kissing his Cheek, yet at the same time professing he did it not as to an Archbishop, but to his Master in Learning; and he likewise gave him not only a Pall consecrated at the Altar of *St. Peter*, but also another in Token of his Love, in which he was wont to say Mass himself. Then Archbishop *Thomas* began to renew his former Challenge, of being exempted from acknowledging the Archbishop of *Canterbury* for his Superior, alledging, That Pope *Gregory* had appointed them both to be of equal Power and Dignity, only he was to have the Precedence who was first consecrated; but Archbishop *Lanfranc*, though he resented this very much, yet answered with great Moderation, that that Constitution was not made concerning *Canterbury* and *York*, but *London* and that See; However the Pope declin'd giving any Judgment in this matter, saying, It ought to be determin'd in *England*, in a Synod, by the Judgment of all the Bishops and Abbots.

Then [2.] Archbishop *Lanfranc*, to be even with *Thomas*, charged him in the Pope's Presence as Uncanonical, and so incapable of that Archbishoprick, because he was the Son of a Priest; and yet no Canon was then in force to debar Priests Sons from Spiritual Preferments, though indeed some years after, in the Council of *Clermont*, such a Prohibition was made.

Then [3.] Archbishop *Lanfranc* likewise charged *Remigius*, Bishop Elect of *Lincoln*, for being Irregular, because he was guilty of Simony, not that he had paid any Money for his Bishoprick; but that upon King *William's* Invasion of *England*, he had so far assisted him in that Design, that by his diligent Service and Solicitation, he had as it were purchased that place of King *William*; whereupon both these Bishops, having nothing left to excuse themselves, voluntarily surrendered their Rings and Croiers, imploring the Pope's Clemency. He thereupon referred the matter wholly to *Lanfranc's* own Arbitration; and upon his shewing the Pope how necessary those two Prelates were for the King's Affairs, in the new Orders he had made

Ann. Dom.  
MLXXI.  
[1.]  
F. W. W. M.  
De Gest. Pon-  
tif. p. 117. a.  
The Dispute  
between the  
Archbishops  
of *Canterbury*  
and *York*, and  
heard before  
the Pope.

Edm. Hist.  
Nobis Lib. 1.  
The Archbi-  
shop of *York*,  
and the Bishop  
Elect of *Lin-*  
*coln*, are found  
to be Irregu-  
lar.

[3.]  
Idem. Ibid.  
Who thereup-  
on resign their  
Bishopricks to  
the Pope. But  
upon Archbi-  
shop *Lanfranc's*  
Intercession,  
they are re-  
stored.



made for the Kingdom; the Pope assented to it, bidding the Archbishop do what he thought was most expedient for his Country; whereupon he immediately in the Pope's Presence restored to the said Bishops their respective Pastoral Staffs, and so returning into *England*, with both these in his Company, he was with great Reverence received at *Canterbury*, and there confirmed in his Primacy of *Britain*.

About [4.] the same time, the Earls *Edwin* and *Morchar*, though they had been before reconciled to the King, yet fearing that he designed to commit them close Prisoners, privately left the Court, and intended to raise a fresh Rebellion; but their Designs met with no good Success; for *Edwin* resolving to fly to the King of *Scots*, was murdered on the way by the treachery of his own Men; but as for Earl *Morchar*, he got into the Isle of *Ely*, with many others by Sea; and a little while after, *Egelwin*, Bishop of *Durham*, and *Syward*, Sirnamed *Barne*, came also thither by Sea out of *Scotland*; to whom we may also add [5.] *Hereward*, the Son of *Leofric*, Lord of *Brunne*, a Young *English* Nobleman of great Strength and Courage (as *Ingulph* relates) who, having come not long before out of *Flanders* into *England*, and finding *Ediva*, his Mother, then a Widow, much injured and molested by the *Normans*, and his own Estate also granted to one of them, was resolved to be revenged of them, and gathering a considerable Number of his Kinsmen and Tenants, fell upon the Injurers of his Mother, and drove them off his Estate; then going to *Brand* his Uncle, then Abbot of *Peterburgh*, he received from him the Order of Knight-hood, according to the *English* Custom at that time; the manner of which, was, by Confession of his Sins, and Watching, and Praying in the Church the whole preceeding Night; then in the Morning before Mass he offer'd up his Sword upon the Altar, and after reading the Gospel, the Priest first having blessed the Sword, put it over the new Knight's Neck, and so having communicated, he was ever after held a lawful Knight; but this way of making Knights was despised by the *Normans*, they not looking upon such as true Knights, but bigotted lazy Fellows.

This [1.] Young Nobleman being then in the Neighbourhood, the Earls abovementioned (who had now possessed themselves of the Isle of *Ely*) sent for him to come to their Assistance; and there they made him one of their chief Commanders, who performed so many brave Exploits against their Enemies, that (in our Author's Judgment) he deserved great Commendations, because, whilst he was able, he endeavoured to sustain the sinking Ruins of his Country: For not long before, hearing that his Uncle, Abbot *Brand* was dead, and that King *William* had conferred that Abby upon one *Thorold*, a *Norman*; *Hereward* much regretting, that a Stranger should thus domineer over his Friends and Relations, set upon the Abby of *Peterburgh*, and put Abbot *Thorold* to flight, though he had brought *Ivo Talboys*, a Potent *Norman*, (who by the King's Favour then Commanded all the Neighbourhood about *Holland*) to his Assistance; yet, notwithstanding *Hereward* took him Prisoner in open Fight, and would not set him free, till he had purchased his Liberty by a great Ransom: Not long after this the King marched down against the Earls, who were still in the Isle of *Ely*, and by the means of

Anno Dom.  
MLXXI.

[4.]  
F. W. R. H.  
The Earls *Edwin* and *Morchar* intending to raise a fresh Rebellion; the former is slain, but the other gains the Isle of *Ely*.

[5.]  
*Ingulph* Hist.  
p. 511. a. 1011.  
A Relation of the valiant Exploits of *Hereward* against the *Normans*.

The ancient way of making Knights.

[1.]  
Id. Ib.  
*Hereward* being invited by those in the Isle of *Ely*, is made one of their Chief Commanders.

*Hereward* sets upon the Abbot of *Peterburgh*.

The King marches against those who held the Isle of *Ely*.



Anno Dom.  
MLXXI.

[2.]  
Lib. 2.  
How stoutly  
the English  
Noblemen de-  
fended them-  
selves against  
the King.

[3.]  
Id. Ib.  
The Noble-  
men in the  
Isle refuse to  
submit, or to  
trust the King.

He is forced  
to raise the  
Siege.

The Author  
of this Histo-  
ry is very  
much out in  
his Relations.

The Monkish  
Author  
proved a Ro-  
mancer.

his Mariners, stopped up all Passages in or out on the *East*-side the Island, by building of *Wisbich* Castle; and on the *West*-side he made a Bridge from the Continent to the Isle, two Miles in length.

Now when these Noblemen saw themselves thus streighten'd (as the [2.] Manuscript History of *Ely* tells us) they raised a high Fortification of Turfs against the King's Assaults, and defended themselves for a long time: then the King removed his Camp nearer to the Island, by the River *Ouse*, bringing with him a great Army, both of Horse and Foot, to hinder their sallying out of the Isle, striving to subdue them all the ways he could; yet one Morning as the King's Men were carrying Wood and Earth to fill up the Channel, and make it fordable; *Hereward* on the sudden sallied out upon them, and putting them all to flight, return'd Victorious with a great deal of Spoil.

Whereupon [3.] the King being much disturb'd, made a Truce for the present with the Noblemen in *Ely*, but yet it was not long observed, for they not trusting the King, would not deliver up the Island, because he had broken the Conditions, by seizing and imprisoning Bishop *Egelwin*, as he was passing from thence; and cutting off the Hands and Feet, or putting out the Eyes of as many as were taken Prisoners; so the War being thus renewed, *Hereward* (who upon the late Truce was gone away for some time) was again sent for by the Men of *Ely* to Command their Forces, who returning with divers other Outlaw'd disinherited *English* Gentlemen, thenceforward Commanded in Chief, and marching out of the Island, killed many of their Enemies, and carried away a great deal of Plunder into the Isle; nor did he admit any into his Society, who would not first take an Oath of Fidelity upon the Body of St. *Ethelreede*, or *Audrey*, to maintain that Quarrel to their utmost Power; so that the King being now called off by fresh Invasions, was forced to raise the Siege.

The Author of this Manuscript History farther relates, That then Archbishop *Stigand*, and *Egfred*, Abbot of St. *Albans*, both took Refuge here; the former bringing a great Treasure along with him, and the latter the Body of that Saint, which he afterwards bestowed upon the Church of *Ely*; but this is denied by *Matthew Paris*, in his Life of Abbot *Fretheric*, (abovementioned) for that was his Name, and not *Egfred*, (as this Author calls him) neither did Archbishop *Stigand* ever take Refuge in this Island, as he supposes, for being now degraded, he was kept a close Prisoner as long as he lived.

But to return again to the History of *Ely*, the Author of which also relates, That King *William* did not renew the Siege of this Island, till after his Second Return out of *Normandy*, which was Anno Dom. 1075. Whereas the *Saxon Annals*, and all our other Historians, makes him to have ended his War against *Ely* four Years before, viz. in this very Year: So that all that this Historian writes, to have happen'd after that time, seems to be pure Romance, to enhance the Honour of *Hereward*, his Hero, of whom he relates divers improbable Stories, needless to be here recited, since we are not assured of the truth of them.

At



At last this [3.] Author agrees, that the Abbot and Monks having had all their Lands seized that lay without, and having also consumed all their Provisions within the Isle, they were forced at last to make Peace with the King, sending Abbot *Thurstan*, and some of his Monks to Treat on their behalf; but they, it seems, not agreeing to the Kings Terms, he thereupon sent a new raised Army both of Horse and Foot against them; who falling upon the Island afresh, by the help of the King's Ships (which block'd up the Mouth of the River) they at length got over the Lakes and Bogs, and so assaulting the Besieged with their Engines of War, put them to flight, and having once landed upon the Island, soon made themselves Masters of it and the Abby.

After this the King Marched towards the Monastery, shutting up the Gates of the Church; that the Monks might not meet him in solemn Procession with their Crosses and Relicks of the Saints, and so appease his anger; then arriving at the Monastery, he offered half a Mark of Gold at the Altar (or Shrine) of St. *Audrey*, and having put a strong Garison of *Normans* into the Abby, as also in the Castle of *Alrehede*, he returned the same way he came.

Then the Abbot and Monks, by the mediation of *Gilbert de Clare*, and other Noblemen, endeavoured a Reconciliation with the King; so being brought into his Presence at *Wickford*, they made the best Composition they could, viz. That they should pay him Seven Hundred Marks, which was so great a Sum, that they were forced to sell good part of the Plate and Ornaments of their Church. This Sum being brought to the King's Receivers at *Cambridge*, there wanted by carelessness of the Money-changers a Groat in weight, (for in those times great Sums passed by Weight, and not by Tale) which when the King understood, he was very angry at it, (or at least pretended it) as if they went about to Cheat him, and thereupon would not stand to the Articles of Peace; which did so perplex these Monks, that they were forced to promise him Three hundred Marks more to make it up a Thousand; to raise which Sum they were necessitated to despoil the Images of the Saints of all their Ornaments of Gold and Silver, and so disfurnished the Church of all the rest of the Gold and Silver that was left; and when this Sum was paid, they bought but a precarious and uncertain Peace, till *Thurstan* their Abbot dying, the King made *Theodwin*, a *Norman* Monk, Abbot, who refused to accept it, unless the King would restore to the Abby the Spoils he had taken from it, and so at last they got them all again.

But though I doubt whether divers passages in this Relation in the Monk of *Ely*, be true or not, as being written out of hatred and aversion to their Conqueror, yet this is certain (which it also relates) that the King, the better to secure the Island to his Obedience, quarter'd Forty *Norman* Knights, or Soldiers, upon that Abby, who eating in the Refectory with the Monks, the Cellerer, or Steward, was not only forced to find them Commons, but also Wages in Money.

And as a Manuscript Relation, cited by [4.] Mr. *Fuller* in his Church-History, informs us, each of these Knights were quarter'd with some principal Monk, and living with them in the common Hall of the Monastery, they entertained each other so lovingly, that at length, the fire of Civil Dissention being quenched, the King's Power established, and he finding the Pride of the Monks sufficiently abated, sent for

Anno Domini  
MLXXXII

[3.]  
Id. lb.  
Those in the  
Isle of Ely  
forced at last  
to Treat, and  
the reason  
why.  
The King  
sends fresh  
Forces against  
the Isle, who  
at last take it.

Id. lb.  
The Abbot  
and Monks  
forced to buy  
their Peace  
has nam  
only a small  
part of the  
Isle of Ely

Anno Domini  
MLXXXIII  
The King  
quarters  
Forty Norman  
Knights upon  
the Abby of  
Ely.

[4.]  
P. 166, 169.  
How much  
these Knights  
gained the  
Love of the  
Monks.



Anno Dom.  
MLXXI.

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the in the  
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forced to  
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why  
The King  
Tend  
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the life  
the justice

the Knights away, wanting at present their Service (most of them having been Chief Commanders, or Captains of Note) to curb the Insolence of his Son *Robert*, who at that time had taken up Arms against him in *Normandy*; but it seems the Monks were so much taken with the Conversation of these Military Men, that they very mightily lamented their departure, and carried them on their way as far as *Bladenham*, with their Grosses, Censers, and Hymns in a solemn Procession.

But as for what follows in this Relation (which is no ancienter than *Henry the VIIth's* time) that the Monks in gratitude Painted the Arms of these Gentlemen upon the Walls of their Hall where they used to Eat, I do very much doubt; because the custom of bearing Coats of Arms, as Hereditary to their Families, was not in use till after the second Expedition into the *Holy Land*, in the Reign of King *Henry the Second*; though I will not deny, but that the Names of these Gentlemen might be preserved in the ancient Registers of that Abby. But those that delight in things of this nature, may see a Transcript of the pretended Arms of these Soldiers in *Mr. Fuller's Church-History* as they were drawn from the Original, which still remains Painted upon the Wall of the Dean of *Ely's* Dining-Room.

[5.]  
How the King  
Went with  
those Noble-  
men, and  
others, who  
were taken in  
the Isle of Ely.

But to return again to the History: as for the [5] Noblemen who were then in the Island, they were all forced to submit themselves to the King's Mercy, except *Hereward*, and he escaped with a few in his company over the Fens into *Scotland*; then the King, having cut off the Hands, and put out the Eyes of many of the common Soldiers, let them go, but as for *Earl Morchar*, with the Noblemen and Gentlemen that were taken with him, he sent them to divers Prisons; and as for *Bishop Egelwin*, he was committed to safe Custody at *Abingdon*, where he soon died of Hunger, by his peremptory refusing all manner of Sustenance.

[1.]  
S. D.

Not [1.] long after this, the King made *Walcher*, a *Lorainer*, and Canon of the Church of *Leige*, Bishop of *Durham*, who was Consecrated at *Winchester*; for being a Man of Noble Birth, and of virtuous Life, as also of some Learning, he had been invited over by the King to undertake that Charge; then *Eilias* the King's Housecarle (that is, his *Domestick Servant*) and who was in great Favour with him, waited on the Bishop as far as *Tork*, where *Earl Gospatric* met him, and conducted him to *Durham*, and there he was inthron'd in *Middle Lent* following.

Anno Dom.  
MLXXII.

[2.]  
C. S. R. W.

[4.]  
How much  
these Knights  
loved the  
Monks

The [2.] next Summer, King *William* (having *Edric*, the Forester, in his Company) to be even with the King of *Scots* for his late Devastations in *England*, invaded *Scotland* with a great Army by Land, and a powerful Fleet by Sea, intending wholly to subdue it; but when he had entred *Scotland*, the King thereof met him at a place called *Abernithie*, and submitting himself, made Peace with him, and became his *Leige-man*, giving also Hostages for his true observance of it for the future.

But *Abbot Ingulph* is more particular in this Transaction, and says expressly, That King *William* then subjected *Scotland* to himself, and compell'd King *Malcolme* to do him Homage, and swear Fealty, at the place aforesaid: I wish this Author had told us particularly for

what



what Territories this Homage was done, whether for all *Scotland* or *Cumberland*, or only for the *Lowlands*, since it could not be for *Northumberland*; for that was not, till the Reign of King *Stephen*, made part of the *Scottish* Dominion, nor continued any longer so than only for his Time.

Therefore [3.] *Holinshed*, and other Modern *English* Writers, have without any Authority from our Ancient Historians, said in express Terms, That the King of *Scots* then did Homage to King *William* for all *Scotland*.

But to give some further Account of this Action; *Polydore Virgil* (from some Ancient Manuscript in his time) relates, That this Victory was not so easily obtained, for King *William* having entered *Galloway*, his Soldiers were more harrassed in passing over the Mountains and Marshes than in pursuit of the Enemy, wherefore he was forced to give over his Expedition that way, and march directly into *Lothian*, (where King *Malcolm* then lay) being fully resolved to end this Quarrel by a Battel; but *Malcolm* wisely considering the great danger he was in, sent Ambassadors to King *William*, and offered him Terms of Peace; they were well received, and he thinking it better to hearken to it than to try the Chance of War in a difficult and unknown Country, accepted of those Terms proposed by the King of *Scots*, but on this Condition, that he should take an Oath of Fealty to him; and at the Intercession of King *Malcolm*, the *English* Exiles were restored to their Estates; but it seems *Edgar Atheling* did not make his Peace till afterwards, as you will find anon.

The King having thus dispatch'd his Affairs in *Scotland*, returned to *Durham*, where he built a Castle for the Security of the Bishop, and those that belonged to him. But [4.] *Simeon* of *Durham*, and other Monkish Writers do relate, That the King soon left that place, being frighted from thence by a strange Miracle that happen'd to himself, for he doubting whether the Body of *St. Guthbert* was really there or no, had ordered his Shrine to be searched; but he was thereupon immediately seized with such an unusual Heat, that he did nothing but Sweat, and being under a great Consternation, he commanded his Chaplains, whom he had before ordered to open the Shrine, to let it alone, and presently taking Horse, never alighted till he got out of the Lands belonging to the Bishoprick; but leaving this Miracle to be believed by those that have a mind to it, it is certain that King *William* did not stay long at *Durham*, but returned to *London*.

Now, because the [5.] *Scottish* Historians relate this Peace between their King *Malcolm* and King *William* somewhat differently, I shall also give you their Account of it; in the first place, they do not only conceal this Expedition of the King's into *Scotland*, with the great dread that King *Malcolm* was in of his Forces, and the Homage he thereupon made him; but on the contrary they make King *William* as it were weary of War, and so to desire Peace at his hands; and that thereupon he confirmed the Grant of *Cumberland* to King *Malcolm*, upon this Condition, that he should hold it of him by Fealty, and attempt nothing to the prejudice of the Crown of *England*. But what they further add seems certain enough, That in Memory of this Peace, there was a *Stone-Cross* erected in the middle of the Mountains of *Stanmore* in *Yorkshire*, which we call *Rerecross*, (and the

*Scots*

*Anna Dom.*  
*MLXXIII.*

[3.]  
Vol. 2. p. 123.

A larger Account of this Victory from *Polydore Virgil*.

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[5.]  
Hoffer. Bosh.  
Buchen.



Ann. Dom.  
MLXXII.

Vid. Camden's  
Britannia in  
Yorkshire.

[1.]  
St. D. 10V

22. 10. 10. A  
aid. 10. 10. 10.  
10. 10. 10. 10.  
10. 10. 10. 10.

[2.]  
M. Col. 205.

[3.]  
W.M. p. 1174.  
Another Syn-  
nod about the  
Subjection of  
the See of York  
to that of  
Canterbury.

[4.]  
Idem. Ibid.

The Judgment  
of the Synod  
concerning it.

10. 10. 10. 10.  
10. 10. 10. 10.

[5.]  
10. 10. 10. 10.  
10. 10. 10. 10.

So *Reverca*, that is the Royal Cross) having the Arms of both Kings engraven on the several sides of it, which was for the future to serve as a Boundary between the two Kingdoms, the remainder of which Cross was to be seen in Mr. Camden's time, and may be there still as far as I know.

So soon as the King return'd out of Scotland, he deprived *Gospatric* of his Earldom of part of Northumberland, charging him that he had underhand assisted those who had slain Earl *Robert* at *Durham*, and had been also on the Enemy's side, when the Normans were slain at *Tork*; and he being thus deprived, Earl *Waltheof* was advanced to that Honour, which was due to him by Birth, as well by his Father as Mother's side, being the Son of Earl *Syward*, by *Elfreda*, the Daughter of Earl *Aldred*.

Then [2.] Bishop *Walcher*, and Earl *Waltheof*, became such good Friends, that he sitting together with the Bishop in the Synods of the Clergy, observed and executed whatsoever had been by them ordained, for the advancement of Religion.

But to give you some further Account of Ecclesiastical Affairs. This Year also [3.] the two Archbishops, *Lanfranc* and *Thomas*, being returned from *Rome*, there was a great Council or Synod held at *Easter*, concerning the old Dispute of the Jurisdiction of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* over that of *Tork*, where the matter being fully debated on both sides, at last the Synod gave Sentence in favour of the See of *Canterbury*; which being so remarkable, I shall here give it you at large, as it is found in *Ingalph's History*, and in [4.] *William* of *Malmesbury*, *de Gestis Pontif.* in these Words,

"In the Year of the Incarnation of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, MLXXII. and in the Eleventh Year of the Papacy of our Lord, Pope *Alexander*, but of *William*, King of *England*, the Sixth; the Cause being debated by the King's Consent, and in his Presence, as also in the Presence of all the Bishops and Abbots, concerning the Primacy, which the Archbishop of *Canterbury* claims in right of his Church over that of *Tork*, about the Ordinations of some Bishops, concerning whom it was not evident to what Archbishop they belonged; but at last it was shewn and proved by the Authority of certain Holy Writings, that the Church of *Tork* should be Subject to that of *Canterbury*, and ought to obey her Archbishop, as being Primative of all *Britain*, and his Orders in all things which concern the Christian Religion: but the Subjection of the Bishoprick of *Durham*, (i.e. of the Church of *Lindisfarne*) and of all the Countries from the Diocess of *Litchfield*, and those lying on the other side the River *Humber*, belong to the Diocess of *Tork*, and which the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had granted to the Archbishop of *Tork*, and his Successors; and if so be that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* will hold a Synod where-ever he pleases, the Archbishop of *Tork* shall afford it his presence, with all the Bishops subject to him, and shall be obedient to the Ecclesiastical Canons therein made; but the Archbishop of *Tork* ought to swear Obedience to the See of *Canterbury*, as Archbishop *Lanfranc* hath shewn from the Ancient Custom of his Predecessors. But though out of respect to the King he hath released the said Oath to *Thomas*, now Archbishop of *Tork*, and had only received his Profession of Obedience in writing, yet

he



"he did not intend thereby to prejudice his Successors, who may still  
 "exact an Oath, together with the Profession, from the Successors of  
 "the said Thomas.

*Anno Domini*  
 MLXXII.

"If the Archbishop of *Canterbury* shall decease, the Archbishop of  
 "*Tork* shall come to *Canterbury*, and there together with the rest of  
 "the Bishops of the said Province, shall Consecrate him as his Right-  
 "ful Primate; but if the Archbishop of *Tork* shall decease, he who is  
 "chosen to succeed him, having received from the King the Arch-  
 "bishoprick, shall come to *Canterbury*, or where-ever else the Arch-  
 "bishop of that See shall appoint, and shall there Canonically receive  
 "Ordination from him.

To this [5.] Constitution the said King, and the Archbishops *Lan-*  
*franc* and *Thomas*, as also *Hubert*, a Sub-Deacon of the *Roman Church*,  
 and Legate of the said Pope *Alexander*, and the rest of the Bishops  
 and Abbots there present, have all consented: This Cause was first  
 debated at the City of *Winchester*, at the Feast of *Easter*, in the King's  
 Chappel in the Castle, and afterwards in the Royal Town, called  
*Windsore*, (now *Windsor*) where it received a final Determination in  
 the Presence of the King, the Bishops and Abbots of several Orders,  
 who were all assembled at the King's Court, at the Feast of *Pentecost*:  
 Then follow the Subscriptions of King *William*, and *Matilda* his Queen,  
 of *Hubert*, the Pope's Legate, as also of the Archbishops of *Canterbury*  
 and *Tork*, together with that of the Bishop of *London*, and most of  
 the other Bishops, and Chief Abbots of *England*, who all of them  
 subscribed with the Sign of the Cross after their Names, according to  
 the *Saxon Custom*.

[5.]  
*Idem. Ibid.*

[1.] *William* of *Malmesbury* has not only given us this Sentence, but  
 also the whole Process, with the Arguments *pro* and *con*, that were  
 produced by the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *Tork*, in this great Cause,  
 set forth at large in a Letter of Archbishop *Lanfranc* to the Pope; the  
 Reasons on both sides were founded upon certain Letters of Pope *Gre-*  
*gory's*, and his Successors, to Archbishop *Augustine*, and other Arch-  
 bishops of *Canterbury*, as also to King *Ethelbert*, and other *Saxon Kings*,  
 which are needless here to be recited; only from them (and especially  
 from that Pope's Letter to *Augustine* abovementioned) it appears,  
 That Archbishop *Augustine* had conferred upon him, not only the Pri-  
 macy, but the Jurisdiction over all the rest of the Bishops of that part  
*Britain*; and indeed Archbishop *Lanfranc's* Reason, why what was  
 written to his Predecessors, should extend to all his Successors, is  
 very subtil; for (says he) since, if those Words of our Saviour to  
*St. Peter*, Thou art *Peter*, and upon this Rock will I build my Church,  
 are interpreted of all *St. Peter's* Successors, by the same reason what  
 was written to *Augustine* by the Pope, should extend to all succeeding  
 Archbishops of *Canterbury*.

[1.]  
*De Gestis Pon-*  
*tific. Lib. 1. c. 2.*  
*112. b. c.*  
*dein.*

And indeed *Lanfranc* was so far in the Right, that the Argument is  
 as good for the one as the other.

But notwithstanding these Decrees of the Popes, we do not find  
 that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* exerted this Jurisdiction at the first,  
 for when (as \* *Bede* relates) Pope *Honorius* had sent two Palls for the  
 two Metropolitans of *Canterbury* and *Tork*, that whenever one of  
 them deceased, the Survivor might Consecrate a new Archbishop in  
 his stead. In the next Chapter he informs us, That *Honorius* being  
 chosen

Yet for this  
 the Superio-  
 rity was not  
 Ancient.  
 \* Lib. 2.



Anno Dom.  
MLXXII.

chosen Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he went into the *North* to be Consecrated by *Paulinus* Archbishop of *Tork*, and that *Paulinus* went as far as *Lincoln* to meet him, which shews nothing of that Superiority, that was long after claimed by the Archbishops of *Canterbury* over those of *Tork*; nor do I find any such to have been exercised by the said Archbishop, till long after the Death of *Paulinus*, when *Tork* had for several years ceased to be an Archbishoprick. And in those times, Archbishop *Theodorus* deprived *Wilfred*, Bishop of *Tork*, in a Synod, which he held with the Bishops of that Province, (as you may see related at large in the former Volumn) under Anno Dom. 678.

But when *Egbert*, Bishop of *Tork*, did after many years re-obtain the Pall (and consequently his Archiepiscopal Jurisdiction) from the Pope, it was thereupon for many Ages after discharged from all Subjection to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as Primate of *England*; nor do we find any mention of a Profession or Oath of Canonical Obedience required from the Archbishops of *Tork* to those of *Canterbury*, till that famous Decree last mentioned, as [2.] *Thomas Stubbs* in his History of the Archbishops of *Tork* has very well proved. This I thought fit to let the Reader know, That so he may understand by what means the Archbishops of *Canterbury* obtained, not only Superiority, but an Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over those of *Tork*. But to return to Civil Affairs.

[2.]  
Vid. X. Script.  
Col. 1685.

Anno Dom.  
MLXXIII

[3.]  
C. S. F. W.  
The War renewed between England and France.

A mistake in the Manuscript Copies of R. Hoveden and Matt. Paris

The next Year [3.] the War being again renewed between King *William* and the King of *France*; the former transported a great Army, as well *English* as *Normans* into *Normandy*; and then by the Assistance of the *English* chiefly, he retook the City of *Mans*, and Province of *Maine*, which had lately revolted, not without making great Spoil in destroying the Vineyards, and burning of Towns.

This is the Account which all our most Ancient Writers give of this Expedition, but the Manuscript History of *Rog. of Wendover*, which is Transcribed by *Matt. Paris* (as *Matt. Westminster* Transcribes from him) instead of *Cennomania*, have under this year (by some Error in the Copies they made use of) inserted *Normannia*; so that though they agree in the main circumstances of this Relation, yet by this mistake in the Name, they make a great Rebellion in *Normandy* this year, when indeed there was none at all there; and this mistake in these Authors hath led *Stow* in his *English Chronicle* into the same, which I thought good to acquaint the Reader with.

[4.]  
Idem.  
Edgar Atheling again received into Favour.

[5.]  
S. D. R. H.  
Earl Waltheof cruelly revenges the Death of his Grandfather.

Whilst [4.] the King thus stayed in *Normandy*, *Edgar Atheling* came to him out of *Scotland*, by the way of *England*, and then went over with him, where the King received him again into favour with all his Followers, and being in the King's Court, he submitted to such Conditions as he was pleased to allow him: About the same time also, Earl *Waltheof* cruelly revenged the Death of *Aldred*, his Grandfather, upon the Sons of one *Carle*, who had caused him to be slain: for being all then feasting together at a place called *Settrington*, the Earl sent a Party of Horse, who cut them all off by surprize. This was a very treachous and cruel Action, and would not have passed without a more severe Censure in any one, that had not been so highly devoted to the Monks, the only Historians of those times.

Nor



Nor can I here omit taking notice of what was done this Year in *England* in Ecclesiastical Matters, when (as the *Latin* Copy of the *Saxon Annals* in *Bennet-Colledge Library* informs us) was held that great Plea, or Court, at *Pinenden-Heath*, in which Archbishop *Lanfranc* proved, That he held his Church, with all its Lands and Customs, as free as the King enjoys his Crown, except in three Points, (*viz.*) "If the King's High-way were dug up, or if a Tree being cut down fell upon it, or if Man-slaughter was committed, or Blood shed therein, whoever is taken in any of these things, having found Pledges, shall pay his Mulct to the King, and then he shall be free from the King's Officers."

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MLXXIII

A great Plea at *Pinenden*, about the Rights and Customs belonging to the Church of *Canterbury*.

[1.]

*Histor. Novor. Lib. 1. p. 9.*

A more perfect Account of the Suit between Archbishop *Lanfranc*, and Bishop *Odo*.

But since [1.] *Eadmerus* has given us a more perfect Account concerning this great Suit, that then depended between the said Archbishop, and *Odo*, Bishop of *Bayeux*, who (being Half-brother to the King, and Earl of *Kent*) had by his great Power seized upon divers Lands, belonging to the said Archbishoprick, before ever *Lanfranc* came over; which when he came to understand, he gave the King an account of. He (though in *Normandy*) presently ordered, That the chief and good Men, not only of the County of *Kent*, but also of other Counties of *England*, (where the Archbishop claimed any Lands) being assembled together, the Complaints of the said Archbishop should forthwith be examin'd, and determin'd by them. So there being an Assembly of the Great Men of the Kingdom appointed at *Pinenden*, (a large Heath or Common lying in the midst of *Kent*) *Godfrey*, Bishop of *Constance*, a Man very powerful at that time in *England* (being then the King's Lieutenant for this Affair) commanded Justice to be done to Archbishop *Lanfranc*; and in order thereunto, *Egelric*, Bishop of *Chichester*, a Man singularly well vers'd in the Laws and Customs of the Realm, was brought thither in a Waggon for his Advice and Assistance, being by reason of his great Age unable to ride; and *Haymon* the King's Sheriff, being also commanded to Summon the whole Country to give Evidence, (Bishop *Odo* receiving likewise Orders to be there) the Archbishop's Cause was supported by such strong Reasons and Proofs, that with the common Consent and Judgment of all the Men there present, he recovered all those Lands that were detained from his See, as also divers Customs, which were made out to have anciently belonged to *Christ Church* in *Canterbury*.

As [2.] for Foreign Affairs, this Year produced a great Alteration in the Church, for Pope *Alexander* dying, Two Popes were chosen at once, (*viz.* *Hildebrand* by the Name of *Gregory* the Seventh; and another *Guibert*, or *Wibert*, called *Clement* by the Emperor's Party) but *Gregory* was acknowledged, as lawfully Elected, by the Kings of *France* and *England*.

[2.]

F. W. W. M. p. 61. Two Popes Elected at once.

One of the first things this New Pope did after his Accession to the Papacy, was [3.] by Letters to demand an Oath of Fealty of King *William* for the Kingdom of *England*, to be held of the *Roman* See; because (says he) the Royal Power is next under God to be subject to the Care and Government of the Apostolick; But the King who was not to be thus imposed on, in Answer to the Pope's demand, returned this notable Letter, which Mr. *Selden* hath given us in his

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MLXXIV.

[3.]

*Epist. St. Greg. 7. Lib. 7. Ep. 25.* Pope *Gregory* demands an Oath of Fealty from King *William*.



Anno Dom. Notes to *Eadmerus*, from an Ancient \* Manuscript in his Possession, MLXXIV. being in *English* thus,

\* Page 164.

[4.]  
Cod. Inter Epist.  
Lanfranci.  
Lib. Epist. 7.

To [4.] Gregory the most Excellent Pastor of Holy Church, William, by the Grace of God, King of the English, and Duke of the Normans, wisheth Health, and desireth his Friendship.

Most Holy Father,

King William's  
Letter of de-  
nial to the  
Pope's de-  
mand.

YOUR Legate, *Hubert*, coming unto me, admonished me in your behalf, that I should do Fealty to You and your Successors, and that I should take better care for the Payment of the Money, which my Predecessors were wont to send to the Church of *Rome*; one of these I have granted, the other I have refused. Fealty I would not do, nor will I, because I neither promised it, nor do I find that my Predecessors ever did it to yours; the Money for almost three Years, (when I was abroad in *France*) hath been but negligently collected, but now seeing by Divine Mercy I am returned into my Kingdom, what is gathered, is sent by the afore-said Legate, and the Arrears which remain, shall be sent by the Messengers of *Lanfranc*, our faithful Archbishop, in time convenient. Pray for us, and for the good Estate of our Kingdom, because we have loved your Predecessors, and do desire sincerely to love, and obediently to hear you above all others.

What pre-  
tence the Pope  
could have to  
demand this  
Fealty.

I know not what pretence the Pope could have to demand this Fealty, unless it were because his Predecessor had sent King *William* a consecrated Banner, as a Token of his Approbation of his Expedition against *Harold*, and that therefore he supposed it must ever after owe Homage to the See of *Rome*; or else that he looked upon *England* as a Tributary Kingdom, because of the *Peter-pence* which he received from it; and by reason of which most Popish Writers suppose *England* to have been always Feudetary to the Pope: And therefore Mr. *Selden* has here very much Reason to admire at the Confidence of *Bertold of Constance*, who in his Appendix to *Hermannus Contractus*, under the Year 1084. relates, "That King *William* the Conqueror did then make the whole Kingdom of *England* Tributary to the Church of *Rome*, nor would permit any one under his Power to buy or sell any thing whom he found disobedient to the Apostolick See. Whereas indeed there was never any such thing, for it was never a Tribute, but an Alms at first granted by King *Ina* to the Popes of *Rome*, and then regranted by King *Athelwulf* to be gathered all over *England*, as I have already shewn in the \* former Volume; so that the best Reason I can give for this Demand of the Pope's, was, That it was this Pope *Gregory* that did it, who was the most bold and enterprizing Pope that ever sat in that Chair, and who afterward humbled the Emperor, *Henry* the Fourth; but King *William* was so far from paying him any such mean Submission, that *Eadmerus* expressly tells us, He would not permit any Subject in his Dominions to acknowledge any Pope, but whom he had first allowed of, nor so much as to receive his Letters, unless they had been first shewn to himself.

*Peter-pence* only an Alms  
granted by  
King *Ina* to  
the Popes of  
*Rome*.  
\* Page 291.

But



But to return to our *English Affairs*. The [5.] same year that the King remained still in *Normandy*, a dangerous Conspiracy was formed against him, not only by some of the *English*, but also *Norman Nobility*; for *Roger de Breteuil*, Earl of *Hereford*, now betrothed his Daughter *Emma* in Marriage, against the King's Consent, to *Ralph de Waler*, Earl of *Norfolk and Suffolk*, (whose Father was an *Englishman*, but his Mother a Lady of *Bretaign* in *France*) this Earl then kept a magnificent Wedding at *Ikingeham*, near *Newmarket* in *Cambridgeshire*, where Earl *Roger*, Earl *Walsbeef*, some Bishops and Abbots being present, they all resolved to depose King *William* from the Kingdom, as being a Bastard, but chiefly because they were weary of his severe Government, and so desired a Change; but Earl *Walsbeef*, soon repenting of what he had done, having been (as he said) overcome by the Wine he had Drank, and drawn in against his Will, went immediately to *Laufraue* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and confessing the whole Plot, received Absolution from him; and then by his Advice going over into *Normandy* to the King, he there discovered it to him, submitting himself to his Mercy; but the Noblemen abovementioned returning to their Castles, began the Rebellion with all their Joynforces, and confederating with the *Welshmen*, they burnt and plundered several of the King's Towns; but the Governors of his Castles, together with the People of those Countries, soon frustrated their Designs; for *Wulfstan*, Bishop of *Worcester*, with a great number of Men, (and *Egelwin*, Abbot of *Evesham*, with his Tenants) being sent for to his Assistance with *Urfe*, Sheriff of *Worcestershire*, and *Walter de Lacey* and his Men, all marching together, prevented the Earl of *Hereford* from passing the *Severne*, and joyning with Earl *Ralph*, and his Army, at the place appointed; but as for the latter, *Odo*, Bishop of *Bayeux*, and *Godfrey*, Bishop of *Constance*, hindered him (being then encamped near *Cambridge*) from marching any further; whereupon the Earl seeing his Designs thus disappointed, retreated back to *Northwich*, and there having committed the Castle, and the Garrison that was in it, to the Custody of his Wife, he took Ship, and sailed over into *Bretaign*, and thence into *Denmark*; but his Enemies took as many of his Followers as they could find, and either killed or disabled them; then the King's Lieutenants, abovementioned, laid close Siege to the Castle of *Northwich*, and at last it was surrendered; the Countess, with those of her Party, having the King's Permission, left *England*, and went over into *Denmark* to her Husband, Earl *Ralph*, who sometime after (as the *Saxon Annals* relate) bringing over along with him *Cnut*, Son to *Sweyn*, King of *Denmark*, and a certain Earl, called *Hacun*, returned into *England* with Two hundred Sail of Ships, but when they could not undertake anything against King *William*, they went into *Flanders*.

As soon as this business was over, the King returned in *Autumn* into *England*, and committed the Earls *Roger* and *Walsbeef* close Prisoners, notwithstanding the latter had discovered the Conspiracy, and implored his Mercy; then holding his *Curia*, or great Council at *Westminster*, he banished all the Conspirators, putting out the Eyes of some, and cutting off the Hands of others, especially the *Welshmen*, who had been taken in the late Rebellion; but as for their Leaders, the Earls *Roger* and *Walsbeef*, (being

*Anna Dom.*  
MLXXVI

[5.]  
C.S.F.W.W.M

A dangerous Plot against the King, in which both Normans and English Lords are concerned

Discovered by Earl Walsbeef.

The Noblemen break out into Rebellion, but are soon quell'd.

Earl Roger and Earl Walsbeef, committed to a close Imprisonment.



Anno Dom.  
MLXXIV

[1.]  
ibid.  
Upon this the  
King grows  
more severe  
to the English.

How far it  
may be true,  
that the King  
suffered no  
Englishman to  
enjoy any  
Place of Ho-  
nour or Profit

[2.]  
Page 521, 522.

How far it  
may be true,  
that the King  
suffered no  
Englishman to  
enjoy any  
Place of Ho-  
nour or Profit

[3.]  
Page 197.

What is  
said in the  
margin

[4.]  
Page 522, 523.

[5.]  
Id. page 198.

What is  
said in the  
margin

[6.]  
Id. page 198.

What is  
said in the  
margin

[7.]  
Id. page 198.

What is  
said in the  
margin

[8.]  
Id. page 198.

What is  
said in the  
margin

[9.]  
Id. page 198.

What is  
said in the  
margin

[10.]  
Id. page 198.

What is  
said in the  
margin

[11.]  
Id. page 198.

What is  
said in the  
margin

[12.]  
Id. page 198.

What is  
said in the  
margin

[13.]  
Id. page 198.

ing both condemned to dye) he committed them to a closter Pri-  
son.

By [1.] reason of this Conspiracy, William of Malmesbury excuses the  
Kings future Severity to the English, and says he had scarce found any  
of them faithful, which so exasperated his Temper towards them, that  
he bereft the more powerful first of their Money, then of their Lands,  
and at last many of them of their Lives. So that from this time we  
may date that remarkable Epochæ, which the same Author mentions,  
(though under the Reign of King Edward the Confessor,) and which  
had continued to his own time, viz. That England was then become  
the Habitation and Dominion of Strangers. So that it is certain, when  
he wrote, There was no Native, Original Englishman here, no Earl,  
Bishop, or Abbot; but (says he) Foreigners devour the Riches of  
England, and know out its very Bowels.

And from this time (I suppose) it may be in great part true, what  
[2.] Ordericus Vitalis relates, that this King scarce permitted any English-

man to enjoy any Place of Honour, Profit, or Power, yet that a great ma-  
ny English Noblemen still enjoy'd Estates in England, notwithstanding

[3.] Dr. Brady's Allegation to the contrary in his Compleat History, where  
two Years before this, he says, "That the Conqueror having baffled

the Earls Edwin and Morcar, the King divided the Nation among  
his Assistants and Followers, having by hard Usage, Imprisonment,

and Banishment, made all the English to submit. But for this he gives  
on Authority besides his own Word; for Ordericus Vitalis, whom he cites

in the Margin, says not one word of his giving the Lands among his  
Norman Followers this Year, neither fixes it to any certain time; and

though it is true, he [4.] there gives us a Catalogue of divers great  
Estates given to the Norman Noblemen and Bishops, whom he there particu-

larly mentions, and which the [5.] Doctor has transcribed Verbatim;  
yet I suppose he will not say, That those Estates were all the Lands of

the Nation, or that all those to whom they were given were Nor-  
mans, since it is certain, that one of them there mention'd, viz. Earl

Waltheof was a Natural Englishman; and as for Ralph Guader, though  
he was a Breton by Extraction, yet he came not in with King Wil-

liam, but was settled here long before in King Edward's time; but  
since I have already proved in my Introduction, that let King William

have bestowed those Estates when, and on whom he pleased, yet that he  
did not do it as a Conqueror, but as a Lawful Prince, who had right to

bestow such Lands as were forfeited to him for the Treason, or Re-  
bellion of their Owners; I shall say no more of that matter now,

but I refer the Reader to my Introduction for his farther Satisfa-  
ction.

Nothing else happen'd in England this year worth our notice, [1.]  
only that Queen Edgitha, Widdow of King Edward the Confessor, a Lady

of great Piety, Prudence, and Learning, (above the ordinary rate of  
the Women of that Age) deceased a little before Christmas, and was buried

by the King her Husband in the Abby-Church of Westminster, though  
we now do not find any Tomb there erected in her Memory.

As for Ecclesiastical Affairs, [2.] this Year happened a very remark-  
able Alteration in the Western Church, for Pope Gregory the Seventh,

being now pretty well fixed in his Seat, held a Council at Rome, where-  
in he not only forbad all Symoniacal Contracts, (i. e. buying or sel-

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ling Ecclesiastical Benefices) but likewise all Priests and Men in Orders, to have Wiues, or to keep Women in their Houses (unless they were very near Relations) which severe Decree is justly Censured by [3.] *Rad. de Diceto*, as a new Example, introduced out of an immoderate prejudice against the Judgment of the Fathers of the Church; he there also shews the many inconveniences that happened by that Forced Continence of the Clergy, in which Censure he is likewise followed by *Matt. Paris* (though himself a Monk.)

But this Decree not having the effect the Pope desired, the year following he reinforced it by a Bull, which you may see at large in the Authors above-cited under the following Year, whereby he Prohibited all Persons from hearing the Masses of such Priests as would not quit their Wives; yet notwithstanding, this Decree was not received in *England* till many years after, as you shall find in due Time.

In the beginning of this year [4.] *Earl Waltheof* was Beheaded without the City of *Winchester*, his Body being there Buried in the same place; but [5.] having been a great Benefactor to the Abbey of *Croyland*, it was sometime after by the King's permission taken up again, and sent by the Abbot *Walkesle* to be buried anew at that Monastery, where his Tomb soon after grew famous for Miracles, the Abbots and Monks crying him up for a Saint; which caused the King not long after to be so far displeased with that Abbot, that looking upon him as his Enemy, he deposed him from his Office, and put *Ingulph* (our Author) into his Place, as he himself informs us.

But though this Earl might not deserve the Title of a Saint, yet this proceeding of the King's is justly censured by many of our Historians, as too severe (if not cruel) in putting the Nobleman (so nearly related to him) to Death; and who, though he had been drawn into the late Plot, yet he had likewise sufficiently atton'd for it, by making the first discovery, and had before implored his Mercy: But it may be alledged on the King's behalf, that this was the second time he had Rebelled against him, and had not been only received into Favour, but the King had also given him his Neice *Judith* in Marriage, together with the Earldoms of *Northampton* and *Huntington*, besides that of *Northumberland*; and we may likewise here add, what *Ingulph* also tells us, that the King was instigated to this Execution, not only by divers Normans (and particularly *Ivo Talboys*) who gaped after some of his many Honours, and great Estate, but also by his own Lady, who desiring another Husband, hastened his end.

In [1.] the Spring following the King (having first committed the County of *Northumberland* to the care of *Walcher* Bishop of *Durham*) transported an Army into little *Bretaign*, and there Beleged the Caste of *Dole*, which belonged to *Ralph* Earl of *Norfolk*, who had lately fled thither; but those within defended it against him, till such time as *Phillip* King of *France* came and raised the Siege, so that King *William* was forced to return from thence into *England*, with the loss of a great many of his Men, and to pass the rest of the Year in Peace, though much against his will.

This Year, (according to *Brompton's Chronicle*) a Synod was held in *St. Paul's Church* in *London*, under *Lanfranc* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the use of Ecclesiastical Synods, being till then grown almost obsolete in *England*.

Anno Dom.  
MLXXIV.

[3.] *Rad. de Diceto*  
Sub hoc Anno  
that Bishop  
see should  
be removed  
from London  
to  
Tewkesbury  
the  
the  
the  
the

Anno Dom.  
MLXXV.

[4.]  
Id. Ib.  
Earl Waltheof  
Beheaded  
near Winchester  
[5.]  
Ingulph  
p. 905  
Then Buried  
at Croyland  
Abbey.

the King re-  
ceived from  
his  
Anno Dom.  
MLXXV.

[1.]  
The King's  
Proceedings  
against him  
how far to be  
excused.

the  
of the King  
of the City of  
London

[1.]  
H. H. R. H.  
The Govern-  
ment of *Nor-*  
*thumberland*  
committed to  
*Walcher*,  
whereupon  
the King pas-  
ses over with  
an Army into  
*Bretaign*.

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MLXXVI.

A Synod held  
at *St. Paul's*.

But



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MLXXVI.

In which it  
was Ordain'd  
that Bishops  
Sees should  
be removed  
from smaller  
Towns to  
Cities, with  
the removes  
that happen'd  
thereupon.

Bishop Wul-  
stan in this  
Council pray'd.  
VXXIM

[4.]  
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[99.]  
[100.]

Anno Dom.  
MLXXVII.

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But the first Canon made by it, was, concerning the Precedency of Bishops in Synods and Councils, and the chief thing then Ordained was, That several of the Bishops Sees should be removed from smaller Towns to Cities; by virtue of which Decree the See of *Selfey* was translated to *Chichester*; that of *Wells* to *Bathe*; that of *Shirburne* to *Salisbury*, (now called *Old Sarum*); that of *Dorchester* in *Oxfordshire* to *Lincoln*; that of *Leichefield* to *Chester*; but Bishop *Robert* the Successor of *Peter*, who was at that time Bishop, removed it from thence to *Coventry*. But some years after it was again removed to *Lichfield*.

Also (according to the same Author) to this Council, *Wulstan* Bishop of *Worcester* was summoned, as being one whom they had a mind to be rid of, because he was the only *English* Bishop that was left, therefore they accused him of Ignorance and Insufficiency for his Office, and he was then ordered to be deprived; but he refusing to deliver up his Pastoral Staff and Ring to any but him who had first conferred it upon him, he went immediately to King *Edward's* Tomb, and (if you will believe the Monks that relate it) struck the Staff so deep into the Stone, that none but himself was able to pull it out: By which Miracle (as they pretend) Archbishop *Lanfranc* being convinced, immediately recalled the Decree for his Deprivation, and suffered him to hold his Bishoprick as long as he lived.

But since neither *Eadmerus*, *Florence* of *Worcester*, nor *William* of *Malmesbury*, (who lived either in, or near those times) mention any thing of it, it is to be looked upon as an invention of the next Century, when this Author lived.

This year [2.] *Robert* the King's Eldest Son, being discontented with his Father because he would not suffer him to enjoy the Duchy of *Normandy*, as he had promised him upon his accession to the Crown of *England*, went over to the King of *France*, and stirred him up to make War against his Father; and so both together Invading *Normandy*, they burnt several Towns and did much mischief, putting King *William* to a great deal of vexation and fatigue; yet there was a Peace soon after clapp'd up between the Kings of *France* and *England*, though it did not last very long.

The same year (according to the *Saxon Annals*) there happened to great a Fire in *London*, that the like was never known since it was a City, for the greatest part of it was quite burnt down: And also (as *Matt. Paris* relates) the same year, on *Palm Sunday* in the Evening, a strange Star appeared near the Sun.

This year produced nothing of moment in *England*, for want of which we must take notice of some less matters, as particularly of the [3.] Founding of the Abby of *St. Maries* in *Tork*, by *Alan* Earl of *Richmond*, for Black Monks to the Honour of *St. Olave*; but it was afterwards Re-dedicated to the Blessed *Virgin* by his Brother Earl *Stephen*, at the Command of *William Rufus*, Anno Dom. 1089. This was a rich and stately Monastery, and the more remarkable, because in the Tower once belonging therunto, after the Reign of *Henry* the VIIIth. were carefully preserved those ancient Charters and Records that formerly belonged to most of the Monasteries of the North part of *England*; from which the Industrious Mr. *Dodsworth* made those vast Collections, which the Learned Sir *William Dugdale* afterwards inserted into



into his First and Second Volumes of *Monasticon Anglicanum*. This Tower with all the Records kept therein, being unhappily blown up in our late Civil Wars, the Memory of them had been quite lost; had they not happened to be preserved by the means above-mentioned.

[4.] About this time also, the better to secure the City of *London* in Obedience, the King laid the Foundation of a strong Castle or Citadel, entrenched with a large deep Ditch, lying on the *East-side* of the City, now called the Tower of *London*; the chief Surveyer of which Work was *Gundulph*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*; and therefore this Relation of *Stephanides* is false, who would have it to be founded by *Julius Cæſar*, unless he had proved that the King only built it upon some old Foundations layed by him, which yet is not likely, since no Author relates, that *Julius Cæſar* ever came so far as *London*.

[4.]  
Vid. Stow's  
Survey of  
London.  
The Tower.  
Vid. Registr.  
Eccles. Roff.

This year [5.] *Malcolme*, King of *Scots*, breaking the Peace lately made, invaded *Northumberland* as far as the River *Tine*, killed a great many Men, and carrying away more Prisoners, return'd home with large Spoils. Not long after which King *William* being then in *France*, was forced to defend himself against his Son *Robert*, who being again in Rebellion, held the Castle of *Gerboſet* against his Father's Forces, who then came in Person to besiege it; But his Son marching to its Relief, fought with that Obſtinacy, that encountering his Father hand to hand, unknown to him, (the Vizar of his Helmet being down) not only wounded him in the Arm, but also diſmounted him; but so soon as he heard his Voice, he immediately alighted, mounted him again on Horseback, and begging his Pardon, let him go; for the King had very much the worst of it, not only many of his Men being slain, and made Prisoners, but himself and his Son *William* were wounded, and put to flight.

Anno Dom.  
MLXXIX  
[5.]  
F. W. R. H.  
The King of  
Scots invades  
Northumber-  
land.

The defeat  
the King re-  
ceived from  
his Son Robert.

This was the only considerable Defeat he received in his whole Life; in all the rest of which he was so fortunate, that even Foreign Nations dreaded his very Name.

But *Bromton's Chronicle* relates, That the King was so moved by the Valour and Generosity of his Son, Prince *Robert*, that not long after he sent Messengers to him, and made Peace with him, and they returned into *England* together, but however he could not thereby regain his Father's Favour. As you will see by the Sequel of this Story.

This year [1.] *Walcher*, Bishop of *Durham*, was slain in a Town called *Gatesheved*, (i. e. *Goatshead* near the River *Tine*) with above an hundred Men, all *French* or *Flemmings*; of which, because it shews us the Ruin that oftentimes attends Great Men for being over-indulgent to their Servants, I shall here give you a particular Account from *Simeon* of *Durham*, and other Authors. There was an *English* Thane, called *Ligwulf* or *Liulf*, who had great Possessions in *England*, and finding all places at that time very uneasy and unsafe, by reason of the *Normans* Insolence, had removed himself and Family into the Bishoprick of *Durham*, for he had married *Algithe*, the Daughter of Earl *Aldred*, upon which score he was in great Favour with the Bishop, who made use of his Council in several matters; for this he was much envied by *Leobwin* his Chaplain, who before govern'd all things in the Bishoprick according to his pleasure; but was now very angry because

Anno Dom.  
MLXXX.  
[1.]  
F. W. S. D.  
Walcher, Bi-  
shop of Dur-  
ham slain, and  
the occasion  
of it.



Anno Dom.  
MLXXX.

[2.]  
Idem. Ibid.  
Leobwin and  
Gilebert con-  
spire to mur-  
der Ligwulf,  
at which the  
Bishop is  
much concern-  
ed, but does  
not punish  
them.

The Bishop  
and Leobwin,  
both murder-  
ed.

because the Bishop prefer'd *Ligwulf's* Council in most Affairs to his; and therefore one day after a great Dispute that happened between them in the Bishop's presence concerning some publick Business, *Leobwin* was so enraged at his being contradicted, that he went immediately to one *Gilebert*, the Bishop's Kinsman, and who as his Deputy governed the whole County of *Northumberland*, desiring him to revenge him upon *Ligwulf*, and dispatch him out of the way as soon as he could, which *Gilebert* presently promised him to do.

So [2.] taking along with him a Company of Men, he went one Night to the House where *Ligwulf* lived, and wickedly murdered him and all his Family; which when the Bishop knew, he was very much troubled, and in a Passion pulling off his Hood, and flinging it on the Ground, told *Leobwin*, (being there present) that he had by his wicked Contrivances been the Ruin of himself and his whole Family; Then retiring into the Castle, he immediately sent Messengers throughout all *Northumberland*, to publish that he was wholly Innocent of the Death of *Ligwulf*, and that only *Gilebert* and his Companions were guilty of it, whom he had already Out-lawed; upon this divers Messengers passing between him and the Kindred of the Party slain, he appointed them a certain place and time where they should come, and make a firm Peace and Agreement with him; at the Day prefixed, the Bishop came to a Town called *Gatesheved*, i. e. *Goat-shed*, yet would not Treat with them abroad in the open Air, but in the Church with his Clerks, and Feudal-Knights, i. e. those that held of him by Knights-Service, whose Advice being taken in this Affair, he sent out more than once some of his People to make Peace with the dead Party's Kindred, but they would not agree to his Proposals, because they believed *Ligwulf* was slain by his Command; for *Leobwin* had not only received *Gilebert* into his House the Night after the Murder, but also the Bishop had again taken him into his Favour and Family; wherefore they first fell upon, and slew all those who belonged to the Bishop, who were without the Church, and suspected no such matter; thereupon the Bishop to satisfy their Fury, commanded his Kinsman *Gilebert* (whose Life they chiefly sought) to go out of the Church, but some Knights immediately following to defend him, they were all in a moment kill'd by the Enemies without; then *Walcher* understanding that their Fury could not be otherwise asswaged unless *Leobwin*, the Author of all this mischief were given up, desired him to go out to them, but he absolutely refusing it, the Bishop himself went to the Doors of the Church, begging his Life might be spared, but this being denied by the Conspirators, the Bishop then covered his Head with his Gown, went out, and was presently run through with their Swords; then they called upon *Leobwin* to come out, who still absolutely refusing it, they set Fire to the Roof of the Church, and so at last he being half burnt leaped forth, and was there presently cut to pieces.

This Tragical End had Bishop *Walcher*, and all his Company, which consisted of near a hundred Men; and that for want of a due Execution of Justice; for had he at first punished those wicked Servants of his, (as he ought to have done) he had saved his own Life, and all those that belonged to him.

But



But the Monks of *Girwy* ( or *Tarrow* ) so soon as they heard of the Bishop's Murther, took a Boat and came thither, and finding the Bishop's Body. ( though scarce to be known by reason of the many Wounds it had received ) carried it to their Monastery, from whence it was soon after removed to *Durham*, and there solemnly Buried so soon as the Rebels were departed; for after the Murther they had marched thither, and Besieged the Castle for four days, but could not take it, because the followers of the deceased Bishop manfully defended it; but on the fourth day when they saw it was in vain to attempt it any longer, they retired; and being dispersed, all those that had any hand in the Bishop's death were slain soon after, or else leaving their Horses, wander'd about like banished Men.

But *Matthew Paris* relates this Story somewhat otherwise, and more to Bishop *Walcher's* disadvantage, viz. That, contrary to his Episcopal Function, troubling himself with Temporal Affairs; he bought the Earldom of *Northumberland* of King *William*, and there acted the part of a Sheriff rather than a Bishop; and busying himself in the Secular Courts, extorted vast summes of Money from the People of all Ranks and Conditions; till at last the ordinary sort of People; being by the Exactions of the Bishop and his Officers reduced to Extremity, were so highly incensed, that Assembling privately together, they unanimously agreed to meet Armed at the County-Court to repel any Injuries if there were occasion; but when all the People of the Country came into that Court, and making their Complaints, desired Justice to be done them for several injuries; then the Bishop roughly answered them, That he would do no Man Justice in any matter unless he first paid him down Forty Pounds in good Money; then one of them speaking for all the rest, asked leave of the Bishop that he might confer with his Brethren about this Demand, that so he might the better know what answer to return him, which the Bishop agreeing too, and that they had now withdrawn themselves for a little while; at last one of them, whose Opinion they all depended on, cried out in *English*, *short \* Rede, good Rede, Slea ye the Bishop*, and then all of them at this word taking Arms, cruelly fell upon, and slew the Bishop and a hundred of his Company at a Town near the River *Tine*, where the County Pleas were then held.

[4.] King *William*, when he heard of this Barbarous Murther, so detested it, that he presently sent down *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux* with a great Force to revenge it, who wasting most of *Northumberland*, killed all those whom he could find to have been any ways concern'd in it.

To this time (I suppose) we may also refer what [5.] *Inglaphus* relates, that the King leading, or rather sending an Army into *Northumberland* (where the *Danes* formerly used to Land), they laid that County desert for many Miles together, which (as \* *William of Malmesbury* adds), he ordered to be done to prevent *Cnut*, King of *Denmark* (whom he was then afraid of) from Landing in those Parts, since if he did, he might find no Provisions or Forrage either for Men or Horses; but I suppose this Author forgets himself in placing this Action, the same year in which the King took the City of *Tork*; since not *Cnut* but *Swain* was then King of *Denmark*; and I suppose *Inglaphus* also forgot himself, when he places this Action near five Years

Vol. II.

H

after

Anna Dom.  
MLXXX.[3.]  
Sim. Dun.  
Hist. See Ec-  
cles. Coll. 48.  
The Monks of  
Tarrow bury  
the Bishop's  
Body.[4.]  
Mat. Paris re-  
lates this sto-  
ry more to the  
Bishop's dis-  
advantage.Note, That  
Rede signifies  
as much as  
Law, or Judg-  
ment.[4.]  
S. D.  
The King  
sends down  
Bishop Odo to  
revenge Wal-  
cher's death.  
[5.]  
P. 908.  
Northumber-  
land laid  
waste by the  
King's Order.  
P. 103. A



Anno Dom. MLXXX. after, when there was a fear of that King's Invading *England*; where-  
as we do not find by any other Author, that King *William* sent an Ar-  
my into the *North* that Year.

[1.] Not long after this, about *Autumn*, King *William* sent his Son  
Prince *Robert* into *Scotland* against King *Malcolm*; but when he came  
as far as a place called *Egglestretb*, he returned without doing any  
thing, except the building of a Castle upon *Tine*, at a Ford or Passage  
where had been before a small Village, called *Monkcester*, from cer-  
tain Monks who lived there in great Austerity and Retirement: But  
after the building of this Fortels, it was from thence called (as it is  
at this Day.) *New-Castle upon Tine*.

[2.] This year also (according to the [2.] Manuscript History of *Ely*),  
was held that notable Tryal concerning the Lands and Liberties of  
that Monastery, which had lain for fourteen Years neglected and  
oppressed by the unjust Exactions of the King's Officers; but at length  
the King being touch'd in Conscience for it, did in the presence of his  
chief Nobles, command all the Matters to be tryed before *Odo* Bishop  
of *Bayeux* at a place called *Keneisford*: At this Tryal many Persons of  
Quality were present, there being several Inquests from the Four  
adjacent Countries united for this Purpose: Four of them were Ab-  
bots, with their *French* and *English* Tenants, viz. *Baldwin* Abbot  
of *St. Edmundsbury*; *Ulfwald* of *Certsey*; *Ulfchetel* of *Croyland*; and  
*Alfwold* of *Ethelw*; is also *Richard* the Earl's Son; and *Haymon* the  
*Sheriff*; besides the Sheriffs *Picot*, and *Eustace* with their Men, other  
approved Knights both *French* and *English*: And then it was soon  
determin'd that *St. Ethelred* should enjoy all that was her's, as free-  
ly as she had done in the Times of the *English Saxon* King's, dis-  
charged from all secular Servitude whatever; for the farther Con-  
firmation of which they also obtain'd the King's Charter, directed  
to all his faithful Subjects, and to all Sheriff's where the Abby  
had Lands, that they should suffer it to enjoy all its Customs,  
viz. *Sac*, *Sec*, *Tol* and *Team*, *Fisgatheaf*, *Hanscone*, *Gritbreche*, *Ficht-  
wite* and *Ferdwite* within the Burrough and without, and all other For-  
feitures, as had been by his Command adjudged at *Keneisford* before  
his Barons (as hath been above related): Thus the Lands of the  
Church of *Ely* were for the future settled in Peace.

I have been the more particular in this Relation, to let you see that  
King *William* in cold Blood did not think he had any Right by Con-  
quest over the Lands belonging to the Church.

This year [3.] passed without much Action, only the King being  
provoked by the Incursions of the *Welsh*, marched with a great Army  
into *Wales*, and subdued them, and made them submit to his  
Terms: one of the chiefest of which was, to make them set at Liberty  
a great many Prisoners whom they had then taken.

After [4.] this the King went over into *Normandy*, where the Archbi-  
shop of *Rouen* held a great Council or Synod of the Clergy at *Lislesbone*,  
at which the King and a great many Noblemen were present; and  
then He return'd again into *England*.

This year affords little worth noting, only the King being now  
inform'd that [5.] *Odo* his half-Brother, whom he had made Bishop of  
*Bayeux* and Earl of *Kent*, aspired to the Papacy, and that he had  
bought a Pallace at *Rome*, whither he was going with a great Retinue  
and

The King  
sends his Son  
Robert against  
the King of  
Scots.  
Newcastle upon  
Tine Built.

A notable  
Tryal con-  
cerning the  
Lands and Li-  
berties of the  
Abby of *Ely*,  
with the man-  
ner of it.

Anno Dom.  
MLXXX.

[1.]

Anno Dom.  
MLXXX.

[2.]

C. S. F. W.

King William  
Subdues the  
Welsh.

[4.]

And then pas-  
ses into Nor-  
mandy.

Anno Dom.  
MLXXXII.



and much Treasure; the King came upon him on the sudden being then in the Isle of *Wight*, ready to go to Sea, and seized him with his own Hand, when he could not persuade those that were with him to do it, who said he was a Clerk, and so could not be sentenced without the Judgment of the Pope; but the King replied, he seized him as *Earl of Kent and not as a Clerk or Bishop*, whereupon all his vast Treasure was taken from him, and his Estate seized on: The Crimes laid to his Charge were the mighty Oppressions of the People during his Government, and the Seduction of the King's Subjects to forsake the Realm without his Leave; for he had engaged *Hugh Earl of Chester* with a great many Knights and other Persons of Quality to attend him in his Journey to *Rome*.

Nothing happen'd this year considerable in *England*, unless that all things continued in a most profound Peace; neither can I any where find, whether King *William* came into *England*, or continued still in *Normandy* till the year following.

Therefore for want of other Matter in *England*, I will here insert a piece of Monastic History; [1.] King *William* had made one *Thurstan* a Monk of *Caen* Abbot of *Glastenbury*, a Man of a violent Temper and no Discretion; among other imprudent Actions, he must needs oblige his Monks to leave off the old *Gregorian* Way of singing Service, and to learn a new One, invented by one *William* a Monk of *Fescamp*, which the Monks refusing to follow, having been long used to another Way; the Abbot resolved to compel them by Force; and to this End brought some Souldiers into the Choir, who falling upon the Monks, murdered divers of them at the very Altar, and pierced the very Crucifix with their Arrows: the poor Monks being thus put to it, did what they could to defend themselves with the Forms and Candlesticks of the Church; and being superior to them in Number, at last drove the Souldiers out of the Church, but not without great loss, Two of the Monks being killed, and many more wounded.

The King [2.] being inform'd of this sad Accident, depos'd the Abbot, and sent him back to his old Abby in *Normandy*; and lest the Monks (who were *English*) should brag of their Success, he ordered many of them to be sent to divers Monasteries there to be kept Prisoners; this Relation may serve to shew the folly and mischief of making Alterations in Religious Rites, and then imposing them upon People by Force.

As to Foreign Affairs, I shall only take Notice, that this Year the [3.] Emperour *Henry* the IV. took the City of *Rome*, and drove *Hildebrand* who was called Pope *Gregory* the VII. from thence, and then placed one *Wibert* in the Papal Chair, whom he called *Clement*; in the mean while *Gregory* fled to *Beneventum*, and there continued till his Death, which happened not long after.

And since nothing was done in *England* worth noting; I shall give here a farther Account from the same Author of what was done in *Italy* this [4.] Year. Pope *Gregory* now lying upon his Death-bed, sent for Twelve of the Cardinals in whom he most trusted, and there confessed to God and *St. Peter*, that he had highly offended in the Exercise of his Pastoral Charge, and had by the Instigation of the Devil, stirred up hatred and contention among Mankind; and then sent his Confes-

Anno Dom.  
MLXXXIII.

[1.]

O. V.

P. 660.

Odo Bishop of  
Bayeux, seized  
and committed  
to Prison,  
and for what.

Anno Dom.  
MLXXXIII.

hns. ob. H. d. d. s.  
the Oration  
it to

[1.]

C. S. F. W.

A squabble  
between the  
new Abbot  
and the Monks  
of *Glasten-  
bury*.

of  
ready to  
made English  
F. W.

regrated T  
v. d. d. d. d.  
v. d. d. d. d.

[2.]

F. W.

The King de-  
poses the Ab-  
bot, and im-  
prisons the  
Monks.

7. O.  
The Emper-  
our Henry the  
IV. takes  
*Rome*.

[3.]

F. W.

The Emper-  
our Henry the  
IV. takes  
*Rome*.

Anno Dom.  
MLXXXIV.

[4.]

Id. Ib.  
The Death of  
Pope *Gregory*  
the VII. and  
his Remorsu  
of Consci-  
ence.



Anno Dom.  
MCCXXV.

[5.]  
P. 647.

to hold the  
Bishop of  
Bath and  
Gloucester  
and commi-  
ted to Pri-  
son and for what  
reason.

[1.]  
A great Tax  
of Six Shil-  
lings upon  
each Hyde, and  
the Occasion  
of it.

Anno Dom.  
MCCXXV.  
The King of  
Denmark, and  
Robert Earl  
of Flanders  
ready to in-  
vade England.

\*Propositus Re-  
gis.

The danger o-  
ver, the Army  
sent back.

The King de-  
posed the Ap-  
ostle and Im-  
mole.  
[3.]  
Ingulphus.  
O. V.  
P. 647.  
Queen Ma-  
thilda dies.

The King de-  
posed the Ap-  
ostle and Im-  
mole.  
[3.]  
Ingulphus.  
O. V.  
P. 647.  
Queen Ma-  
thilda dies.

Anno Dom.  
MCCXXV.

[4.]  
W. M.  
P. 647.

for to the Emperour and to the whole Church to Pray for him, and so not long after he died.

This I thought fit to take notice of, because I find it in no other Author except *Florence of Worcester*. [5.] *William of Malmesbury* gives a high Character of him for those Reformatations he took upon him to make in the Church; yet confesses he had made the abovementioned Emperour *Henry*, to wait at his Gates bare-footed, and that (as other Authors say) for the space of two Days in the midst of Winter, without ever admitting him into his Presence, pretending the Emperour was guilty of Sacrilege and Incest: But he was so exasperated with this affront, that it was no wonder, that he afterwards did that Pope all the mischief he could.

I find [1.] little done in *England* this Year, only the King laid an intolerable Tax of no less than Six Shillings upon every Hyde of Land throughout *England*; which I suppose was levied by virtue of that Prerogative, the King then claimed of imposing the old Tax of *Danegelt* upon the Nation, when ever he thought it in danger of an Invasion, and there seem'd then good cause for it.

For in the beginning of this Year, [2.] *Cnut* King of the *Danes* having got together a great Fleet, was by the Assistance of his Father-in-Law *Robert* Earl of *Flanders* ready to invade *England*: Upon which News, the King being then in *Normandy*, he presently raised many Thousands of mercenary Souldiers in that Province, as also in *France*, and return'd with them into *England* in Autumn, whom as soon as they arriv'd, he quartered upon all the Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons and Knights, as also upon his own Reeves or Stewards throughout the whole Kingdom. Where by this Action it appears, that though these Souldiers had then free Quarters, yet the Burthen was laid equally upon the whole Nation, his own Tenants not being excused from it.

But when he found that his Enemies were hindered from making any Invasion this Year, by reason of the contrary Winds; he sent back part of the Army into *Normandy* and the rest he detain'd here all the Winter, but by the Spring following the fear of this Invasion was vanisht.

Whilst [3.] the King continued thus in *England*, his Queen *Mathilda* (who was left to Govern *Normandy* in his Absence) deceas'd on the First of *November* after a lingering sickness; the News of which was a great Affliction to her Husband, for he loved her very tenderly, tho' not long before her Death there had been some difference between them about their Son *Robert*, whom she privately supplied with Monies, with which he maintained Souldiers, that were often made use of against his Father; who being much concern'd at it, and taxing his Queen with too much Fondness to so undutiful a Son, she justified her self by saying that that Son was the greatest Comfort she had; which highly provoked the King, who loved him the least of any of his Children; besides this, she had no other Fault, being a pious and prudent Princess, and in all other things very Observant of her Husband. He to express his Affection for her Memory, made a very Noble Funeral for her: the Body being buried in the Nunnery of the Holy Trinity in *Caen*, which she her self had founded: [4.] The King took her Death



Death so much to Heart, that he is reported to have abstain'd ever after from his wonted Recreations.

I have put the Death of this Queen under this Year, therein following the Authority of *Ingulphus* who was then alive, and mentions it as a great Misfortune to him, and therefore it is not likely he should forget the year when it happened; and he is also seconded by *Ordericus Vitalis*, who also places it under this very Year; which I thought fit to take notice of, because the *Saxon Annals* and *Florence of Worcester*, as also the rest of our *English Historians* who have followed them, place her Death now *thirteen* months sooner than indeed it happened, viz. in the Year 1083.

The [5.] King kept his Christmas at *Glocester*, where he bestowed the Bishopricks of *London*, *Hereford* and *Chester*, (upon his three Chaplains, *Maurice*, *William* and *Robert*), after which he kept his *Whitsontide* at *Westminster*, where he made his Son *Henry* a Knight: And [1.] not long after he summon'd all the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons and Sheriffs, together with their Military Tenants, to meet him at *Salisbury*, on the last of July, and when they came thither, he made all of them to take an Oath of Fidelity to himself against all Men whatsoever: from thence he went into the Isle of *Wight* in order to pass over into *Normandy*, and whilst he lay there, he extorted a great deal of Money from the Subjects, upon some Pretences or other, whether he had any Right to it or not: [2.] And then he passed over into *Normandy*, where *Edgar Ateling* having obtain'd the King's leave went into *Italy* with two Hundred Knights, from whence he passed into the *Holy Land* [with *Robert* the Son of *Godwin* to fight against the *Sarracens*, but his Sister *Christina* had some time before vow'd her self a Nun in the Monastery of *Ramsay* in *Hampshire*.

But the greatest and most notable Action of this Year, was [3.] that great Survey, which this King had six Years before began, but was not till now finish'd, having sent as Commissioners some of the greatest Earls and Bishops of the Kingdom; who by the Verdict or Presentment of Juries, or certain Persons Sworn in every County, Hundred or Wapentack, enquired and noted down, what Arable Land, Pasture, Meadow and Wood every Man had; and what was the Extent and Value of them, in the time of King *Edward*. And also at the same time, the Survey was made by Counties, Hundred Towns or Mannors, Hydes, half Hydes, \* Virgates and Acres of Arable Land, Meadow, Pasture and Wood. Also they noted what Mills and Fishings, and in some Counties, what and how many Free Men, Sock Men, Villains, Borders, Servants, young Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, working Horses, &c. belong'd to every Town and Mannor, and whose they were; always in every County setting down the King's Name first, and after him all his Great Men in order, that held of him in Chief, with Numbers placed before them, for the better finding them in the Book, as may be seen in the Catalogue of Tenants in Chief, or the Possessors of such Lands at the time of the Survey: All *England* (except the Three Counties of *Westmorland*, *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*) was described, with part of *Wales*, and the Description or Survey written was in two Books, now called the great and little *Domesday-Book*, remaining in the custody of the Vice-Chamberlain's of

Anno Dom.  
MLXXXV.

Anno Dom.  
MLXXXVI.

The King bestows divers Bishopricks.

Id. Ib.

Et eorum Milites.

After which he makes all the Bishops, Noblemen and Military Tenants take an Oath of Fealty to him.

[2.] W. M.

P. 58. a.

Edgar Ateling goes into the Holy Land.

[3.] W. M. F. W.

The great Survey of Domesday Book finish'd this year, with a brief Account of it.

\* Noted in Domesday Book.

\* T. R. E. i. e. Tempore Regis Edwardi.

\* Called in Saxon Gyrland, in English Land Taxland, being about the fifth part of a Hyde.



*And. Dom.*  
*MIXXVIM*

[4.]  
History,  
P. 205, 206.

[5.]  
*Engl. Hist.*  
*MIXXVIM*

*De Signi-*  
*ficat. Insigni-*  
*um in Angl.*  
*Historia*

[1.]  
*Engl. Hist.*  
*MIXXVIM*

*De Signi-*  
*ficat. Insigni-*  
*um in Angl.*  
*Historia*

[1.]  
*Engl. Hist.*  
*MIXXVIM*

[1.]  
*Engl. Hist.*  
*MIXXVIM*

[1.]  
*Engl. Hist.*  
*MIXXVIM*

[1.]  
*Engl. Hist.*  
*MIXXVIM*

[1.]  
*Engl. Hist.*  
*MIXXVIM*

[1.]  
*Engl. Hist.*  
*MIXXVIM*

[1.]  
*Engl. Hist.*  
*MIXXVIM*

[1.]  
*Engl. Hist.*  
*MIXXVIM*

[1.]  
*Engl. Hist.*  
*MIXXVIM*

[1.]  
*Engl. Hist.*  
*MIXXVIM*

[1.]  
*Engl. Hist.*  
*MIXXVIM*

[1.]  
*Engl. Hist.*  
*MIXXVIM*

[1.]  
*Engl. Hist.*  
*MIXXVIM*

[1.]  
*Engl. Hist.*  
*MIXXVIM*

[1.]  
*Engl. Hist.*  
*MIXXVIM*

[1.]  
*Engl. Hist.*  
*MIXXVIM*

[1.]  
*Engl. Hist.*  
*MIXXVIM*

[1.]  
*Engl. Hist.*  
*MIXXVIM*

[1.]  
*Engl. Hist.*  
*MIXXVIM*

of his Majesty's *Exchequer*. The little Book contains only the Count-  
ties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk* and *Essex*. This Survey was begun about the  
fourteenth Year of the Conqueror, and finished in the twentieth Year  
of his Reign, being this very Year.

This is [4.] Dr. Brady's Account of it; and from whom I make  
bold to borrow it, having, as I suppose, studied it very exactly, yet not  
so well, but that he has made some false Interpretations of divers Pas-  
sages in it, as also wrong Deductions from it, of which I have taken  
notice in my *Introduction*.

I shall also from [5.] *Inglusbus*, an Author who lived in the very time  
when this Book was made, farther shew you the reason of its Name.  
This Survey (says he), was called the *Roll of Winchester*, (because  
first kept there), and is by the *English* called *Domesday* (i. e. *Liber*  
*Judicarius*) on the Book of Judgement King *Afred* also long before  
made somewhat a like Roll, in which all *England* was Survey'd by  
Counties, Hundreds and Tythings, which was kept at *Winche-*  
*ster*.

Besides what this ancient Writer says of it, the Author of the *Black*  
Book in the *Exchequer* (not without appearance of Reason) supposes,  
that the Name of *Domesday* was first given to this Book, because it is  
no more lawful to depart, or appeal from what is in it, than from the Day  
of *Dome*, or last Judgment.

Since being the highest Record in the Kingdom, it was then (and  
is to this day) a decisive Evidence in any Controversy or Tryal, in  
which there may be occasion to make use of it.

Yet is it not for all that, [1.] so exact a Survey as our *Monkish* Hi-  
storians represent it, who suppose there was not a Hyde, or Yard-  
Land, or a Lake or Fish-Pool, or any Town or Place, that is not set  
down in these Books: To which [2.] *William of Malmesbury* also adds,  
that the King did then take an Account how many Heads or Persons  
there were in *England*; all which are mistakes, for since (as Dr. Brady  
well observes) this Survey was chiefly intended to give the King a  
true Account of his own Lands or Demesnes, as also what were held  
by his Tenants in *Capite*: It is not to be admired, if many of those  
Towns and Villages, which were then held by their Feudataries or  
under Tenants, are quite left out and omitted in it: And I myself have  
observed some Cities and Towns of Note, which are not mention'd, as  
any one may find, that will but take the Pains to compare it with an  
exact Catalogue of the ancient Towns and Villages in *England*, the  
greatest part of which, he will not be able to find there. The like I  
may say concerning the Number of Inhabitants then in *England*: For  
first, there are no Women nor Children at all taken notice of, and the  
number of Free-Men, Sock-Men, Cottagers, Servants and Villains,  
is only noted in such Townships or Villes, as then belonged to the  
King or his Head Tenants; nor was this done in all Counties with a  
like exactness: so that whoever should go about to reckon the Num-  
bers of Men in *England* from these Books, will find that they must  
needs have been three times as many as are there registred, or else  
this Kingdom could never have raised such Great Armies as it did in  
those Times. But whoever desires to be farther satisfied concerning  
the Manner and Method of entering Places and Lands in these Books,  
may consult Dr. Brady's History, p. 206, 207. but this much I thought



fit to mention, to obviate those false Notions that some have framed concerning it.

But however exact and faithful this Survey is supposed to be, yet *Ingulphus* himself owns, that the Inquirers, or Assessors, who gave in their Accounts, were very favourable to his Abby (as foreseeing the King's future Exactions) and did not return the exact Survey of that Monastery, either according to the true Value, or Extent of its Lands; and I doubt not but other Monasteries likewise found the like Favour; Yet certainly this Author never intended that this History of his own Abby should be made publick, for had this false return of the Assessors, been once known, it might have caused this King, or his Successors, to have made a new Survey, not only upon this but other Monasteries.

The beginning of this Year proved very unhappy to *England*, by [3.] reason of the cruel Feavers and Famines that destroyed many; also that sudden Fires consumed several of the Principal Cities in *England*; and that the Church of *St. Paul*, with the greater and better Part of the City of *London*, were burnt to the ground.

King *William* [4.] having now settled his Affairs in *England*, passed over into *Normandy* with a Great Army, to make War upon the King of *France*, but not long after there was a Truce made between them, for some time; which was well observed on King *William's* Part, until the King of *France* happened one Day to jest at that King's great corpulency (for which he was then in a Course of Physick), That sure his Brother of *England* had lain in long enough of his Great-belly, and might now afford to go abroad: Which bitter Scoff being told the King (who was then at *Raven*) he so deeply resented it, that he swore by God's Resurrection (an Oath which he had fram'd on purpose to appear more terrible to his Hearers) that so soon as he was up again from his lying in, he would offer a thousand Lights in *France* at his up-sitting; thereby alluding to the Custom of lying in of Women of those Times, who were wont to offer lighted Candles at their Churching: And in *August* following the King, to make good his Oath, entered *France* with a Great Army, destroying the Corn and Fruits, and burning a great many Towns, and did a world of Mischief; he then besieged the City of *Mante*, and having soon taken it, burnt it, with the Churches therein, commanding the Fire to be continued, till they were also burnt to the ground.

But [5.] the King, being too earnest and intent upon this Business, was put unto a great Heat, as well by reason of the warmth of the Season, as the Fire, which he stood on purpose to behold; and then in his Retreat leaping over a Ditch on Horse-back (being very corpulent) he so bruised the rimm of his Belly against the Pummel of the Saddle, that it cast him into a dangerous Distemper, his Belly being ever after in great Pain; so that finding himself incurable, [1.] he sent for \* *Anselm*, then Abbot of *Bee* (and afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*) that by his Prayers and Intercession he might (if possible) recover his Health; but it was to no Purpose, for *Anselm* himself was taken with such a Distemper, that he could not wait on the King, nor the King go to visit him, his Disease still encreasing upon him: So that perceiving the time of his Death at hand, he began to think of Acts of Mercy, and then gave Order for the setting at liberty the Earls

*Morchar*,

Anno Domini  
MLXXXVI

Anno Domini  
MLXXXVII

[3.]

F. S.

St. Paul's  
Church with  
great Part of  
London burnt.

[4.]

Idem.

W. M.

P. 63.

The King passes into *Normandy*, and is highly provoked by a bitter jest of the French King's.

King *William*  
enters *France*,  
and burnt  
*Mante* with  
all the  
Churches.

[5.]

Idem.

The King overheats himself, and also bruises his Belly with leaping a Ditch, which cast him into an incurable Distemper.

[1.]

\* *Ead. Hist. No. Lib. I. P. 130*  
Finding himself not like to live, he thinks on Acts of Mercy.



Anno Dom.  
MLXXVII.

*Morcbar, Roger and Syward (the Son of Barn); as also Wulnoth, Brother to King Harold, whom he had kept a Prisoner from his Childhood, together with all others that were in Custody, either in England or Normandy.*

[2.]

O. V.

P. 65.

But [2.] as for his half-Brother *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, it was not without the great importunity of his Brother *Robert* Earl of *Mortaign*, and others, that he only gave Consent to his Release: Because he forelaw he would raise fresh Disturbances as soon as he was set at Liberty.

How the King  
on his  
Death-bed be-  
queathed his  
Dominions.

The same Author has likewise given us the King's dying Speech, which contains also his last Will, whereby, tho' he bequeathed to *Robert* his Eldest Son the Dutchy of *Normandy*; yet as for the Kingdom of *England*, he said, that he would not make any Body his Heir of it: For he durst not leave that, which he had obtain'd by so many Crimes, to any but to God, in whose Power all things were; tho' he said, he could wish it were God's will, that his Son *William*, who had been always most Obedient to him, might enjoy it after his Decease. As for his Eldest Son, *Robert*, he makes his Father to call him on his Death-bed a proud foolish Knave, and that the Country would be very Miserable, whenever it came under his Dominion: Yet that he would leave it to him, because he had long since engaged so to do: But to *Henry* his Third Son (then alive), he left no more than five Thousand Marks in Money, without any Territories; which his Son repining at, asked his Father, what he should do with the Money, unless he had some Place left him to secure it? And then, he makes the King thus to Encourage him, "bidding him to be of good Courage, for in time he should enjoy all that Honour, which he himself now had, and that he should exceed both his Brothers in Glory and Riches; which if it were really spoken, was a strange Prediction of what afterwards happen'd. Our Author also makes him in his long winded speech, not only to set forth at large his own warlike Actions, and charitable Deeds, in founding and enriching so many Monasteries, but also makes him to confess his own Cruelty and Oppression of the *English*, in putting so many of them to Death, and disinheriting others of their Estates.

The Effect of  
the King's Letter  
to Archbishop  
Lanfranc, about  
making William  
King.

Most of which seems very improbable, and perhaps might be added by this Monk, in hatred of Duke *Robert*, for whom the Church-Men had as great a Contempt, as they had a Veneration for his younger Brother *Henry*. But this is more certain (which the same Author relates), that the King, not long before his Death, fearing lest some sudden disturbances might thereupon happen in *England*, wrote a Letter to Archbishop *Lanfranc* on his Son *William's* behalf, concerning the electing or ordaining him King; which so soon as he had obtain'd, and likewise receiv'd his Father's last Benediction, he immediately rid away as fast as he could to the Sea-side; and as for *Henry*, he went also away to secure the Money his Father had left him.

[3.]

Id. 16.

P. 66.

The King lies  
in a Village  
near Rouen.

The [3.] King having settled his Affairs concerning this Life, the better to prepare for that to come; caused himself to be removed to the Village of *Hermentrude* (which lies on the other side of the River *Seine* over against *Rouen*) to avoid the Noise and Disturbance of the City, where he presently after departed this Life. So soon as the Breath was out of his Body, all his Attendants left it, except one Set-

vant;



vant; then the [4.] Corps being privately conveyed over the Water in a small Boat, it was from thence carried to be buried in [5.] the Abby Church of *Caen* which the King himself had founded; when one *Anselm Fitz Arthur* a Country Gentleman came, and challenged the very Soil in which the Grave was made, affirming that it was his Inheritance, and had been unjustly taken from him, demanding Satisfaction for it; which was immediately given by the Bishops and Noblemen there present, paying him sixty Shillings for the Place of the Sepulchre, and promising to see him farther satisfied for the rest of the Ground; which they afterwards saw performed.

Thus He, who not long before was Lord of so many large Territories, had not now Ground enough of his own to be buried in: He deceased on the 6th of the *Ides* (i. e. the 9th) of *September*, in the sixty first Year of his Age, and the fifty second of his Dukedom, and the two and twentieth of his Reign, as King of *England*; for he had Govern'd this Kingdom (reckoning from the Time of his Coronation) one and twenty Years and ten Months.

I shall conclude this King's Life with a Description of his Person, and a Character of his Disposition, taken from two ancient Authors who lived in, or very near those Times.

\* He was of a moderate Stature, but very Corpulent in his latter Years; he had a severe Countenance, but was of such great Strength in his Arms, that none else could bend his Bow, which nevertheless he could easily do on Horse-back with his Foot, pulling at the same time the String with his Hand; he was of a Noble Presence, sitting or standing, but his too great Corpulency towards his latter Days render'd his Shape somewhat unfizely; of so strong a Constitution, that he had no dangerous Sickness, till that of which he dy'd.

As for his Recreations, above all others He admir'd Hunting, so that he bestowed what time he had to spare, from his more serious Affairs upon it, and for that End he destroyed many Villages and Towns on the Coasts of *Hampshire*, for above thirty Miles together and turned that Country into a Desert, which being stock'd with Deer was called the *New-Forest*; though good part of it having been long before a great Wood, was by the *English* called *Trene*; these Deer he forbade to be killed by any without his Warrant under great Penalties; and therefore it was looked upon as a just Judgment, that not only *Richard* his Son came to his Death by Hunting in this Forrest; but also *Richard* his Grandson by Duke *Robert* there also lost his Life, being taken up by the Neck between the Branches of a Tree as he rid underneath it: As for his Son *William* who reigned after him, what an unfortunate End he met with, as he hunted in this Forrest, you will find when you come to the end of his Reign.

But for the rest of this King's good Qualities, they are these, according to the Account of the same Author; He was very Magnificent in his Entertainments, keeping the Feasts of *Christmas* at *Gloucester*; that of *Easter* at *Winchester*; that of *Whitsontide* at *Westminster*, every year whilst he stay'd in *England*; and then he there summon'd all the Great Men of the Kingdom, as well Clergy as Laity; that the Ambassadors of Foreign Nations might see the Appearance of so great a Multitude, and also admire his extraordinary Magnificence: Nor was he at any time more easy of Access, nor shewed greater Liberality

Anno Dom.  
MLXXXVII.

[4.]

Rad. Lib. I.

P. 23.

[5.]

O. V.

P. 66a.

His Body is

bury'd at the

Abby of *Caen*

and the di-

sturbance at

the Funeral.

The time of

his Death,

and how long

he lived, and

reigned.

A Description

of this King's

Person, with

a Character of

his Dispositi-

on.

W. M.

\* *Ad fin. vita.*

Assumed Death

of the King

in the year

1087.

1087.

1087.

1087.

1087.

1087.

1087.

1087.

1087.

1087.

1087.

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berality or Indulgence; so that Strangers every where extol'd his Bounty as suitable to the vast Riches he possessed.

And yet for all this (as it happens commonly to vain-glorious and ambitious Men), our Author grants that Covetousness was one of his greatest Faults; and he every where took all Occasions to scrape Money together; and this made him say, and do some things the most unworthy his Royal Dignity, because they were done for meer Lucre sake; nor does our Author go about to make any Excuse for it, unless that which one said long since, *neceffe est, ut multos timeat, quem multi timent*; it is necessary that he should be afraid of many, whom many Fear: Which indeed is not so much an Apology for, as a Consequence of Tyranny; for (says he), out of fear of his Enemies, he often drained his Dominions of Money, to repell, or at least retard their Assaults.

But then to atone for this Fault, this Author tells us, he was very Humble to the Servants of God, that is, the Monks and Clergy; and Eadmerus farther says, That he was so kind and affable to Archbishop Lanfranc, that as often as he came to Court, about any Ecclesiastical, or other Affairs, the King laying aside his usual Austerity (which rendered him formidable to most Men) when he was Present, he was so placid and easy that to all Men's wonder he seemed quite another Man: He was also merciful to his Subjects, inexorable toward Rebellers, and so devout, that he constantly assisted at Mass, and also heard both *Matins* and *Vespers*: He built two Monasteries, (*viz.* that of *Cain* in *Normandy*, and that called *Battle-Abby* in *England*) which we have already mentioned.

Having thus given you his Vertues and Vices from one who was a great Honourer of his Memory; I shall now give you the Character which an *English* Monk, the Author of the *Saxon Annals* has given us of him under this Year, partly for his Commendation, but more for his Dispraise in these Words:

His Character  
from the *Saxon  
Annals*.

"If any One desires to know what kind of Man he was, and what Territories he commanded, we will describe him to you as far as we know: King *William* was a very wise and powerful Prince, being greater and more Fortunate than any of his Predecessors; and then goes on with his Praises much to the same purpose as *William* of *Malmesbury*, who is therein also followed by *Henry* of *Huntington*. From the Author of these *Annals*; with this addition that he was more honoured than any of the former Dukes of *Normandy*, more powerful than all the Kings of *England* before him, and more worthy of Praise than his Predecessors. He had Wisdom, but mix'd with Craft; was Profuse, yet Covetous; desirous of Fame, yet Vain-glorious: But in all the rest he follows the *Annalists* above mentioned, which proceed to tell us, that this King, and all his Noble Men, were exceeding greedy of Money, nor car'd they how unjustly any thing was obtain'd, provided they had got by it; the King would let his Lands to him, that would bid most, and if a third Man came who would offer more than the Former, he should be sure to have it; nor did he care, at what rate the Officers fleec'd the Poor, nor how many unjust Actions they did. The more the People complained of unjust Laws, still the worse they acted, often exacting cruel and unjust Taxations, and doing many things against all Right



"Right and Equity. But the King was so very rigid and severe,  
 "that none durst contradict his Will; for he committed those Earls  
 "to Prison who had presumed to resist him; he deprived both Bishops  
 "and Abbots at his Pleasure, and spared not *Odo* his own Brother.  
 "But yet we must not omit, that this Severity produced so great a Se-  
 "curity, that any one might Travel through the whole Kingdom  
 "with his Bosom full of Gold without being hurt or wronged; nor  
 "durst any Man kill another, although he were never so much inju-  
 "red; if any Man had to do with a Woman against her Will, he was  
 "presently bereft of his Genitals. *Wales* was under his Dominion,  
 "and he built divers Castles in it; also he subdued the Isle of *Mona*  
 "(that is now called the Isle of *Anglesey*): He also brought *Scotland*  
 "under his Subjection by main Force, and would have gain'd *Ireland*  
 "even without Fighting, had he lived but two Years longer. In his  
 "Days Men suffer'd much Sorrow, and indured many Injuries; he  
 "caus'd Castles to be built, and the Poor to be much oppressed; and  
 "was so rigid that he extorted from his Subjects many Marks of Gold  
 "and Silver, when he had little need of it; he was given to Usury,  
 "and wholly intent upon Avarice; he made much Forest Ground,  
 "and fenced it with such severe Laws, that who ever killed a Stag or a  
 "Hind, was to loose his Eyes; and as he forbid the killing of Deer,  
 "so did he also of Wild Boares, for he loved all those Beasts, as if he  
 "had been their Father: And much the same Law he ordained con-  
 "cerning Hares, that they might be free from danger. This Men of  
 "the best Condition much complain'd of, and the meaner Sort hardly  
 "bore; but he was so severe that he valued not their hatred, for it be-  
 "hoved them altogether to submit to the King's Will, to have his Fa-  
 "vour; then after a Prayer for his Soul, and that God would grant  
 "him Remission of his Sins, the Author thus concludes; we have given  
 "you this Account of his Actions, as well the bad as the good, that  
 "Men may, by following the one, and avoiding the other, walk in  
 "that Way which leads to the Heavenly Kingdom.

But since this Character of an *English* Monk (who was prejudiced)  
 may be thought too Severe, I think his true Character lies between  
 these Extremes. It is acknowledged by all Writers, that he was Vali-  
 ant, Pious and Magnificent in all his Actions, especially those that  
 exprest his Royal State and Dignity: As also that he shewed great re-  
 spect to Clergy Men, and often hearkened to their Advice; so that if he  
 were not better and more gentle to his Subjects, it lay much at their  
 Doores, who either did not tell him of his Sins, in breaking his *Co-*  
*ronation-Oath*, and treating his Subjects too severely; or, if they did,  
 they taught him according to the Superstition of those Times, that  
 the building of Monasteries, and a simple Attrition on his Death-bed,  
 with much Money given to sing Masses for his Soul, were sufficient to  
 Attone for whatever Crimes he had committed; and though it cannot  
 be deny'd that he was very Covetous (which was indeed his greatest  
 Fault), and also severe in his Execution of Justice, yet that he was  
 Cruel I cannot admit, there being so many Instances of his great Cle-  
 mency and Generosity: The *First* is, concerning *Edgar Atheling*, the  
 last Heir-male of the *English Saxon* Blood-Royal; whom any other  
 Prince more Cruel and Jealous of his Power than himself, would have  
 either taken out of the Way, or at least have committed him to per-



petual Imprisonment; whereas he did not only bestow upon him large Possessions in Lands, but allowed him a Pound of Silver a Day for his private Expences, which was a very great *Revenne*, for a young Prince in those Days, who had neither Wife nor Children: And for all this, though he rebell'd twice against him, and went over to his Enemy the King of *Scots*, yet he still pardon'd, and received him again into Favour. We have several other Instances of his Clemency to divers *English* Noblemen, as *Syward*, *Morchar*, *Edric*, *Heyward* and *Waltheof*, all whom he pardoned, and some of them afterwards advanced to great Dignity, notwithstanding they had revolted, and fought against him: But for *Earl Waltheof*, as he is the only Instance of a Nobleman's being put to Death in all his Reign, so that was not neither, till after he had been pardon'd, and highly promoted by him, and that he had a fresh conspir'd against his Life. But for *Roger Earl of Hereford*, though he was Guilty of the same Offence, yet because he had been the Son of his trusty Favourite, *William Fitz-Osbern*, he was contented with keeping him a close Prisoner, till he ordered him to be discharged, when he lay upon his Death-bed, as you have already heard.

As for his Severity to the *English* Clergy and Nobility, *William of Mahnesbury* hath made a very plausible Apology for it; that first he did not Exercise it, till he had found that none of them were truly Faithful to him, and therefore thought it absolutely necessary for the preserving the Crown to himself and his Posterity, not only to deprive them of their Dignities, but also for the future not to advance any of them, since he knew very well, that the Posterity of King *Cnut* had been defeated of the Kingdom by his too great Indulgence, in suffering so many of the *English* Clergy and Nobility not only to enjoy their former Estates and Dignities, but to be advanc'd equally with, if not before, those of his own Nation.

To conclude, he was certainly a Great, Wise and Valiant Prince, and deserved the Character of a kind Husband, an indulgent Father to his Children (I mean to such as were Dutiful), and an excellent Master to his Servants and Followers, all whom he rewarded with considerable Estates: And for his Faults, they are such as commonly attend Princes of great Courage, and immoderate Ambition, who are highly desirous of Glory, though often mistaken in the true Causes of it. And there is scarce to be found in History an Example of any Prince, that raised himself to a more considerable Figure of Greatness by the Terror of his Arms (as this King had done), in whom there was not a great Mixture of Evil as well as good Qualities: For as they are often forced to make use of Cruelty and Injustice to acquire new Dominions, so can they scarce retain 'em without the like indirect means by which they got them.

I have been somewhat the larger in the Character of this Prince, because he was not only a Great Man himself, but also because he was the Ancestor of all our succeeding King's from that time.

The



## The WIFE and Issue of King WILLIAM. I.

**T**HIS King had by his Queen *Matilda*, Daughter to the Earl of *Flanders*, Four Sons, *Robert* his Eldest surnamed *Curthose* (i. e. *Short-Boots*, or *Hose*) Duke of *Normandy*. *William* surnamed *Rufus*, who succeeded his Father *Henry* surnamed *Beau-clerk* who though the Youngest, yet was elected King before his Brother *Robert* who was passed by; as you will find hereafter.

But besides these Three, the King had also another Son who is supposed to have been Elder then *Rufus*, and was a Youth of great Hopes; but having been Hunting [1.] in the New Forrest, through some infection of the Air, fell into an incurable Disease, or rather (as others relate) received his death's Wound in that Forrest by the goeing of a Stag's Hornes, about three Years before his Father's decease. He was buried at *Winchester*, \* and his Epitaph stiles him *Beornie Dux*.

The King had also Five Daughters, of whom *Cicely* the Eldest was Abbess of the Nunnery of *Caen*; *Constance* the Second, was married to *Alan*, Earl of *Bretaign*; the Third called *Adela*, was the Wife of *Stephen*, Earl of *Blou*, and after the Death of her Husband became a Nun. As for the two others whose Names, though *William* of *Malmesbury* cannot give us, yet *William Gemeticensis* hath preserved them; the Elder of these, called *Adelidis*, was promised to Earl *Harold*, but dy'd before she was fit for Marriage; as for the Younger, called *Margaret*, she was betroathed to *Alfonso* King of *Gallicia*, but not affecting a married Life obtain'd leave from that King to die a Virgin.

To which Mr. *Speed* also adds another Daughter, who he makes to be the Fourth, but whose Name he cannot give us; he says, she was married to *William* Earl *Warren*, a Nobleman of *Normandy*, who was the first Earl of *Surrey*; by whom she had Issue, *William* the second Earl, Progenitor of all the Earls that followed of that Family. But this is certainly a great Mistake; for the Learned Sir *William Dugdale* in his Baronage of *England* shews, that this Earl *William* did not Marry the King's Daughter, but the Lady *Gundrede*, Sister to *Gherbode* a *Fleming*, to whom King *William* the I. gave the Earldom of *Chester*; and this he proves from an unquestionable Author, viz. *Ordericus Vitalis*.

I shall also from [2.] *William* of *Malmesbury*, say something of King *William*'s Brethren by *Arlotte* his Mother (for on the Father's side he had none); who was afterwards married to one [3.] *Herlewin*, a Man of an ordinary Fortune, by whom she had two Sons; *Robert*, the Eldest, a Man of a dull and sluggish Temper, whom Duke *William*, before he came into *England*, made Earl of *Mortaign*; and *Odo*, whom his Brother promoted to be Bishop of *Bayeux*, and after his being King he created him Earl of *Kent*; who being of a much more stirring and crafty Nature, was after the decease of *William Fitz-Osborn*, often in the King's absence made his Lieutenant of all *England*, till at last falling into Disgrace with the King (as you have already heard), he remain'd in Prison till the King set him free a little before his Decease.

[1.]

W. M.  
P. 61.\* Vid. Sand-  
ford's General  
History.

Id. lb.

His Five  
Daughters:

[2.]

Idem. Ibid.  
Vol. I. P. 73.

[3.]

O. V.  
P. 582.  
The King's  
Brethren by  
the Mother.



## OF KING WILLIAM'S LAWS.

I Shall now (before I end his Reign) give you a Catalogue of the principal Laws he made, as they are to be found at the latter end of *Ingulphus's* History, as also, as they stand in Mr. *Lambard's* *Archaionomia*, that so by comparing them together, you may see the difference between them.

These that follow are in old *Norman-French*, and were by Mr. *Selden* translated into *Latin*, as much as he was able to understand them; and I have here render'd them into *English* (so far as the Obsolescence of the *Norman* Dialect, and the many Errors crept into the Copies through the Ignorance or Negligence of the Scribes would permit): by the Assistance of the Reverend and Learned Dr. *Hicks* and have also by his Help found, I hope, the true meaning of divers of them, which appear'd unintelligible even to Mr. *Selden* himself: But to come to the Laws themselves, the Title of them in *Ingulphus* runs thus:

\* P. 88.  
Edit. Oxon.

\* Note,  
Conquest does not always signify a subduing by Force, but any other way of Acquisition, as by Purchase, Testament, &c. for which see *Spelman's* *Glossary*, Verb. *Conquest*.

\* Note,  
The old Division of Kingdom's was still in use to some purposes. The Word in the Original, is *Laie* which (as also the *Saxon* from whence it is derived) signifies sometimes Law, and sometimes Jurisdiction.

\* Man, Count or Provost, &c.

These are the Laws and Customs which King William granted to all the People of England after the \* Conquest of the Land; being the same, that King Edward his Cousin observed before him.

THE First establishes the Privilege of Sanctuary both for Life, and Members; to him that flies to a Church, and appoints what Mulct each Man is to pay, who has lay'd Hands on any thing which any Mother Church, whether it be Cathedral, Abby or Monastery shall of Right demand, viz. He shall restore the thing taken away, and pay one hundred Shillings besides for a Mulct, or Fine; and whosoever transgresses the King's Peace, shall forfeit an hundred Pence within the \* Mercian Jurisdiction: So in like manner breaking up of Houses, and of designed lying in wait to do Mischief: These Pleas belong to the Crown; and if any Man, Count, or Provost do any wrong to those under his Jurisdiction, and be attainted of it before the King's Justiciary, he shall forfeit for the Injury done.

The Second is concerning the Privilege of the King's Tenants (except in those Pleas, that immediately belong to the Crown) that if any \* do evil intreat the Men of his Bailiwick, and be thereof convicted by the King's Justice, he shall forfeit double to what any other Man should forfeit, in the like Case.

The Third is concerning Violators of the publick Peace; He who breaks the King's Peace, by *Dane* Law, shall make amends by an hundred forty four Pounds, and the King's forfeiture which belongs to the Sheriff, is forty Shillings by *Merchen* Law; but fifty Shillings by *West Saxon* Law. And if any Free-Man having *Sac*, and *Soc*, and *Tol*, and *Team*, and *Infangentheof* be impleaded, and condemned to forfeiture in the County Court, then that belongs to the Sheriff: viz. Forty Ores by *Dane* Law, and of another Man that has not those Liberties, thirty two Ores: Of these thirty two Ores, the Sheriff shall have Ten to the King's use, and he who impleads him shall have Twelve Ores more



more for Satisfaction, and the Lord on whose Land he dwelt shall also have the other Ten Ores, this is the Law of the *Dane*.

From whence we may observe, that after the Conquest, the Criminal, or Penal Laws were not so reduced into one Form, or Body, but that there was still different Mults or Fines to be paid, according to the several Laws, or Jurisdictions, that were then in use in divers Parts of the Kingdom, in the Time of *Edward the Confessor*; so that nothing was as yet alter'd in this Point. And in the next Place we may also observe, that (as Mr. *Somner* in his *Glossary* informs us,) these Ores did not signify any sort of Coin, or Money, but so many Ounces of Silver, twelve Ores making a Pound. \* Verbo Ore.

The Fourth Law is, concerning one accused of Theft and what shall be done with his Surety, the Party fled; in which Case the *Mercian* Law is, that if any one be appeal'd of Theft, or Robbery, and then is Bail'd to appear to Justice, and shall after that fly for it; his Pledge, or Bayl, shall have four Months and one Day to find him out, and if he cannot find him, he shall then purge himself by the Oath of twelve Men, that he knew him not to be a Thief, at the time when he bayl'd him, nor had any Hand in his running away, neither can find him. The rest setting forth what Forfeiture he shall pay to the King, and what for the *Were* or Head of the Party so absentering himself, which is different according to the *West Saxon*, and *Dane* Law; yet so, that if within one Year and four Days he can find the Thief, and bring him to Justice, the twenty Shillings which was pay'd for his Head shall be restored to his Pledge or Surety.

The Fifth is, concerning the apprehending of a Thief without any Pursuit or Cry; in which case, if the Pledge shall deliver him up to the Person from whom he stole, if he Fly, and shall afterwards appear, he shall pay Ten Shillings for his first Escape; but the Person is bound to Try him at the first Court after his taking; but if he fail to do it, he shall forfeit Forty Shillings.

The Sixth is, concerning the particular Sums of Money that any Man shall pay to the Provost who shall Rescue any Horses, Bullocks, Cows, Hogs, or any other sort of Beasts, which is called in *English*, *Forfengen*; in which case the Complainant shall pay to the Provost or Under-sheriff, for the Rescue of a Cow, or an Ox, Eight-pence, for a Hog Four-pence, for a Sheep One-Penny; and farther, the Party who seized them shall find Sureties, that if any other come to claim the Cattle within a Year and a Day, he will then produce in Court whatsoever he had before rescued.

\* Note, By the Provost is here meant the Sheriff or his Deputy.

The Seventh is, concerning things found by Chance, which is much to the same effect with the antient *Saxon* Laws concerning such things, viz. that is, first they are to be shewed in Three places of the Neighborhood, that so there may be good Witness of their being found; and if any will come and lay claim to them, he shall find Pledges, that in case any other shall also claim them within a Year and a Day, he will be ready forthwith to produce in Court whatsoever he had so found.

The Eighth is, concerning Homicide, and the *Were*, or Price of each Man's Head, to this effect:  
If any one Kill another, and be Convict, and yet deny to make satisfaction, he shall give unto the Lord for his *Man-late*, for a Freeman Ten



Ten Shillings, for a Servant Twenty Shillings (as a *Were*, or Price of the Life); that of a *Thane* by the *Merchen* and *West-Saxon* Law, is Twenty Pounds; and the *Were* of a Villain, a Hundred Shillings by the same Law.

The Ninth is, concerning those to whom the *Were* (or Price of the Head or Life) was to be paid; if the Manslayer were of the Half Blood to the Widdow, thus; That the Manslayer shall pay to the Widdow and Orphans, Ten Shillings, and for their share the Orphans and Kindred shall divide it among them.

The Tenth appoints at what Rate a Man shall pay Cattle instead of Mony, viz. for the *Were* of a Person slain, a Stone-horse at Twenty Shillings, and a Bull at Ten Shillings; and for a Beast Gilt or Spayed, Five Shillings.

The Eleventh appoints the Penalty on him who shall Wound another. If a Man wounds another, and denies to make him any amends according to his Head, and according to the Wounds given; and shall also Swear upon the Gospels that he did not do it of Malice or Hatred.

The Twelfth Ordains, what satisfaction shall be made to him who is Wounded to the Bone, or where a Bone is drawn out; if the Wound appear to be an Inch wide, he shall pay Fourpence; and so if a Bone be taken out of the Wound. The rest is obscure.

The Thirteenth appoints a Rate for all Members that are cut off. So that if it happen that one cut off another's Hand, or Foot, he shall render the moiety of his *Were* according to the Offence, be it what it will; the rest of the Law containing the particular Rates that were to be paid for the cutting off Mens Thumbs, Fingers, &c. I shall here omit, as being set already down in the Laws of King *Alfred*, though the Penalties were now increased.

The Fourteenth is, That he who violates a Woman that is Married, or Betrothed to another, shall pay to her the value of his *Were* (i. e. the value of his own Head) to his Lord: Whereby you may observe, That though Adultery was not then immediately punished with Death, yet if he were not able to pay his *Were*, his Life lay at the King's, or Lord's mercy.

The Fifteenth is concerning corrupt Judges, viz. That he who gave a false Sentence, should forfeit his *Were*, unless he could Swear upon the Holy Gospels that he could Judge no better.

The Sixteenth is, concerning the Purgation of him who is accused of Theft, viz.

That where one Appeals another of Robbery, the Person Appealed, if he be a Freeman, and hath clear Testimony of his Honesty, shall purge himself by his Oath; but he who has been infamous, must do it *per Serment nomen*, that is, (I suppose) by the express Oath of Fourteen lawful Men; and if he cannot have so many, he shall purge himself by Twelve Men; but if he cannot have those, he shall then defend himself by Tryal, and the Appellant shall Swear with Seven Men that he did it not for Hatred, or any other cause, but to pursue his Right.

The Seventeenth is, concerning those who are Appealed or Accused of breaking open a Monastery, or a House; where if such were never before counted infamous, then they should purge themselves by Twelve



Twelve Lawful Men; but if he were a Person of bad Fame, then by Forty eight Men, and if he cannot procure them, then by Tryal; *the Sense of the rest is*, what share the Archbishop, Bishop, as also the Count and Baron should have by the *Mercian Law*, within whose Diocess or Jurisdiction the Theft was proved or confessed.

The Eighteenth is, concerning the Payment of *Peter-pence*; *viz.* That a Free-man, who has to the Value of Thirty-pence in Cattle, shall give one Penny to St. Peter; but for Four-pence, that any Lord shall pay down, all his Cottages, Villains and Servants shall be acquitted: But a Townsman who had Chattels to the Value of half a Mark, as also a Free-man living under the *Dane-Law* having Cattle to the Value of half a Mark, shall pay likewise one Penny.

The Nineteenth is, concerning Women ravished, or whose Chastity had been assaulted; *viz.* That he who shall Ravish a Woman, shall forfeit his Privy-members; he who shall fling a Woman down on the Ground, so as to offer Violence to her, shall pay a Mulct of Ten-shillings to the Lord: But if he lye with her by Force, then he shall lose his Privities.

The Twentieth is, concerning the several Mulcts of those who willfully deny or detain *Peter-pence*; He that detains *Peter-pence* shall make Satisfaction to *Holy Church* and also forfeit Thirty-pence: And if he be prosecuted before the King's Justice, then he shall forfeit Thirty-pence to the Bishop, and Forty-shillings to the King.

The One and Twentieth is, what Satisfaction he shall make, who shall put out another's Eye by misadventure: In which Case he shall be fined Seventy-shillings of *English Money*; but if the Eye be restored, then but half so much.

The Two and Twentieth is, concerning the Releif of an Earl: The Releif of an Earl, who belongs to the King, is, Eight Horses saddled and bridled, Four Halberts, Four Helmets, Four Shields, Four Lances, Four Swords and Four Huntsmen, and Four Hunting Horses, with Bridles and Headstals.

The Three and Twentieth sets down the Releif of a Baron. *viz.* Four Horses saddled and bridled, Two Halberts, Two Helmets, Two Shields, Two Lances, Two Swords, and One Huntsman, One Hunting Horse with Bridles and Headstals.

The Four and Twentieth is, concerning the Releif of a *Vavasser* to his Leige Lord, *viz.* that he was to be acquitted for his Horse (such as he had at the time of his Death); as also by his Halbert, and his Helmet, and his Shield, his Lance and his Sword; but if he died so unfurnished of these things as to have neither Horse, nor Arms; then the Heir was to pay a Hundred-shillings in Money.

The Twenty Fifth is somewhat Obscure by reason of the Perplexity of the Syntax, but this the Purport of it. If any Man shall cry *Emble* (i. e. shall challenge any Ware or Merchandize as taken from him by stealth), and find Pledges to persue his Claim; then he in whose Lands the Thing is found, shall name his Guarranty (that is, the Person of whom he had it) if he have any such; but if he have not, he shall name his *Hennel Burh* (i. e. his Surety) that the thing shall be forth coming, and his Witnesses, whom he shall have ready at a certain Day or Time; but if he have no Guarranty, nor Witnesses, he shall lose his



\* i. e. Within  
those Terri-  
tories where  
those Laws  
had Force.

Goods and pay a *Were* to his Lord, as it is in \* *Merchan-Lay*, *Dane-Lay*, and *West-Saxon-Lay*: The rest being very Obscure through the Faultiness of the Copies, I will not take upon me to render it.

The Twenty Sixth is, concerning the Mulf of the Hundred, where the Man-slayer cannot be found; viz. if a Murder be newly committed, and the Men of that Hundred do not apprehend the Manslayer, and bring him to Justice within eight Days, to shew Cause how he came to do it, they shall pay Forty seven Marks.

The Twenty Seventh is, concerning the Action of a Tenant against his Lord; viz. If any one will *deroine* (i. e. plead off) any Covenant against his Lord, he must do it by his Peers of the same Tenure, whom he shall appeal or summon, as Witnesses, to plead it off, for he cannot do it by Strangers.

The Twenty Eighth is very Obscure, but to this Sense: If a Man plead in any Court, except that of the King, and shall be questioned for a Thing which he does not acknowledge; if he cannot Plead it off by Eleven discreet Men, he shall not recover the Thing in Controversy by his own Word.

The Twenty Ninth is, concerning the Relief of Villains: The Relief of a Villain shall be the best live Cattle (whether Horse, Bull or Cow), that he had at the time of his Death, which he shall give to his Lord, and afterwards he shall be admitted to Frank-Pledg, as other Villains.

The Thirtieth is, concerning the publick Ways; viz. those Three great ones of *Watling-street*, and *Erming-street*, and *Fosse*. He who Assaults, or kills any Man travelling on any of these Ways, breaks the King's Peace.

The Thirty First is of Robbery, that if a thing stolen or robbed, and the Robber be found together in any one's Ground, the Lord of the Land, and his Wife, shall have the Moiety of the Robber's Goods (though they were the chalmers Goods before) if they find them; but if the Robber be found within \* *Sac* and *Soc*, the Lord's Wife shall loose her share of the Robber's Goods, and the Lord shall have them all.

\* i. e. Within  
the Lord's  
own Juris-  
diction.

By the Thirty Second, a Man shall be appointed out of every Hyde of all land of the Hundred, betwixt *Michelmasse* and *Martinmasse*, to guard or keep the Highways, and the Ward-Reve or Overseer of the Highways, shall for his Pains have Thirty Hydes discharged of this Service; and if any Horses or Cattle die in the Highways which he is to oversee, and that he cannot shew that it suffered Violence, that Horse, &c. shall be made Good by him.

The Thirty Third is, concerning those that hold Lands by customary Rent, who shall not be troubled for any thing but their *Droit-Cause*, or Chief Rent; and those that hold them by Tilling the Lord's Land, shall not go away till they have performed their yearly Services; and the native Villains, which forsake the Lands where they were Born, and do not perform the Service appendant to them, shall not change Quarters, or seek Reception elsewhere; and if they leave the Lands upon which they were Born, and go to others, none shall retain them, or their Goods, but shall send them back to perform their Services belonging to them; and if



the Seignories, or Lord's of Mannors, will not make those Fugitives return to their Lands, the Law shall do it.

The Thirty fourth Ordains, That none shall defalcate any thing from the Arrerages of due Service, which the Tenant or Villain owes his Lord, upon pretence that whilst he rested, another was to do his Work.

The Thirty fifth is, that of Reprieving big-Bellied Women: If a Woman with Child be Condemn'd to death, or loss of any Members, the Sentence shall not be executed, until she be delivered.

Whence we may see the Antiquity of that Law still in use, by which Women with Child have their Execution respited till they are brought to Bed.

The Thirty sixth is concerning Intestate's Goods: That where a Man dies Intestate, his Children shall divide his Estate equally among them.

The Thirty seventh is of an Adultress taken by her Father in the very Act.

If a Father shall take his Daughter in Adultery in his own House, or in that of his Son-in-Law, it shall be lawful for him to kill the Adulterer.

This Law is now out of use, and (I suppose) became so by non-user; but it seems strange, that the Husband of the Adultress was not allowed by this Law the same privilege with the Father.

The Thirty eighth is concerning Goods flung out of a Ship for fear of Death.

Which tho' very obscure, yet the Sense seems to be to this Effect, That if a Man is assaulted being on Ship-board, and cast another's Goods out of the Ship for the Safety of his own life, he shall not be impleaded for it, because it is lawful to do damage to another, when he finds the danger cannot be otherwise avoided; &c. But if any one fling Goods out of a Ship, when there is no such necessity, he shall render to their full value.

The Thirty ninth is concerning the Sentence against one that is absent; as where two are co-partners of an Heritage, and one of them being impleaded without the other, loose his Right by his own negligence, it shall not prejudice him who was absent, because such Judgment ought not to affect him.

The Fortieth is concerning the Relief of Tenants; viz. That the lawful Relief of those who hold their Lands at a Rent, shall be one year's Rent of the Land.

The Forty first Ordains, That those who preside in Judgments take great care, that they Judge as those that desire to be heard, when they say, *Forgive us our Trespases, as we forgive them that trespass against us.* And we forbid any Christian in this Land to sell his Garment for Payment; for care ought to be taken that a Life be not lost for which *Christ* redeemed with his Life. Whosoever shall promote wrong, or give false Judgment for hatred, or malice, or Bribery, he shall forfeit to the King Forty Shillings; and if he cannot prove that he could do no better, he shall lose his Freedom, if he cannot redeem it at the King's Pleasure. And if he be within the *Dane Law*, shall forfeit *Lahslite*, [i.e. *pay the Mult for violation of the Law*] if he cannot prove that he could Judge no better: But whosoever shall re-

Of Judgments.



use, or deny right Law and Judgment, he shall forfeit to him to whom he denies it, according to his Rank; if to the King, Six Pounds; to an Earl, Forty Shillings; if it be within an Hundred, Thirty Shillings; and to all those who Sue in *England*, all must be paid in *English* Money; if within the Jurisdiction of *Dane-lay*, whosoever denies right Judgment, he shall be obnoxious to the punishment of *Lahslite*. Nor shall any Man complain to the King of Failure of Judgment in Hundred or County.

\* Nam, from the Saxon or Francik Ni-man, or Ne-man capere, vel auferre. Vid. Dr. Hick's New Edit. of his Saxon Grammar in his Notes on a Charter of King William the Conqueror, p. 164.

The Forty second is concerning taking a *Distress*: None may take a \* *Distress*, either within the County, or without, until he has three times demanded Right in the Hundred and County-Court; and if he cannot have Right at the third demand, he shall then go to the County-Court, and that shall appoint him the fourth day; and then if he who should claim it, fail to appear, the other may use his Liberty, to take the *Distress* to his own use.

The Forty third is, That none shall buy any thing without Lawful Vouchers: viz. None shall buy to the value of Four-pence. either of Dead or Live-Goods, without the Testimony of Four Men of the Borough or Town; and if any one challenge it, and he have no Testimony thereof, nor warrant for it, he shall render to the Challenger his Goods, and he shall have the forfeiture to whom it is due; and if he have Witnesses (as we have said above) let him vouch them three Times, and the fourth Time *deraign*; (i. e. *stand Tryal for it*) or else restore it.

The Forty fourth, concerning Stollen Goods, put into the hand of a third Person, seems only to be a Continuation of the former to this effect; for it does not appear reasonable to Us, (i. e. to the King) that Proof be made by the Witness of those who know that the Thing is Sequestred, or put into the hand of a Third Person; but that no Proof be thus made, till six Months after the Thing were Stollen.

Of Defalters in Tryals. The Forty fifth appoints, that he who is accused in Court of Robbery by Witnesses, and makes Default three Times, and the Summoners shews his three Defaults, then he shall be requir'd to find Sureties for the Peace, and to take Tryal; but if he will not, or cannot be found, alive or dead, let all he hath be seiz'd, and let the Accuser have his Chattels; and the Lord the moiety of what remains, and the Hundred the other moiety.

Concerning Harboursing Strangers, the Forty sixth appoints, that none shall Lodge a Stranger above three Nights, unless he be recommended by a Friend.

The Forty seventh is concerning Servants, viz. That no Person shall let his Man or Servant depart from him, after he is once accused of any Crime.

The Forty eighth Ordains, That whoever meets with a Thief, and without Cry lets him go, he shall be mulcted according to the value of the Thief, unless he can clearly prove that the Party were no Thief; and he that shall make a Cry, and presently cease, the King shall mulct him for his so ceasing, unless he can purge himself.

The Forty ninth is concerning Servants, That every Lord shall produce his Servant, or his Pledge, that if he be accused he may be tryed in the Hundred Court.

The



The Fiftieth is concerning the manner of Purgation of one accused, to this effect: If any Person accused, be within the Hundred, and four Men arraign (i.e. accuse) him, he may purge himself by the Twelfth band (i.e. the Oaths of Twelve men) but if he fly from the Place where he was arraigned, his Lord shall pay his Were; and if the Lord be accused, that he was privy to his Flight, he shall clear himself by \* six Men; but if he cannot, he shall be fined to the King, or else be Out-law'd.

\* i.e. By their Oaths.

After the Conclusion of these Laws\*, *Ingulphus* tells us, that he brought them down with him from London to his own Monastery of Crowland, being those which King William had confirmed, and commanded to be observed throughout all England, under grievous Penalties, and had also commended them to his Justices.

\* In Edit. Oxon, Vol. I.

Then our Author farther adds, That he had brought them down in the same Language, in which they were written (viz. Norman-French) lest it should happen that either himself, or any of his \* Tenants, should to their great hazard transgress them, and by offending the Royal Majesty incur those rigid Censures therein contain'd.

\* Homines.

But it is pity the time, when these Laws were made, had not been also there set down: yet it is certain, that it was not long after *Ingulph's* going up to London about the Affairs of his Monastery, in the Sixteenth year of King William's Reign; and therefore this could not be that Collection of King Edward's Laws, which *R. Hoveden* hath given us; for they are said to be Collected and Confirmed in the Fourth Year of this King's Reign: So that these seem to have been an Extract, or rather distinct Body of Laws taken out of the former, having received such Corrections and Additions as King William thought fit to make.

But as the World is very much beholding to Mr. Selden for first publishing these Laws, which had been before omitted in Sir Henry Savil's Edition of *Ingulph's History*; so are we also highly obliged to the Generosity of my Worthy Friend, Sir John Marsham the younger, Baronet, Deceased; who was pleased to furnish the Publishers of the First Volume of *English Writers* with an antient Copy of *Ingulph's History*, in order to the more full and Correct Printing the late Oxford Edition, to which I must own my self beholding for divers more genuine Readings, than those in Mr. Selden's Copy; and from which I have (tho' not very correct) mended divers things in this *English Translation*, which Mr. Selden himself, by reason of the faultiness of his Copy, was at a loss how to Translate.

But since the Learned Mr. Lambard in his \* *Archaionomia*, has given us another Set of King William's Laws, much different from the former, I shall here give you them also; since these contain the Civil, as the former do the Criminal Code: they are in the form of a Charter, beginning thus:

\* Pag. 120.

William, by the Grace of God, King of the English, to all his Subjects both of France and England, Greeting.

The first Law is concerning Religion, and the Publick Peace.

By which the King Ordains, that one God be Worshipped, and one Faith in Christ maintain'd inviolable throughout the whole Kingdom, and that Peace and Concord, Justice and Judgment be observed between the English and Welsh, French, and Britans of Wales and Corn-

wall

Note; Sir R. Twissden has in his Edit. Printed 1644, Published another Copy of these Laws from the Red Book in the Exchequer, with some Variations.



wall, and all others of his Dominions; so that none should offend another in any Point without a full Satisfaction to be made for it.

The second is concerning Fidelity and Obedience toward the King, in these Words:

We also Ordain, That all Free-men affirm both by their Covenant and Oath, that as well within, as without the whole Kingdom of *England*, (which was formerly called *Britain*) they shall be faithful to their Lord King *William*, and every where preserve his Lands and Honours with all Fidelity, and together with him defend them against all Enemies and Strangers.

The Third is concerning the Killing a *Norman*, or *Frenchman*, thus:

We also will and enjoyn, That all those Men whom we have brought over with us, or who shall come over after us, shall be under our Protection, and in our Peace, throughout our whole Kingdom; and if any of them shall be Killed, the Lord shall produce the Man-slayer within five days; or if otherwise he shall pay to us six and forty Marks of Silver, as far as the Lord's Substance will hold out; and where the Lord (*i.e.* of the Mannor or Township) shall fail, the whole Hundred, in which the Man-slaughter was committed, shall pay the remainder amongst them in common.

The Fourth is concerning those *Normans*, who were *English* Subjects before King *William's* coming over.

That every *Frenchman*, who in the time of King *Edward* our Cousin, was here a partaker of the *English* Customs, which they call \* *Anblote*, and *Anscote*, shall pay according to the *English* Law.

The Fifth Law is concerning the Right of Feudal Tenants, and of the Immunity of Noblemen and Gentlemen.

Also we will and firmly Command and Grant, That all *Freemen* of the whole Monarchy of our said Kingdom, shall have and enjoy their Lands and Possessions in Peace, free from all unjust Exaction and Taillage; so that nothing shall be Exacted, or taken of them, except their free Service, which they owe, and of right ought to give us, as it is appointed them, and by Us given and granted to them, as an Hereditary Right for ever, by the *Common Council* of our said Kingdom.

The Sixth is concerning Night-Watches.

We do also Ordain, and firmly Command, that all Cities, Towns, Castles, Hundreds and Wapentakes of our said Kingdom be Watched, and kept each Night by Turns, to prevent Enemies and Malefactors; as the Sheriffs, Aldermen, Provosts, and other our Bayliffs and Ministers, shall see fit by the *Common Council*, for the benefit of the Kingdom.

The Seventh is concerning Measures and Weights, thus:

Also, that all the Persons above mentioned, keep through the whole Kingdom faithful Seal'd Measures and Weights, as our good Predecessors have Ordained.

The Eighth is concerning the Duties of Tenants, or Vassals.

We also Ordain and firmly Command, That all Earls, Barons, Knights, and their Servants, and all Freemen of our said whole Kingdom, always have and maintain themselves well provided both with Horse and Arms, as becomes and behoves them to do; and that they

\* I know not what it means, unless it be the same with those Payments we call *Scot* and *Lot* at this day.



they shall be always ready to fullfil and perform their whole Service to us, when ever there shall be need, according to what they owe to us of Right out of their Fees and Tenements, as we have appointed them by the Common Council of the whole Kingdom; and as we have given and granted to them in Fee by Hereditary Right: And this our Command shall not be violated in any wise upon pain of an absolute Forfeiture.

The Ninth is, that Subjects shall endeavour to preserve the Royal Rights unprejudiced according to their Power.

We also ordain and firmly Command, that all Freemen of our said whole Kingdom shall be Sworn-brothers manfully to defend and keep our Monarchy and Kingdom according to their Powers and Estates; and shall preserve the Power and Dignity of the Crown entire, and constantly perform Right, Justice and Judgment by all means according to their Ability without fraud and delay: (\* This Decree had its Sanction in the City of London ).

\* Note, It seems from hence, that these Laws were ordain'd at different Times.

The Tenth is, that there be no buying and selling unless before Witnesses, and in Cities, viz.

We also forbid that any live † Cattle be bought or sold unless in Cities, and that before Three faithful Witnesses, or that any Thing forbidden be sold without Security and Warranty; and whoever does otherwise shall pay the Value over again, and afterwards forfeit the thing bought.

† Pecunia.

The Eleventh is, concerning Markets, and the Priviledge of Cities and Towns of Note. Also no Market or Fair shall be kept or permitted to be held unless in the Cities of our Kingdom, and in Burroughs, or wall'd Towns, or in Castles and safe Places, where the Customs of our Kingdom and the Common Law ( ordained by our Predecessors ), and the Dignity of our Crown cannot be violated; but that all things be done fairly and openly according to Judgment and Justice; and since the Castles, Burroughs and Cities were founded and built for the Defence of the Nation, and People of the Kingdom, they ought therefore to be kept free and inviolable.

The Twelfth is, concerning Men's Purgation in publick Judgments.

It is also ordained, That if a Frenchman shall accuse an Englishman of Perjury, Murther, Theft, Homicide and Ran ( i. e. open Rapine ) which cannot be denied; the Englishman shall defend himself by what means he shall think best, either by the Judgment of the Hot Iron ( i. e. the Ordeal ) or else by Duel. But if the Englishman be weak or infirm, he shall then find another to perform it for him; and if either of them be vanquished, he shall pay to the King Forty-shillings: But if an Englishman shall accuse a Frenchman, and will prove it either by Judgment or Duel, I will, that the Frenchman shall purge himself by Oath, and not by the Hot-Iron.

Which Law is expressed more at large in Bromton's Chronicle at the End of King William's Reign, and is publish'd at the End of this said King's Laws in the Cambridge Edition abovemention'd. Col. 92.

And begins thus by way of Charter as the former.

William, by the Grace of God, King of the English, to all to whom this Writing shall come, greeting; Know ye, that I Ordain and



and Command it to be Observed through the whole *English* Nation:

That if an *Englishman* appeal a *Frenchman* by Duel, of Theft, Homicide, or any thing for which Combat ought to be allow'd, or Judgment to be given between two Men, the Appellant shall have full liberty of demanding it; and if the *Englishman* shall refuse the Duel, the *Frenchman* shall be then compell'd to purge himself by his Witnesses upon Oath, according to the Law of *Normandy*; also if a *Frenchman* appeal an *Englishman* by Duel concerning the like Things, the *Englishman* has leave to defend himself by Duel, or by Judgment (*i. e.* of Ordeal) if he shall choose it rather; and if either of them be weak or infirm so that he refuse the Duel, or cannot perform it, he shall then find a Legal Champion; and if the *Frenchman* be vanquished, he shall pay to the King Sixty-shillings; but if the *Englishman* will not defend himself by Duel, or purge himself by Testimony (*i. e.* Oath of twelve Men) he shall clear himself by the Judgment of God (*i. e.* by Ordeal).

By which you may observe, that whereas in *Lambard's* Copy of these Laws, where an *Englishman* appeal'd a *Frenchman*, and would prove it by Judgment or Duel, it seems as if the *Frenchman* might have purged himself by Oath only, without any Ordeal; whereas it appears more plainly by *Bromton's* Copy (which I here take to be the Truer) that an *Englishman* had the same Priviledge with the *Frenchman*; for it follows thus.

The King has ordain'd in all Matters of Outlawry, that an *Englishman* shall purge himself by Judgment (*i. e.* Ordeal); and if an *Englishman* appeal a *Frenchman* of Outlawry, and will undertake to prove it upon him, the *Frenchman* shall defend himself by Duel; but if the *Englishman* will not undertake to prove it by Duel, the *Frenchman* shall clear himself by his full Oath, and not by meer Niceties of Words.

Observantiss.

From whence you may also observe, that the only Priviledge a *Frenchman* could claim above an *Englishman* by this Law was, that he was not obliged to undergo the Judgment of Ordeal, as the *Englishman* was, but only the Oath of his Compurgators; because the Former was the *English*, and the Latter the *Norman* Way of Tryal.

There are also in Mr. *Lambard's* *Archaionomia*, another Fragment of the Laws of this King, which being not found in the aforesaid *Red Book* in the *Exchequer*, I have omitted as not of sufficient Authority.

THE



THE  
General History  
OF  
ENGLAND  
BOTH  
Ecclesiastical and Civil.

V O L. II. Book II.

King WILLIAM II.



**W**ILLIAM commonly called *Rufus* (in French *Le Roux*) either from his Red Complexion, or else from the Colour of his Hair, having been (as you have already heard) appointed Successour by his Father's Testament to the Crown of *England*, went immediately over before he expired, to secure it for himself; † being attended by *Robert Bloet* his Father's Chaplain, and taking along with him as [1.] Prisoners, *Earl Morchar* and *Wulnoth*, Son to King *Harold*; both whom (though King *William* had lately ordered them to be set at Liberty, yet) his Son thought fit again to secure at *Winchester*, immediately after his Arrival; [2.] and there also he seized upon his Father's Treasure which amounted to Sixty thousand Pounds, besides Gold, Jewels and Plate, a prodigious Sum in those Days; but a Manuscript History of the Foundation of the Abbey of *Colchester* now in the *Cotton Library* cited by [3.] *Sr. William Dugdale*, makes *Eudo* Steward to King *William I.* to have been very Instrumental to his New Master at this juncture: For hastening into *England* before him, he so far insinuated himself into *William de Ponte*, Arch-Constable of *Winchester* Castle, that he obtained the Keys of that Treasury; and then passing to *Dover* he obliged the Keepers of the Castle there not to deliver it to any without his Knowledge: The like he did at *Pevensey*, *Hastings* and other Castles on that Coast, pretending that the King (whose Death he concealed) being resolved to stay longer in *Normandy* than he at first designed, would have good assurance of the Safety of those Places by himself his Steward; which done he returned to *Winchester*, and disco-

Vol. II.

L

vered

W. M.  
\* P. 63. b.  
*William* surnamed *Rufus* goes over into *England* to secure the Succession.

Anno Dom.  
MLXXXVII.

10. V.

[1.]

F. W.

[2.]

C. S. H. W.

[3.]

Nero D. 8.  
Mon. Ang. P. 2.  
p. 889.



Anno Dom.  
MLXXXVII.

\* Eligitur.

By what  
means he ob-  
tained the  
Crown.

[4.]  
Ead. Hist. nov.  
Lib. I. P. 13.  
W. M.  
P. 320.

[5.]  
Id. ib.  
His fair Pro-  
mises before  
his Corona-  
tion.

[1.]  
Pol. King.  
Cant. Bionton.  
F. W.  
He is Crown-  
ed at West-  
minster.

MLXXXVIII.

Anno Dom.  
MLXXXVIII.

\* Curia.

Idem.

H. H.

His Actions  
after his Co-  
ronation.

[3.]

W. M.

l. 4. p. 113.

Duke Robert

returns into

Normandy, and

is invested

with that

Dutchy.

[4.]

F. W.

vered the King's Death: Thus by his Care and Industry, while the Noblemen in *Normandy* were consulting about the Succession, *William* surnamed *Rufus* was \*elected King, and confirm'd in the Throne.

But to return to more antient Authors (from whom this is only a Digression), one of the chiefest things he had to do after his coming over, was, to obtain the good Will of the Bishops and Noblemen of *England* in order to his Admission to the Throne; for the obtaining of which, [4.] He was first of all to apply himself to Archbishop *Lanfranc*, without whose Favour he knew (in all probability) he could by no means Succeed, since it was to him his Father's Letter or Testament (call it which you please) by which he was nominated his Successour, was directed, and this Prince had great reason to expect his Kindness, for he had not only Educated him, but also made him a Knight, which shews, that the Old *English Saxon* Custom of receiving Knight-hood from the Hands of Bishops or Abbots, was not yet out of Fashion.

[5.] Wherefore, fearing lest the delay of his Coronation might chance to defeat his Expectations of what he so much desired, he by himself (as well as his Friends) promised and swore to the Archbishop, that if he were made King, *He would observe Justice, Equity and Mercy, throughout his whole Kingdom; and also defend the Peace and Liberties of the Church; and in all things observe the Archbishop's directions:* And upon these Terms he found it no great difficulty to obtain his Consent, and so chiefly by his Means and Perswasions, he gained the rest of the Bishops: The designed King also brought over the greatest Part of the Nobility with large Promises made either by himself, or others on his behalf.

[1.] Then a Great Council of the Kingdom being immediately assembled, He was by their General consents Crowned King at *Westminster* on the 27th of September being Sunday, by *Lanfranc* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; *Thomas* Archbishop of *Tork*, and most of the other Bishops of *England* being also present: Then the King returning to *Winchester* distributed his Father's Treasure according to his last Will, (*viz.*) to some of the Principal Cathedral Churches and Monasteries ten Marks of Gold a Piece, to some six, and others less; besides rich Crosses, Candlesticks and other Ornaments for the Altar; and to smaller Churches in the Country five Shillings a Piece; he also bestowed one hundred Pounds to each County, to be distributed amongst the Poor.

[2.] After this he kept his *Christmas* at *London* with great Solemnity where he also held his \*Court, or Great Council, at which the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *Tork*, together with all the Bishops and Chief Men of *England*, were present; as also *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, who was now restored to the Earldom of *Kent* and all his other Estates: Yet all this could not secure him to his Nephew's Interest, as you will see by and by.

[3.] Also about this time Duke *Robert*, eldest Son to the late King, returned out of *France* (where he resided at his Father's Death) into *Normandy*, and not long after was invested with the Sword of that Dutchy, a Ceremony which was the same in Effect with a Coronation in *England* and *France*: And (not to be behind his Brother in the Concern for his Father's Soul) [4.] He also bestowed what Treasure he found



found there, on Monasteries and Churches; so whosoever lost the Church (that is the Priests) were still fore to be the greatest (if not only) gainers by the Sins of Princes; Duke Robert likewise did then set at Liberty [5.] *Ulf*, another Son to the late King *Harold*, and *Dunstan* Son to the King of *Scots*, whom his Father had kept Prisoners.

[1.] The Winter passed quiet enough; but in Spring following there arose a great Division between the Norman Noblemen that were settled in *England*, some of whom now began (though too late) to repent of the Choice they had made, inclining to Duke Robert the Elder Brother, whom the greatest Part now favoured, as a Man of a more free and easy Nature, yet this was not the sole Occasion of their sudden Change, for besides that Consideration (which might go a great way with some), it seems to have also proceeded from those Disappointments which many of those Noblemen who at first sided with him had met with in their Expectations; for it is highly difficult (if not impossible) to satisfy all Men's desires according to what they themselves think they deserve; and those who are failed, will look upon themselves as disobliged.

[2.] But it is certain this Commotion was chiefly stirred up by Robert Earl of *Mortain*, and *Odo* his Brother, out of hatred to, and Emulation of Archbishop *Laufanc* who was preferred before him in the King's Favour; and therefore he was resolved to give both the King and him what disturbance he could; and so conspired with his Brother and as many of the Norman Lords as he found either already to Affect, or could be persuaded to endeavour a Change; these he set on work to distract the King's Forces by taking Arms in divers Parts of the Kingdom at once; the principal Heads of this Insurrection were Geoffrey Bishop of *Constance*, and *William* Bishop of *Durham* (both whom Bishop *Odo* had engaged to his Party) Robert Earl of *Mortain*, Roger Earl of *Strevensbury*, and many others too tedious to be inserted here; so that most of the principal Men of the Kingdom, except Archbishop *Laufanc*, conspired to deprive the King of his Crown, if not of his Life: This Plot was first hatched in *Lent*, but did not break out till a little after *Easter*.

[3.] But *Odericus Vitalis* gives us a larger and somewhat different Account why the greatest part of the Norman Nobility thus conspired against the King, to this Effect: That the Chief Men of *England* and *Normandy*, who had great Estates in both Counties, during the preceeding Winter met and consulted about the Consequences of this Division and Separation of them one from the other; they were in a great streight what to do, they could not at once serve two Lord's, so distant in Place and different in Interest, without displeasing one of them, and thereby hazarding their Estates in the Territories of the offended Prince. At last most of them resolved, since Duke Robert was the Elder Brother, to set him up, and make him Prince of *England* and *Normandy*, for Preservation of the Unity of both Nations: This was the Contrivance of *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, *Eustace* Earl of *Bulloigne*, *Robert de Bellesme* and many other Norman Lord's; which Design they communicated to Duke Robert, to whom (if they would once begin) he promised a sufficient Assistance: In all which this Author speaks very probably, except in what he writes concerning the Norman Nobility's

Anno Dom.

MCCCXVIII.

[1.]

Idem. 1b.

[2.]

W. M. F. W.

Many of the

Nobility re-

pent their

making of

William, King.

[2.]

Idem.

Earl Robert

and Bishop

*Odo*, Chief Ex-

citers of this

Commotion.

[3.]

P. 665.

The true Rea-

son why so

many of the

Norman Nobi-

lity conspired

against the

King.

\* He was Son

to Roger Earl

of *Strevensbu-**ry*, and *Arx-**del*, and was

Heir to both

those Earl-

doms.



And Duke  
MILKXVIII  
[4.]  
O. V.  
P. 666.  
What Great  
Lords took  
part with  
Duke Robert  
to prevent  
the King's  
Invasion

[5.]  
Id. lb.  
His great Pre-  
parations to  
Invade Eng-  
land.

[6.]  
Id. lb.  
What means  
the King used  
to prevent it.

[1.]  
Id. lb.  
What means  
the King used  
to prevent it.

[2.]  
C. S. F. W.  
What Actions  
happened up-  
on the break-  
ing out of the  
War.

What Actions  
happened up-  
on the break-  
ing out of the  
War.

Robert's doing Homage to Duke Robert in his Father's Life time: Which, besides that it is not related by any other Historian, is also very unlikely, since his Father was angry with him a long time before his Death, and utterly refused to resign the Duchy of Normandy to him, as he expected he should: [4.] But this Author farther tells us (with greater certainty), that sometime after Christmas several of these Lords passed into England, where they fortified their Castles, and in a short time stirred up a great Part of the Kingdom against the King; with these joined Roger Earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury, Hugh Gantmesnil, Viscount or Sheriff of Leicester, and many more very Great Men in England, who tho they seemingly continued in King William's Interest, yet privately favoured Duke Robert. These also fortified, manned and victualled their Castles, and waiting till the Countess almost all over the Nation, expected the Duke's arrival with an Army out of Normandy in the Spring, but still is on a wretched Story, to whom which of them robs & for during this Winter Duke Robert plentifully distributed his Wealth among his Norman Souldiers and Knights, and by hope of Rewards brought into his Service a Multitude of young Soldiers; but his Treasure failing, he borrowed of his Brother Henry three thousand Pounds, for which he received the whole County of Con-  
Ranton (now Constantine) being then the third Part of Normandy with the Cities thereto belonging, as also St. Michael's Mount lying in the Sea, which was to be a Place of Retreat for him: Notwithstanding which, as long as the Duke had fail'd of his Design upon England, he unjustly disseised his Brother Henry of that County and Fortress which he had mortgaged to him.

[1.] King William being sensible of the ill Posture of his Affairs, resolved to suppress these Insurrections, and to that purpose, sum-  
mon'd Archbishop Lanfranc with the Bishops, Earls and Nobles Eng-  
lish, and shew'd them his Intentions. They exhorted the King to pro-  
ceed against these Disturbers of the publick Peace, and promised him  
their utmost Assistance, which is also confirm'd by William of Malmes-  
bury, who says, the King had no way left but to apply himself to his  
Honest English Subjects.

[2.] In the beginning of the Spring the War broke out almost at once, divers Bishops and Great Lords taking up Arms in several Places. Our  
[1.] English Writers make Geoffrey Bishop of Constance and Robert de  
Mowbray, his Nephew, to have begun this War, who went to Bristol  
where they seized the Castle, and from thence they marched and  
plundered Bath with all the Countries thereabout: Also the Earls of  
Hereford and Shrewsbury with their Tenants in those Countries, and a  
great Multitude of Welshmen, marched as far as Worcester, where they  
hoped to have got that Church and Castle into their Hands, being  
then Commanded by Bishop Wulfstan who was much troubled at this  
News; yet resolving to continue firm to the King, he immediately  
retired into the Castle, and from thence ordered his Men to sally out  
upon the Enemy, who had such good Success, that they killed and  
took Prisoners above five hundred of them and put the rest to flight.  
About the same time Roger Bigot seized the Castle of Norwich, and  
after that made a great Spoil in the Adjacent Country, whilst Hugh  
Gantmesnil did the like in Leicestershire and Northamptonshire; and  
Bernard of Newmarket seized upon the Castle of Hertford: Not was the

North



North free from Disturbances; For William Bishop of Durham (a Man of great Power, and a Voluble Tongue) on whose Advice the King at first very much relyed, revolted from him; and raised a War, not only in his own Country, but in those that lay next to him.

[3.] In the mean while Bishop Odo (who was the Ring-leader of this mischief) went into Kent, where he Plundered the King's Towns, as also the Lands of all those who adhered to him, and new Fortified the Castle of Rochester, [4.] as a place of Advantage, and most fit for their chief Magazine, being in the mid Way between London and Canterbury, near the Sea-Coast of Kent, where they intended to Land their Forces and Warlike Provisions; and from thence too they could at pleasure keep a Correspondence with Duke Robert.

[5.] But the King did not give them any long time to fortifie themselves, for he immediately marched with his Army against Rochester, supposing his Uncle the Bishop had been there; but hearing that he had left it, and retired to Pevensey Castle, he resolved to follow him thither, since if he could take him, he looked upon the War as half ended: so drawing off his Forces from Rochester, he marched to Tunbridge, where he found the Castle strongly fortified by Bishop Odo's Men; but the English manfully assaulting it, those within surrendered upon Conditions, and the King then ordering it to be demolished; he marched with his whole Army towards Pevensey, in pursuit of the Bishop, which Castle belonging to Earl Robert, Odo's Brother, the King presently besieged with his whole Army, for the space of six Weeks.

[1.] Whilst things went thus, Robert Duke of Normandy, had got together a Great Army which he ordered to be transported into England, seeming resolved to follow it himself soon after; but yet consulting too much his own ease and security, he came not at the time appointed; which delay proved the ruin of this Enterprize, [2.] for the King's Fleet so well defended the Sea-Coasts, that falling upon the Duke's Forces, which was then passing over, they killed and drowned an incredible number of them.

From whence we may observe how necessary it is for a King of England to be Master at Sea; for had the Duke's Forces now Landed, and joyned with those that were in Rebellion, they had certainly either deposed the King, or at least put him in great hazard; whereas the Duke's Succours being destroy'd at Sea, and his Party in England not having an Army great enough to take the Field, they were quickly subdued one after another, before Duke Robert could come over to their assistance, which when he would have done, it was too late.

Wherefore, tho' Polydore Virgil tells us, that some English Writers make Duke Robert to have then come into England to assist those of his party: I (for my part) cannot find so much as one antient Writer that asserts it; for, the Truth is, he lost the Kingdom by his own Slothfulness, in failing to come over in due Season.

[2.] But to return to our History; whilst things past thus successfully at Sea, Bishop Odo, and those who were with him in the Castle of Pevensey, compelled by Famine, were forced to Surrender that place, as also to swear they would quit the Kingdom, and never return to it again, unless King William commanded them; then the Bishop being taken Prisoner, engaged (to obtain his Liberty) that his Men should

also

Anno Dom.  
MLXXXVIII.

[3.]

Idem. 15.

Bishop Odo  
Fortifies the  
Castle of Ro-  
chester.

[4.]

O. V.

Idem. 16.

[5.]

F. W.

King William  
marches a-  
gainst the Bi-  
shop.

[1.]

C. S.

F. W.

Duke Robert  
Assembles a  
Great Army,  
but fails to  
come over.

[2.]

P. 68. a.

Polydore Vir-

gil's mistake  
in making  
Duke Robert  
to have now  
come into  
England.

[3.]

C. S.

R. H.

Bishop Odo  
forced by Fa-  
mine to Sur-  
render Peven-  
sey Castle.



Anno Dom.  
MCCXVIII.

The Bishop  
carried to Ro-  
chester Castle,  
and is carried  
into it.

[4.]  
Q. M. 101  
P. 667.

By what  
means the  
King raised  
Forces, and  
took Roche-  
ster Castle.  
\* i.e. In En-  
glish Saxon, a  
Base Coward-  
ly Fellow.

[5.]  
Ibid.

The Condi-  
tions on which  
it was to be  
Surrender'd.

The King is  
very averse  
to grant  
them.

Yet yields to  
them at last.

Bishop Odo  
and those in  
the Castle,  
forced to  
quit the King-  
dom with the  
Loss of their  
Estates.

[1.]  
C. S.

The King be-  
stows those  
Lands upon  
those that  
had served  
him.

[2.]

W.M. p. 120.  
What Me-  
thods the  
King took to  
quell this  
Commotion.

also deliver up the Castle of Rochester; but when the Bishop was brought thither by the King's Soldiers who were to receive the Castle, the Garison that kept it, instead of Surrendering, sallied out, and seized the Bishop, together with those that came with him, and carried them into the Castle, which was supposed to be done by the Bishop's contrivance, for the Castle was very well Mann'd, and Victual'd, and there was then within it most of the [4.] Nobility of the French Faction: as *Estace*, the younger Earl of *Boloign*, and *Robert de Bellism*, with many other Norman Lords. But when the King heard this, he marched thither with what Forces he had with him, and sending throughout all England, he commanded every Man as well French as English, who would not be counted a \* *Nothing*, to repair to him; so that great Numbers being thus assembled, he marched to Rochester, and there Besieged the Castle, where the Defendants in vain expected the Assistance of Duke *Robert*, for he was detained at home by ease and Luxury from that Expedition.

[4.] *Ordericus Vitalis* further relates, that those of the Duke's Party at first held the Town, as well as the Castle, but being beaten out of the former, and reduced into a narrower compass, many perished of a raging Sickness; and then too being pressed by divers Necessities, they sent to King *William*, that upon condition they might enjoy their Lands and Estates, they would yield the Castle, and for the future serve him faithfully as their Natural Lord. The King was angry at these Propositions, and swore he would take the perfidious Traytors by force, and hang, and destroy them all, by divers kinds of deaths; and to some of his Nobility (who having many Friends and Relations in the Castle, perswaded him to Moderation) he gave this notable Answer, *That whosoever spared Perjured Men, Thieves, Plunderers, and Execrable Traytors, took away quiet and peace from innocent Men, and laid a foundation of innumerable mischiefs to the good and harmless.* But at length overcome by the Intercession of his Friends, the Bishops, with the English Noblemen, *Hugh* Earl of *Chester*, *Robert de Roelent*, *William de Warrenna*, *Robert Fitz-Haimon*, and other Loyal Antient Barons, he granted the Besieged their Lives, pardoned the loss of their Limbs, and gave them leave to pass out of the Castle, with their Horses and Armes, but without hopes of ever enjoying their Lands and Estates during his Reign; whereupon they were forced to quit the Kingdom, as was also Bishop *Odo*, who now irrecoverably lost both his Honour (i.e. his Earldom of *Nent*.) and great Estate in *England*; yet to make him some amends for his loss, so soon as he returned into *Normandy*, he had the Government of that Province committed to his Charge, by his Nephew Duke *Robert*.

[1.] Then King *William* bestowed the Estates of these Banished Noblemen upon others, who had served him faithfully during this War; which tho' it was now happily and unexpectedly ended, yet it would not have been over so soon, had it not been for certain very Politick Methods which this King took at the beginning of these Commotions; [2.] for it was not by open force that he quell'd this Universal defection of the *Normans*; but by publishing, That he would ease all his Subjects, and especially the *Native English* of their great Taxes, promising them better Laws, with the free Liberty of Hunting in his Forests; as also by bribing some of the chief *Norman* Noblemen, with



with large Promises of what great things he would do for them: Thus he insinuated himself into Roger Earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury, (concerned, tho' under-hand, in this Insurrection) to whom he pretended he would most willingly quit the Government, if he and those his Father had design'd his *Curators* should think fit; yet adding, that he knew not why they were so violent against him; for if they would have Money or Augmentation of their Estates, they might have what they would, upon condition they did not endanger nor question his Father's Judgment; which if they despised, they might hazard their own safety; for the same Man that had made him a King, made them Earls and Great Men. With these fair words and promises the Earl was brought off from the Confederacy, which was immediately then broken, and the Nation reduced to quiet (as was said before) the Confederates either submitting, or leaving the Kingdom.

Anno Dom.  
MLXXXVIII.

\* *Tusor.*

And the great Promises he made divers Noblemen, who were at first against him.

Anno Dom.  
MLXXXIX.

[2.]

*Eadl. l. 1. p. 14.*  
The danger being over, the King breaks all his fair Promises.

[3.]

*W. M. de Vit.  
Pont. p. 25.*

[4.]

*Idem. lb.*  
Archbishop Lanfranc dies, his Character and Charitable Actions.

[5.]

*Idem. lb.*

[1.]

*W. M.  
De Gest. Pont.  
p. 122. 4.*  
This Archbishop's Learned Writings.

But no sooner was the King rid of these Fears, and settled in his Throne, [2.] but, forgetting all his Oaths and Promises, he took quite contrary Measures in his Government to what he had done before; of which breach of Faith being mildly admonished by Archbishop Lanfranc, the King grew very angry, and presently replied, *Who can perform all things he hath promised?* But he never after could afford him a kind look: [3.] Yet being still somewhat in awe of him, he refrain'd from doing many things to which he had a great inclination; but this good Archbishop continued not long a Restraint to him.

[4.] For on the 24th. of May, this Year, he departed this Life, of a lingering Fever, to the great grief of all good Men, being not only a Great Scholar for that Age, and well vers'd in the Affairs of the Kingdom, but also very Pious and Charitable, and not at all addicted (as our Historian relates) to that sordid Covetousness, for which his Country-men the *Lombards* were then noted. He not only gave a great deal to the Poor, (whom he often served with his own hands;) but, which was more, when he found his Church and Monastery burnt down, he new built them from the Ground, after a more Magnificent manner, with a Palace likewise for himself and his Successors, and all in the space of seven Years; he likewise nobly adorned the Church with rich Copes, and all other Necessary Ornaments: So that it seems a wonder how he was able to perform so much in so little time.

[5.] He also rebuilt the Abbey of St. *Albans*, for the sake of his Kinsman *Paul*, whom he had procured to be made Abbot thereof. Besides this he built a very handsome Hospital without the City of *Canterbury*, for the Lame and Infirm, both Men and Women, who had each of them their distinct Apartments. He then Founded and Endowed a Church and Monastery of Regular Chanons, who were to take care of the Sick, and administer to them all things necessary, as well for their Body as Soul. He built moreover another Hospital for Lepers, without the City; not to mention the many Houses in the Country belonging to his See, which he new built from the Ground.

[1.] He also left some Monuments of his Great Learning; as his Decretal Epistles, &c. tho' his chief Work was the Defence of the *Romish* Doctrine of *Transubstantiation* against *Beringarius*, who lived at that



Anno Dom.  
MXXXIX.

[2.]  
W. M.  
Dr. Giff. Pont.  
P. 123. b.  
The King up-  
on the Arch-  
bishop's death  
grows worse  
and sells the  
Bishopricks,  
&c.

[3.]  
Ead. p. 14.

[4.]  
C. S. F. W.  
A great Earth-  
quake in Eng-  
land.

Anno Dom.  
MXC.

[5.]  
Idem.

[1.]  
W. M.  
F. W.  
p. 68. a.

King William  
gets many  
strong Places  
in Normandy  
by treachery.

The King buys  
off the King of  
France from  
Assisting Duke  
Robert.

[2.]  
O. V.  
p. 672.

Henry the  
Duke's Bro-  
ther Fortifies  
those Places  
that had been  
mortgaged to  
him.

The Citizens  
of Rouen about  
to deliver that  
City to King  
William.

Whereupon  
the Duke  
strikes up a  
Peace with  
his Brother  
Henry.

that time, and had not long before denyed, that the Sacrament of the Altar (as they term it) was the True *Substantial* Body and Blood of Christ; but this Doctrine being condemned by the Popes in the Council of *Vercelles*, he was forced to recant that Opinion.

[2.] As soon as Archbishop *Lausfranc* was dead, the King presently grew worse and worse, and soon discovering what lay before conceal'd, immediately seized the whole Revenues of the Archbishoprick into his own Exchequer, allowing only necessary Maintenance to the Monks, keeping that See void for almost four Years: He did the same by *Lincolne*, and [3.] all other Churches and Abbies as soon as they became vacant, which were never bestowed and filled so long as he could squeeze any thing considerable out of 'em, and when he could get nothing more, would then sell an Abbey so pill'd to some Monk, who would bid most for it.

[4.] But nothing else happening Remarkable, I shall only observe that there was this Year so great an Earthquake in *England* that many buildings were destroyed by it; the rest of the Year the King spent in settling his Kingdom, and preparing for the War he made the next Year against his Brother Duke *Robert*. Who ever since his Disappointment in his late intended Expedition into *England*, had found full employment in quelling Disturbances at Home; [5.] but the King was now resolved to be revenged on him and to Conquer *Normandy*, if he could,

In order to which, [1.] He by Money and secret Practices obtain'd the strong Castle and Fort of *St. Walery* of one *Walter* its Governour, as also that of *Albemarle* of another *Norman* Baron called *Odo*, besides other Castles upon the Sea Coast, in all which he put Garisons, who sallied out and spoiled the Country round about: At this Duke *Robert* being much incensed, he dispatched Ambassadors to *Philip* the French King as his Supreme Lord, imploring his Assistance; who thereupon coming into *Normandy*, He, together with the Duke, besieged one of those Castles; which when King *William* heard, he sent privately a round Sum of Money to King *Philip*, by which means he procured him to raise the Siege, and return again into *France*, with more Riches, but less Honour, than he had before.

[2.] About this time *Henry*, younger Brother to Duke *Robert*, having been ill used and imprisoned by him, and also disseized by King *William* of his Mother's Lands in *England*, stood Neuter, and fortified the Towns which were mortgaged to him, viz. *Cherburgh*, *Auranches*, *Constance*, and other Places, and craftily gained to his Party many of his Father's Nobility, as Earl *Hugh de Auranches*, *Richard de Redvers*, and others of the County of *Contantine*, by which means his Forces encreased daily.

About the same time King *William's* Army marched almost where it would through *Normandy*, the *Norman* Nobility favouring him for his Money; the Citizens of *Rouen* being likewise bribed by his Gifts and Promises, treated with him about charging their Prince, and consulted how to betray the Metropolitane City of *Normandy*, together with their Lazy Duke, to the King. One *Canon* a Rich Citizen was the Chief Conspirator, and had bargained with King *William* to let his Forces into the City; but the Duke being made sensible of this Conspiracy, presently struck up a Peace with his Brother *Henry*, and some others, that



that had revolted from him, who put themselves time enough into the Town to secure it, tho' with great Slaughter of the Citizens, who made Resistance; *Conan* the chief Traytor was taken, and for his punishment was by *Henry's* Order carried up into a high Tower, and from thence was by his own hands flung headlong out of a Window: But this Reconciliation between these Brothers did not hold long, as you will find by and by.

[3.] In the mean time I find nothing done in *England*, only the Kingdom was extremely exhausted by cruel and illegal Taxes, with other Misfortunes.

[4.] The next year King *William* having kept his *Christmaß* at *Westminster*, passed over about *Candlemaß* following into *Normandy* with a great Fleet, wholly to deprive his Brother *Robert* of it, and made him raise the Siege of a Castle called *Curcey*, which he had Besieged for some time, but the King had not been long there, before a Peace was concluded between 'em upon these Conditions, that the Duke should grant to the King the Country of *Ou*, now called *Eu*, and the Towns of *Fescamp* and *Karesburgh*, with all those Castles which had revolted from him; in consideration of which, the King was to reduce to the Duke's Obedience the County of *Main*, and all those Castles in *Normandy* that were then in Rebellion; that the King should also restore to the *Norman* Noblemen all those Lands they had lost for their fidelity to the Duke, and that the King should confer upon him as much Land in *England* as was then agreed upon between them: Lastly, That if the Duke should die without any Son lawfully begotten, the King should then be his Heir, as he also the King's, upon the same Terms. These were the chief Conditions of the Peace then concluded between them: for the true performance of which Twelve Barons on each side took their Oaths on the behalf of their respective Princes.

[5.] After which the two Brother Princes came together to *Rouën*, where all former Quarrels being laid aside, they were reconciled to each other. The Duke received great Gifts and Presents from the King, to whom the Duke granted the Country or Earldoms of *Ou*, and *Albemarle*, with the Lands of *Gerard de Gournay* and *Ralph de Conches*, with all the Castles and Fortresses belonging to them. But when *Henry* their Brother saw how things were carried, he was not at all pleas'd with these Transactions, for he was thereby wholly left out of the Agreement, and being therefore resolved to Right himself as well as he could, after having made great Complaints (tho' in vain) against the hard dealing of his Brothers; and having demanded some part of the large Possessions of his Father, and being refused them, he gathered together a Body of the *Bretaignes* and *Normans*, and fortified *Constance*, *Auranches*, and some other Towns, which it seems remain'd still in his power: But how this will agree with what other Authors relate, that *Henry* stood then disseised of those places which had been formerly Morgaged to him, I know not.

But to return to our Author: *Hugh E.* of *Chester*, and others, who much favoured *Henry*, yet weighing his Poverty, and the great Riches and Power of *K. Will.* deserted the former, and yielded their places of strength to the latter; whereupon *Henry* being thus forsaken by all, was forced to betake himself to his last Retreat, *St. Michael's Mount*, [1.] from whence

Anno Dom.  
MXC.

[3.]

Anno Dom.  
MXCI.

[4.]

Idem.

C. S.

The King passes into *Normandy* with a Fleet.

A Peace concluded between the King and Duke, and on what Conditions.

[5.]

O. V.

P. 693.

The two Princes being reconciled, the King comes where they make each other great Presents.

*Henry* their Brother being included out of this Peace, stands upon his own defence.

*Henry* betakes himself to *St. Michael's Mount*.

[1.]

F. W.



Anno Dom.  
MXCI.

[2.]  
Ibid. P. 697.  
The Fort at  
last Surren-  
ders for want  
of Water  
\* i. e. The  
Country ly-  
ing between  
the Rivers  
Epte and E/c.  
C.S.F.W.R.H.

[3.]  
W. M.  
P. 698.

[4.]  
Hist. p. 68. (6)  
Two Relati-  
ons that shew  
the different  
Temper of  
the King and  
Duke.

[5.]  
W. M.  
Ib. P. 121.

whence Sallying out with his Soldiers, he spoiled the adjacent Coun-  
try; to put a stop to which, his two Elder Brothers being now Con-  
federates, and joyning their Forces, Besieged that Fortrefs all the *Lent*,  
where they lost many Men without success; till at last the King being  
quite wearied out, raised the Siege, and departed; after which (as  
[2.] *Ordericus* relates) the Fortrefs was Surrendered to the Duke for  
want of Water, on condition that *Henry* and those with him might  
have liberty to go whither they pleased; after which (according to  
the same Author) this poor Prince being thus deserted, retired into  
*Bretaigne*, and going thence, remain'd for some time in the \* *French*  
*Veuxin*, often shifting places, being attended with one Knight, a Clerk or  
Chaplain, and three Esquires, or Servants; tho' all our Historians except  
*William* of *Malmesbury*, make his Brothers to have been reconciled  
to him, and that King *William* presently after took him and Duke  
*Robert* both over into *England* along with him: But however it were,  
*Henry* did not long remain in so forlorn a condition, for this [3.] Au-  
thor himself relates him to have been about the very next year after  
in the City of *Damfront* in *Normandy*, as you will find anon.

But before I dismiss this Subject, I cannot omit two remarkable  
accidents related by [4.] *William* of *Malmesbury* during the Siege a-  
bove mentioned, the one to shew the Magnanimity of the King, and  
the other the good nature of Duke *Robert*; the former riding one day  
out of his Camp alone to take the Air, saw some of the Enemies  
Soldiers riding very boldly up to him; and tho' he was alone, yet  
trusting to his own Personal Valour, he would needs set upon them,  
believing none would dare to resist him; but at the first Encounter be-  
ing by one of them flung from off his Horse (which also happen'd to  
be killed under him) the Soldier who did it, had now drawn his  
Sword, and was ready to strike him, when he being sensible of the  
extremity of the danger, cried out, *Hold Knave, I am the King of*  
*England*; these Soldiers being surprized at this Speech, presently took  
him up with great Respect, and set him upon another Horse; as soon  
as he had mounted, looking briskly round him, he asked who it was  
that had dismounted him? Then after they had whispered together,  
at last he who had done it, boldly answered, *It was I, who did not*  
*think you were any more than a common Trooper*. Then the King with  
a pleasant Countenance replied, *By St. Luke's Face* (which was his  
usual Oath) *thou shalt be my Soldier, and serving under me, shalt enjoy*  
*the just reward of thy Valour*. This our Author thinks so generous  
an action, that he prefers it before that of *Alexander* the Great, who  
pardoned a *Persian* Souldier, that was about to have wounded  
him.

[5.] The other instance of Duke *Robert's* Generosity and good nature,  
is this, that at this Siege, when it had now held out long, and Water grew  
scarce in the Fortrefs, *Henry* sent Messengers to his Brother the Duke,  
desiring he might not be denied Water, or else that he would subdue  
him by force of Arms, and not by Thirst. The Duke being moved  
with natural affection towards his Brother, commanded his Men to  
keep such a negligent Guard on that side, as that his Brother's Men  
might have the opportunity of fetching in Water.

But when this was told King *William*, who was more Politick, as  
well as ill natur'd, he said to the Duke in anger, *Tou know indeed very*  
*well,*



well, how to make War, who allow your Enemies such plenty of Water. The Duke replied smiling, *What shall I suffer my Brother to die with Thirst; where shall we have another when he is gone?* But the King deriding the Duke's easie nature, quitted the Siege, and returned into England, where the frequent Invasions of the Scots and Welsh required his presence to repell them.

Yet Florence makes the King to have stayed in Normandy with his Brother Robert till August, and then to have return'd into England, but which of these Author's Relations is most to be followed, I will not take upon me to determine, tho' the latter seems most likely.

[1.] However this is more certain, that the King before he left Normandy, made his Brother Duke Robert banish Edgar Atheling out of that Country, and the King himself deprived him of all the Lands he had given him, only because he had been of the weaker side, who thereupon went into Scotland to King Malcolm his Brother-in-law. But not long after this King William so prevail'd with Duke Robert, either by promising him money, or some farther performance of the rest of the Treaty, that was still to be finish'd here, that he brought him over into England, and had his Company in the Expedition which he now made against Malcolm King of Scots; who the May before taking advantage of the King's absence, had [2.] Invaded Northumberland, and intended to do greater mischiefs to the English, had he not been hindered by some sudden, unexpected accident; but whither it was the fear of a Rebellion at home, or of the great Preparations that were making against him in England, none of our Historians vouchsafe to tell us, only in general, *That God would not have it so.* But whatsoever was the cause of his sudden Retreat, his Army carried away great store of Booty into their own Kingdom.

[3.] The August following, so soon as King William and his Brother Duke Robert arriv'd in England, they marched against the King of Scots with a very great Army, having sent a powerful Fleet before to annoy the Coast; but the greatest part of the Ships were lost in a Storm, about Michaelmas, before the King's arrival in Scotland.

[4.] As soon as the King came to Durham, he restored Egilwin Bishop thereof to his former Office and Dignity, which he stood deprived of for his Rebellion against him, ever since the first Year of his Reign.

[5.] Then the King of Scots met King William in the Country of Lothian upon the Borders of England, who had lost a great many Men and Horses by Hunger and long Marches. Robert de Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, seeing the Scots so well prepared, sent for Edgar Atheling to come privately to him, (who ever since his late Banishment out of Normandy had resided in Scotland) and by his means a Peace was clapt up between the two Kings on these Conditions: First, That Malcolm should yield the King the same Obedience as he had done to his Father King William. Secondly, That the King should restore to Malcolm Twelve Mannors, which he had formerly held under his Father, and should also pay him every year Twelve Marks of Gold. But this Peace did not last long, as you will find hereafter; therefore in consideration of this good Office, the King was

Anno Dom.

MXCI.

[1.]

C.S. F.W.  
Duke Robert  
Banishes Ed-  
gar Atheling.

[2.]

C.S. F.W.

[3.]

Idem.

The King and  
his Brother  
Duke Robert  
march against  
Scotland.

[4.]

S. D.

The King re-  
stores the  
Bishop of  
Durham.

[5.]

Idem. Ibid.

F. W.

The King  
makes Peace  
with the King  
of Scots by  
the Mediation  
of Edgar  
Atheling.And on what  
Conditions.



Anno Dom.  
MXCI.

[1.]  
P. 701.  
Another Re-  
lation of the  
making this  
Peace by  
means of  
Duke Robert.

again reconciled to Prince *Edgar*, and thereupon both the Kings re-  
turned home in peace.

But [1.] *Ordericus Vitalis* relates this Transaction somewhat another  
way; that this Peace was made chiefly by the means of Duke *Robert*,  
for that the King of *Scots* refused to Treat with any but him; to  
whom, as to the Eldest Son and Heir of King *William*, he was will-  
ing to yield what ever was due; and that the Duke thereupon going  
to him, and after having entertain'd him very kindly for the space of  
three days, the King carried him at last to the top of a high Moun-  
tain, from whence he shewed him two great Armies, with which he  
said he was ready to fight his Brother, for having never promised him  
any thing, he owed him nothing; but was ready to do to him what  
he had promised to his Father: But the Duke civilly refusing it, per-  
swaded that King to go along with him to King *William*; from whom,  
as from a richer and more powerful Prince, he needed not doubt of a  
kind Reception. And that then the King went with him; so upon  
this Interview they were made Friends.

But this Story I take to be as true as the rest of the Speech this Au-  
thor makes for King *Malcolm*, that his Wife Queen *Margaret* was be-  
trothed to him by King *Edward the Confessor*; and that at the same  
time he received *Lothian* at his hands: Both which are quite contrary  
to the Testimony of the *Saxon Annals*, and of all other *English Hi-*  
*storians*, as you will find hereafter in this Reign; therefore I look up-  
on this whole Relation to be invented by the *Norman Monks*, to ad-  
vance the Honour of their Duke *Robert*.

[2.]  
C. S.  
Duke Robert  
with Edgar  
Atheling  
returns into  
Normandy.

But this is more certain concerning this Duke, [2.] that when he  
had stayed with the King till toward *Christmass*, and found that he  
would not truly perform the Conditions of the Peace lately agreed  
upon between them, he went on Board his Ships two days before that  
Feast, and taking *Edgar Atheling* along with him, passed over into  
*Normandy*.

Great Part of  
South-Wales  
Conquer'd by  
the English  
and Normans.  
[3.]  
P. 124.  
And on what  
Occasion.

During the King's absence there happen'd the total Conquest of  
all the Country of *Glamorgan* and *Morganwg* in *South-Wales*, a short  
account of which I shall give you from [3.] *Dr. Powel's Welsh Chro-*  
*nicle*, under the year of our Lord 1091, viz. that in the fourth year  
of the Reign of King *William Rufus*, *Jestyn*, the Son of *Gurgant*, be-  
ing Lord of the Territories of *Glamorgan* and *Morganwg*, *Rees ap*  
*Tewdor* Prince of *South-Wales* (that is of *Caermarthen* and *Cardigan*  
Shires) made War upon him; whereupon *Jestyn* finding himself too  
weak to withstand Prince *Rees* without some foreign Aides, sent  
one *Eneon*, a Gentleman of his, into *England*, to one *Robert Fitz-ha-*  
*mon*, a valiant Man, and Knight of the King's Privy Chamber, for  
assistance. *Robert* being desirous to Exercise himself in the Feats of Arms,  
soon agreed with *Eneon* for a Salary to be paid him for his Service  
when perform'd. Whereupon *Robert Fitz-hamon* also retained for this  
Expedition Twelve other Knights, and a competent number of Sol-  
diers, with whom he march'd into *Wales*, and joyning there with the  
Forces of *Jestyn*, fought with Prince *Rees ap Tewdor*, and killed him,  
together with *Conan* his Son. After which Victory, the said *Robert*  
*Fitz-hamon* resolving to return home with his Company, demanded  
his Salary due to him from *Jestyn*, according to the Covenants agreed  
upon between him and *Eneon*, on the behalf of his Master; which *Jestyn*  
denying



denying to perform, they thereupon fell out; and at last it came to a Battle; and when *Eneon* saw his Master thus to go from divers of those Articles that had been agreed with *Robert Fitz-hamon* on his behalf, he forsook his Master, and took part (both he and his Friends) with *Robert Fitz-hamon*, in which Conflict *Jestyn*, with a great number of his Men, were slain, whereby *Robert Fitz-hamon* conquered the whole County of *Glamorgan*, with its Appurtenances; of which he gave certain Castles and Mannors to the Twelve Knights that assisted him in this Expedition, as a reward of their Service; some of whose Posterity enjoy part of those Lands to this day.

This again shews us, that the Ruin of the Princes of *Wales* proceeded from the Division of that Principality into so many small Shares, the Lords of which (being oppressed by their chief Princes) called in the *English* to their Assistance, who never fail'd to make their Advantage of those unnatural Divisions.

I have nothing more to add under this Year, [4.] but certain strange Accidents; That in *October* happened so great a Thunder and Lightning in *Gloustershire*, that it made a great Hole in the Tower of the Abbey Church of *Winchelcomb*, and passing through it, broke one of the Beams in sunder, and struck off the Head and one of the Leggs of the Great Crucifix, overthrowing the Image of the Virgin *Mary*, that stood by it; this was followed by so intollerable a stench, that the Monks thought good to drive it away with Incense, Holy Water, and Singing of Psalms; for they supposed nothing but the Devil himself durst have treated their Images so rudely.

[5.] Also about the beginning of *November* following, there arose such a violent Storm from the South-West, as overthrew Six hundred Houses, and divers Churches in *London*: Which Tempest took off the whole Roof of the Church of *St. Mary le Bow* in *Cheapside*, and carried it a good way, to the amazement of all that saw it; and then the Rafter struck into the Ground with that prodigious force, that Six of them (being Twenty seven foot long) were fixed so deep into the Earth in the same order as they stood in the Church, that not above a third or fourth part of them were to be seen above Ground; so that not being without great difficulty to be dig'd out, they were fain to cut off the Ends even with the Ground; This would seem incredible, unless we consider, that the Streets were not then Paved, as they are now; and did not such grave Authors as *William* of *Malmesbury*, who lived at that time, and *Florence* of *Worcester*, who flourished not many years after, assure us of it.

Also about this time, [1.] there was a great Dispute in the *Roman* Church between *Odo* Bishop of *Ostia*, who had been chosen Pope at *Rome* by the Name of *Urban* the Second, and *Wibert* Archbishop of *Ravenna*, who had also been Elected and Named *Clement* by the Cardinals of the Emperor's Party, so that *England* for a great while owned neither of them; for tho' *Italy* and *France* had already acknowledged *Urban*, yet King *William* was more inclinable to *Wibert*.

This year affords us little of Civil Affairs, besides [2.] King *William's* marching with his Army into the *North*, and there rebuilding the Antient City of *Carlisle*, called (in *Latin*) *Luguballia*, together with the Castle which had been destroyed by the *Danes*, and lain in Ruins for above Two hundred years.

Anno Domini  
MXCI.

[4.]  
F. W.  
The strange  
Effect of  
Lightning at  
*Winchelcomb*  
Abbey.

[5.]  
Idem. ib.  
W. M.  
P. 71. b.  
A strange  
Storm of  
Wind at *Lon-*  
*don*, and its  
wonderful  
force.

[1.]  
Idem. ib.  
A Great  
Schism at  
*Rome*.

Anno Domini  
MXCII.

[2.] F. W.  
King *William*  
Rebuilds *Car-*  
*lisle*.

In



Anno Dom.  
MXCII.

[3.]  
O. V.  
P. 698.  
Damfront in  
Normandy sur-  
renders to  
Henry the  
Duke's Bro-  
ther.

[4.]  
F. W.

A Dispute  
between the  
Bishops of  
York and Lin-  
coln about the  
Jurisdiction  
of the New  
Church there  
built.

[5.]  
S. D. W.

[1.]

Idem.  
The Bishop's  
See removed  
from Wells to  
Bath.

Anno Dom.  
MXCIII.

[2.]  
Eadmerus. W.

P. 15.  
The King re-  
fuses to make  
an Archbishop  
of Canterbury.

But falling  
Sick, is at last  
perswaded to  
fill up that  
See, and Lin-  
coln.

[3.]

Id. Ib.  
Abbot Anselm  
made Arch-  
bishop, and  
Robert Bloet  
Bp. of Lincoln.

[4.]

Id. Ib.  
Anselm hard-  
ly perswaded  
to accept the  
Archbishopri.

In *Normandy* I find nothing to have happened considerable, [3.] but that the strong Sea-Port Town of *Damfront*, being weary of the Yoke of *Robert de Belleme* their Governour, privately sent for *Henry*, Duke *Robert's* Brother, and Surrender'd the Town into his hands, and received him for their Lord: Who having thus obtain'd it by the Assistance of his Friends, Garison'd it very well, and made it his Refuge, till such time as King *William* his Brother being reconciled to him, and having need of his Service, sent for him over, as you will find two years hence.

As for Ecclesiastical matters there happened nothing Remarkable, [4.] but that *Remigius* Bishop of *Dorchester*, having in the last King's Reign removed his Episcopal See from that Town in *Oxfordshire* to *Lincoln*, and there built a stately Church, that City with the Country about it, was Challenged by *Thomas* Archbishop of *York*, as lying within his Diocess; [5.] which Claim the King underhand encouraged, till at length upon payment of a great Sum of Money to the King, *Remigius* obtain'd of him to declare in his favour: then all the Bishops in *England* were commanded to be present at the Consecration of the New Church; but two days before that Solemnity, the Bishop died suddenly, and put an End to the matter; being a Prelate of a great Soul, but of a very little contemptible Stature.

[1.] Also the same year, *John* Bishop of *Wells*, for a Sum of Money paid to the King, had his License to Translate the Bishop's See from *Wells* to *Bath*, ever since which this Bishoprick hath been known by both those Titles; nor did any thing else happen this year worth noting, but that great part of the City of *London* was Burnt.

Where King *William* kept his *Christmas* this Year, our Authors do not tell us; only [2.] *Eadmerus* says, That when all the chief Men of the Kingdom met at the King's Court according to Custom, some of them complain'd, that the Church of *Canterbury* had long wanted its Pastor, therefore they resolv'd to move the King to fill up that vacant See; but He would then by no means hearken to it; tho' one of the Earls who had the King's Ear, propos'd *Anselm*, Abbot of *Bec* in *Normandy*, as a Man very Pious and fit for that Dignity: But in *Lent* following falling very Sick at the Mannor of *Alvestan* in *Gloucestershire*, he was carried from thence to *Gloucester*, and there his Disease increasing, he lay Sick all the *Lent*, insomuch that he thought he should have died; then all the Bishops, Barons, and Abbots, who came on purpose to wait on him, and take their last leaves, perswaded him to Repentance, and not to let the vacant Bishopricks out to Farm, as he had hitherto done, but bestow them upon worthy Men; to which he was then inclined to yield; and thereupon vow'd to God, that if ever he should recover, he would abrogate all unjust Laws, and ordain right ones in their stead.

[3.] In performance of which Vow, he bestowed the Bishoprick of *Lincoln* upon *Robert Bloet* his Chancellor, and the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* upon Abbot *Anselm*, who was then newly come into *England* to visit *Hugh* Earl of *Chester*, that then lay Sick, and was like to die.

But *Anselm* well knowing the wide difference between the King's disposition and his own, was very loath at first to accept of so Great a Charge; but at length he yielded to the King's Intreaties (who then seemed



seemed extraordinary penitent) and the persuasions of the Bishops and Noblemen that had a high opinion of his Sanctity, and so he received the Crozier and Ring at the King's hands, and did him Homage, as his Predecessors had usually done; as for the particular Circumstances of this Transaction, being somewhat tedious and improper to our present design, I shall refer the more curious Reader to [5.] *Eadmerus* his relation of it, where you will find the Archbishop to have been very Judicious, (not to say Prophetick) in his fore-knowledge of what related to the King and himself.

[1.] So soon as the King recovered from his Sickness, instead of becoming better, he grew much worse, and wholly alter'd and disannull'd whatever he had already done; for he commanded the Prisoners (not yet dismissed) to be kept more closely than before; and those already discharged, to be again taken up: In short, all things were reduced to the same state (or worse) than they were in before, and brought under the management of those who rather endeavoured to subvert, than defend Justice, and who took more care to get Money, than to correct offences.

[2.] However, the Consecration of the new Archbishop was perform'd at *Canterbury*, about the beginning of *September*, with the usual Solemnities, where he also received the wonted Submissions of *Thomas* Archbishop of *York*, with the rest of the Bishops of *England*: But the former refused to agree to the Instrument of his Election, in which the Church of *Canterbury* was called the Metropolitan of all *Britain*, saying, *If that be the only Metropolitan, then the Church of York is none, tho' it is well known so to be: We indeed allow the Church of Canterbury to be the chief, but not the sole Metropolitan of all Britain.* Whereupon the Writing was alter'd, and for *Totius Britanniae Metropolitanus*, it was made *Totius Angliae Primas*. And so the Controversie rested for the present.

[3.] But the Archbishop coming to Court towards *Christmas* following, was joyfully received by the King, whom he found now resolved once more to Invade *Normandy*; and lying under great difficulties how to carry on the War, *Anselm* was persuaded by his Friends to offer the King Five hundred Pounds, as a free Gift or Present; which was at first very kindly accepted, but the King being afterward incensed by some about him refused it, expecting to have it doubled; whereupon some sharp speeches passed between Him and the Archbishop, which are related at large by *Eadmerus*, but the Archbishop's stout denial of any further Money was the first occasion of the King's unkindness to him.

[4.] Not long after, *Malcolm* King of *Scotland* came to King *William* about *Bartholomew-tide*, being then at *Gloucester*, as had been before agreed by his Ambassadors; he was accompanied thither by *Edgar Atheling* his Brother in Law, and the design of his coming was, that the late Peace being now confirm'd, a lasting Friendship might be made between the two Kings, which was much wished for by some of the chief Nobility; but their desires were wholly frustrated; for either out of pride, or some particular prejudice to *Malcolm's* Person, King *William* would not so much as vouchsafe to speak with, or admit him into his Presence; which the King of *Scotland* took so heinously (as well he might) that he returned home big with that

rage,

Anno Dom.  
MXCHII.

[5.]  
Lib. I. p. 16, 17,  
18, 19.

[1.]  
Idem. Ib.  
P. 19.  
The King upon his Recovery very disannuls almost all he had done.

[2.]  
Idem. Ib.  
P. 20, 21.  
The new Archbishop Consecrated at *Canterbury*, where he received the Submissions of all the Bishops.

[3.]  
Id. Ibid.  
Archbishop *Anselm* coming to Court, there arises a great difference between the King and him, and on what occasion.

[4.]  
S. D.  
King *Malcolm* comes to visit King *William*.

But thinking himself affronted by the King's not seeing him, immediately returns home.



Anno Dom.  
MXCIII.

\* Curia.

King Malcolm  
as soon as  
he return'd  
home, rais'd  
an Army, and  
Invading En-  
gland, is there  
slain.

\* Hector Boeth.  
& Buchanan.

Prince Ed-  
ward, Son to  
Malcolm, slain  
at the same  
Time.

[1.] S. D. F. W.  
Queen Mar-  
garet upon  
hearing the  
News, dies  
of Grief.

\* Her Chara-  
cter.

[2.] S. D.  
King Mal-  
colm's Body  
buried at  
Tyamthe.

rage, which broke out not long after in a cruel and terrible War.

Now, tho' our Monkish Historians do not directly tell us the reasons which induced King *William* to treat his Royal Neighbour thus rudely, who came so far to make him a visit, yet I cannot believe him transported with meer pride or prejudice, but pure reason of State; which is hinted at in *Simeon of Durham*, who tells us, that King *William* then required of *Malcolm* to do him Homage in his own Court, or Great Council, (which he utterly refused to do any where but in the Confines of both Kingdoms, as the Kings of *Scotland* were wont to do in former times. Now this being (I suppose) required to be agreed to before *Malcolm's* admittance into the King's Presence, and being by him refused, might be the reason why the King would not admit of an Interview with him.

[5.] But let the cause of this misunderstanding be what it will, King *Malcolm*, as soon as he return'd into *Scotland*, rais'd an Army, and Invading *England* as far as *Alnewick*, made great Devastations; but *Robert Mowbray*, Earl of *Northumberland*, with what Forces he could get together, setting upon him unawares near that Town, unfortunately slew him upon *St. Brice's day*. He was a Prince of great courage and vertue, tho' too apt to revenge the least injuries; our *Saxon Annals* relate that he was slain by one *Moreal of Bebanburgh*, who was the Earl's Steward, but the *Scottish* Historians say he was killed very treacherously; for having Besieged the Castle of *Alnewick*, and reduced it to that extremity, that those within were forced to treat of a Surrender; and it being agreed to, they only desired that the King in Person would receive the Keys of the Castle, which were brought by a Soldier upon the top of his Lance, who, standing within the Wall of the Castle, thrust the point of the Lance into the King's Eye, as he was going to take them. This sounds very improbable, for how could the Soldier be sure to hit the King in the Eye? and if he had fail'd of his Thrust, what could he expect but certain destruction to himself and the whole Garison. But this is certain, that his Eldest Son, Prince *Edward*, who accompanied him in this Expedition, going about to revenge his death, fell too rashly upon the Enemy, and received a Wound of which he soon after died. The *Scots* having received so great a loss by the death of both their Kings returned home under a terrible Consternation.

When [1.] *Q. Margaret* heard at once of the death both of the King her Husband, and the Prince her Son, she was taken with such a sudden failure of Spirits, that immediately going to the Church, and there desiring of God not long to survive so great a loss; she had her Prayers granted, and departed this life within three days after she had heard this killing News. Being a Princess of most Exemplary Piety and Charity to the Poor, whom she often served with her own hands.

But notwithstanding what the *Scottish* Historians relate of the safe Retreat of their Army from this Expedition, *Simeon of Durham* is positive, that all the rest of it did either perish by the Sword, or else were drown'd in the Rivers, which were then so much swelled by the Winter Rains, that they had overflown their Banks.

[2.] Now to shew further the Errour of those Writers, it appears that their King's Corps remain'd in the power of the *English*, which being



being found among the Slain, two Country fellows put it in a Cart, and carried it to the Monastery of *Tynmuthe* to be buried there, which could never have been done had he been killed amongst his own Subjects, who would then certainly have kept the Body, and carried it into *Scotland*.

The King being thus dead (as you have heard) the *English* [3.] Historians relate, that the Nobility of that Kingdom assembling with one consent Elected *Duffnal* (or *Donald*) Brother to *Malcolm* to be their King, expelling *Edgar Atheling*, with all the *English* that were settled in *Scotland*; who taking with them the Children of the late King *Malcolm* sought refuge in *England*; where they were kindly received.

[4.] But King *Donald* did not long hold the Kingdom; for *Duncan*, a base Son to the late King being then in the Court of *William Rufus* as a Hostage, desired the King's assistance to obtain his Father's Kingdom, who thereupon granting his request, (and having first taken an Oath of Fealty to himself,) furnished him with a great Army of *English* and *Normans*, with which he marched against his Uncle, who had then also newly Invaded *England*; and coming to a Battel, he utterly routed this *Donald*, and forced him to flee into the *Western Isles*, and *Duncan* was immediately Crowned King in his Room.

[5.] I have given you this piece of *Scottish* History to let you see that the Succession of that Crown was not yet so settled in a *Right Line*, but that the *Scottish* Nation made bold to Elect two Kings together (one of which was a Bastard) in prejudice of Prince *Edgar*, Eldest Son to the late King *Malcolm*.

[1.] As for other foreign Affairs I find none, only that *Rhees* King or Prince of the *Welshmen* was killed this Year in *Easter Week*, in a Fight near *Brecknock Castle*, from which time Kings have ceased to rule in *Wales*, I suppose the Author means in *South-Wales*; for *North-Wales* enjoy'd its own Princes for above a hundred and fifty years after.

[2.] King *William* keeping his *Christmass* this year at *Gloucester*, there came Ambassadors from Duke *Robert* out of *Normandy*, who told the King, that his Brother would no longer keep the Articles of Peace on his part, unless the King would also perform what he had promised and sworn to observe; and telling him plainly that he was perjur'd for having thus violated his Oath. But the King upon the receipt of this Message was resolved to be before hand with his Brother, and immediately marched with his Army to *Hastings* about *Candlemass*, where he waited for a Wind a whole Month; and during his stay there deprived [3.] *Herbert* Bishop of *Thetford*, of his Pastoral Staff, because he was about to go privately to the Pope to obtain Absolution of his *Simony*, in buying that Bishoprick for himself, besides an Abbey for his Father of the King, for One thousand Pounds; yet this Bishop not long after got the King's Leave to go to *Rome*; and having there obtain'd the Pope's Pardon, built the Cathedral Church of *Norwich*, as you will find anon.

[4.] But at last King *William* about *Mid-Lent* passed over into *Normandy*, and soon after his Arrival had an Enterview with his Brother, about a Treaty of Peace, but they could by no means hit upon it: However a Second Meeting was appointed by the Mediation of their

Anno Dom.  
MXCIII.

[3.]  
F. W. S. D.  
The Scottish Nobility Elect Donald, Brother to Malcolm for their King, setting aside his Children.

[4.]  
C. S.  
Duncan base Son to Malcolm, by the Assistance of King William, routs Donald, and kills him.

[5.]  
The Scottish Succession not yet settled in a Right Line.

[1.]  
F. W.  
Rhees Prince of Wales slain.

Anno Dom.  
MXCIV.

[2.]  
C. S. F. W.  
Ambassadors from Duke Robert, and their Message. They upbraid the King with breach of his Oath. Herbert Bishop of Thetford deprived by the King.

[3.]  
S. D.

[4.]  
C. S. F. W.  
The King goes over into Normandy against his Brother Duke Robert.



Anno Dom.  
MXCIV.

\* Where they  
lay I know  
not.

The Brothers  
meet and part  
without com-  
ing to any  
Agreement.

[5.]  
Idem.

King William  
draws off  
many Noble-  
men from his  
Brother.

The Duke re-  
takes several  
Castles.

[1.]  
Idem.

The King  
sends into  
England, and  
raises more  
Men, who be-  
ing ready,  
he takes  
Money of  
each of them,  
and so lets  
them go.

[2.]  
C. S.

Duke Robert  
joins his for-  
ces with those  
of the French  
King; who  
being bought  
off, King  
William re-  
turns home.

King William  
sends for his  
Brother Henry,  
and is re-on-  
ciled to him.

[3.]

Dr. Powel's  
Chron.

The Welsh  
take Arms,  
and Invade  
the English  
Conquest.

common Friends in the Fields of \* *Martius*, where those Barons who had taken their Oaths to see the Peace observed on both sides, cast all the blame upon the King, who yet would neither acknowledge his fault, nor perform the Agreement; so that they departed from each other much more exasperated than they were before.

[5.] Then the Duke went to *Rouën*, and the King returned to the Castle of *Eu*; and whilst he stayed there, he hired a great number of Soldiers, and drew off many *Norman* Noblemen from his Brother's Alliance, by promising some of them ready Money, and others Great Estates in *England*, provided they would deliver up their Castles into his hands; which when he had obtained, he presently Garrison'd them with the Soldiers he had before raised.

The King also took the Castle of *Buers*, with all the Duke's Men that were in it; some of whom he sent Prisoners into *England*, and others he kept in *Normandy*: But the Duke having obtained some Forces of the King of *France*, Besieged and took the Castle of *Argentine*, with Eight hundred Men in it, who were all made Prisoners; So the King of *France* return'd home. Then Duke *Robert* Besieged the Castle of *Holme*, until he forced *William Peverel* the Governour, with all the Men to Surrender at Discretion.

[1.] When the King had received this bad News, he sent over into *England*, and Commanded Twenty thousand Foot to be immediately raised and Transported to him, who being all Mustered at *Hastings*, *Ranulph* the King's Treasurer, by his Order, told the Men, that each of them paying Ten Shillings (which it seems had been before given by those that raised them for their Maintenance) they might all return home, and be dismissed their present Service. By which artifice the King had a good Sum of Money sent him into *Normandy*, which it seems he most of all wanted. So that *England* was grievously afflicted, as well this Year as the next, with heavy Taxes, and great Mortality.

[2.] Duke *Robert* by thus joining his Forces with those of the King of *France*, was now become so strong, that they marched together in a Body towards the Castle of *Eu*, intending to have Besieged King *William* there; but when they came as far as *Longueville*, the King of *France* being prevailed upon, either by the Money or Persuasions of King *William*, returned home again; so that the whole Army was forced to retreat. In the mean time the King had sent for his Brother *Henry* (who was then in the Castle of *Damfront*, being at variance with Duke *Robert*) to come to him; and because he could not come through *Normandy*, for fear of the Enemy, *Hugh* Earl of *Chester* was sent to bring him by Sea; but instead of going to that Castle where the King was, (I know not for what reason) they set Sail for *England*, and Landing at *Southampton*, after some stay there, he went thence to *London*, where they remained till the King came over.

[3.] Whilst King *William* continued in *Normandy*, first the *Northern Welshmen*, and then those of *South-Wales* endeavoured to cast off the *Norman* Yoke, and recover their Antient Liberties; the former reduc'd the Castle in the Isle of *Anglesey* unto their Obedience; and *Griffyth ap Conan* King of *North-Wales*, with *Cadogan ap Blethyn*, who then ruled *South-Wales*, entred the Country of *Cardigan*, and killed a great



a great number of *Normans*, being no longer able to suffer their insolent pride and cruelty; but after their return, the *English* Captains sent over for more Men, and thought suddenly to make an Incurſion into *North-Wales*, which being diſcovered to *Cadogan*, he gathered his Forces and met with them in the Wood or Forest of *Iſpys*, and ſet upon the *English* and *Normans* with great Out-cries; and tho' they defended themſelves very manfully, yet in the end they were forced to flee with great loſs; and *Cadogan* purſuing them cloſely, ſpoiled the Countries of *Cardigan* and *Dyvet*, and deſtroyed all the Caſtles, except *Pembroke* and *Rydcors*, which he could not take, and ſo returned to *Powys* with great Rejoycing.

Anno Dom.  
MXCIV.

[4.] Then King *William* being informed of the great Slaughter of his Subjects in *Cheshire*, *Shropshire*, and other bordering Counties, which *Griffyth ap Conan*, and the Sons of *Blethyn ap Conuyn*, had lately made, was conſtrained to leave the War of *Normandy* unfinished, and returning into *England*, preſently after *Chriſtmaſs* gathered a great Army, and entered *Wales* by the way of *Montgomery*, which Caſtle being lately demolish'd by the *Welſhmen*, he new built again; but they kept ſo cloſe in the Straites of the Mountains, encompassed with Woods and Rivers, that the King could do them no harm; ſo that loſing his labour, and (which was worſe) many of his beſt Men, he returned back with ſhame and diſhonour.

Anno Dom.  
MXCV.

[4.]  
F. W. S. D.  
Dr. Powel's  
Chron.  
King *William*  
returns, and  
Invades *Wales*,  
but without  
any ſucceſs.

[5.] In the mean time the King ſent his Brother *Henry* into *Normandy* with a great Sum of Money to make War upon Duke *Robert*, whom he often overcame in fight, and did a great deal of miſchief both to his Territories and Subjects.

[5.]  
C. S.  
He ſends his  
Brother *Henry*  
into *Norman-*  
*dy* to make  
War upon his  
Brother *Ro-*  
*bert*.

The King now kept his Court at *Eaſter* in *Wincheſter*, where *Robert de Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland* reſuſed to appear; at which the King, being much incenſed, ſent him a threatening Meſſage, commanding him not to fail to come at the *Whitſontide* following; which Feaſt the King kept at *Windſor*, all his Great Men being preſent, except that Earl, who came not at all, becauſe (as he pretended) the King would not give him ſafe Conduſt for his coming and returning again. But the true reaſon of his diſobedience was, [1.] that he had now entered into a ſecret Conſpiracy with *William* Earl of *Eu*, and divers other *Norman* Noblemen, to deprive King *William* both of his Life and Kingdom, and to make *Stephen* Earl of *Albemarle* his Siſter's Son, King in his room. But their Plot came to nothing, for being diſcovered, the King gathered a great Army throughout *England*, and beſieged *Newcaſtle* at the mouth of the River *Tyne*, for the ſpace of two Months; and tho' without taking that, yet however he took another ſmaller Fortreſs, wherein were many of the Earl's beſt Soldiers; after which the King at laſt made himſelf Maſter of *Newcaſtle*, together with the Earl's Brother, and many Knights, whom he committed to ſafe Cuſtody.

The Earl of  
*Northumber-*  
*land* Rebels:  
[1.]  
F. W.

The King  
takes *Newca-*  
*ſtle*.

[2.]  
P. 703.  
Some other  
Particulars in  
this Expedi-  
tion.

But [2.] *Ordericus Vitalis* gives us ſome Particulars of this action, that are omitted by others; as that the King in his March from thence was like to have been ſurprized by an Ambuſh which *Robert de Mowbray* had laid for him in a Wood, but it being diſcovered to him, and the deſign prevented by *Gilbert de Tonbridge*, one of the chief Conſpirators, the King marched on to *Banborough* Caſtle in which the Earl then was.



Anno Dom.  
MXCV.

[3.]  
F. W. C. S.

Robert Earl of  
Northumber-  
land taken  
Prisoner.

[3.] But the King not being able to take it by reason of the strength of the Place, he built another Fortrefs over against it to Block it up, naming it *Mal-voisin*, (which is in *French* an *ill Neighbour*) and having put a good Garison into it, return'd himself into the *Southern* parts; after whose departure some Soldiers belonging to *Newcastle* upon *Tyne* promised Earl *Robert* that they would give him Entrance into it, if he would come thither privately, with a few followers; at which he being very well pleased, went out one Night with about Thirty Soldiers to seize it, but being betrayed by some of his own Men, he was pursued by the Garison out of the Fortrefs of *Mal-voisin*, as far as to the *Monastery* of *St. Oswin* near *Tinmouth*, where (not being able to reach *Newcastle*) he made what resistance he could; but several of his Men being killed or wounded, and he himself hurt in his Leg, he at last fled into the Church, from whence he was taken out by force, and committed close Prisoner.

[4.]  
Idem.  
The Welshmen  
Invade the  
Borders.

The King a-  
gain Invades  
Wales, but  
without any  
effect.

[5.]  
Idem. Ibid.  
Banborough  
Castle Sur-  
rendered.

[1.]  
C. S.  
Many Noble-  
men and  
Clergy-men  
accused to  
have been in  
the late Plot.

[2.]  
F. W. S. D.  
Wulfstan Bi-  
shop of Wor-  
cester dies.

[4.] In the mean time the *Welshmen* made fresh Incurfions; and having taken the Castle of *Montgomery*, they slew there divers Soldiers belonging to *Hugh* Earl of *Shrewsbury*; but when it came to the King's ears, he was so exceedingly provoked at it, that he immediately commanded another Expedition against the *Welsh*, tho' it were now after *Michaelmas*, and presently marched himself into *Wales*, dividing his Forces, so that his whole Army met at the Feast of *All-Saints* under a high Mountain in *Caernarvonshire*, called *Snowdon*; but the *Welsh* having retreated into their Fastnesses in the Bogs where no Body could follow them, the King was forced to return home; the Winter so fast approaching, that it would have hinder'd any considerable action. Thus did he make as little of this Expedition as he did of the former; having lost a great many Men and Horses to no purpose.

[5.] But so soon as the King return'd, he commanded the Earl of *Northumberland* (who was still a Prisoner) to be carried before his Castle of *Banborough*, and there to have both his Eyes put out, unless his Wife, and *Moreal* his Steward who then held it, would agree to a Surrender; which they were thereupon forced to do. Then *Moreal* [1.] being brought into the King's Court (or Great Council) many considerable Men, as well of the Clergy as Laity were by him accused, as being privy to the late Conspiracy; Some of whom the King commanded to be committed to Prison, and then sent out a severe Summons, by virtue of which all those who held Lands of the King were obliged to appear at his Court at the Feast of *Easter* ensuing, under pain of his high displeasure; but as for Earl *Robert*, the King commanded him to be carried to the Castle of *Windsor*, and there kept close Prisoner, where he continued as long as he lived.

[2.] As for the Ecclesiastical Affairs of this Year, that Pious Prelate *Wulfstan* Bishop of *Worcester* deceased in the beginning of *January*, being the only *English* Bishop who was left of those Ordained in King *Edward's* time; and after his Decease no *Englishman* was advanced to any Bishoprick till the Reign of King *Henry the Second*, in whose time all Distinction between *English* and *Frenchmen*, as to Preferment, was happily laid aside. About *Easter* following, *Valter*, Bishop of *Alba*, the Pope's Nuntio, came into *England*, and brought over the *Pall* for Archbishop *Anselm*; and having stayed here great part of the



the Year he carried back with him the *Rome's-Scot*, or *Peter-pence*, which it seems had not been paid in a great while before.

Anno Dom.  
MXCV.

I shall also from [3.] *Eadmerus* give you a fuller Account of the Great Quarel that now arose between the King and Archbishop *Anselm*, who (you must know) before he was made Archbishop, had unknown to the Court own'd *Urban* for Lawful Pope, which the King had hitherto refused to do, but rather inclin'd to his Antagonist, *Clement*; but the Archbishop having a mind to go to *Rome*, attended on the King at *Ilingham*, not far from *Shaftsbury*, and desired his leave to go beyond Sea to procure his Pall from the Pope; the King asked him from what Pope? *Anselm* answered from Pope *Urban*: Then the King replied, That he himself had not yet owned him for Lawful Pope; and it never had been the Custom either of his Father or himself, that any One should own a Pope in *England* without their License; and whoever would deprive him of this Prerogative, did as good as endeavour to pull the Crown it self from off his Head. To which *Anselm* return'd, That he had already told him before he was Consecrated, whilst he was only Abbot of *Bec*, he had acknowledged *Urban* for the true Vicar of Christ. Whereupon the King being much moved, presently protested it was impossible to make the Fidelity he owned due to the Crown consist with his Opposite Obedience to a Pope not own'd by his Sovereign. Then *Anselm* humbly desired some respite for the further Examination of this matter, until the Bishops, Abbots, and Chief Men of the Kingdom at their Convention might determine by Common Consent, whither those Two Things were not very consistent; for if it appear otherwise, I must needs confess (said he very modestly) I had much rather quit your Kingdom until you receive the true Pastor, than deny Obedience to St. *Peter* and his Viear, tho' but for an hour.

[3.]  
Hist. Nou.  
Lib. 1. p. 25.  
The Original  
of the Quar-  
rel between  
the King and  
Archbishop  
*Anselm*.

Wherefore the Business was put off for the present, and by the King's Summons almost All the Nobility of *England* met about the beginning of *March* at *Rockingham* Castle in *Northamptonshire*.

[4.] Where there was a Great Council held on *Sunday*, in the Chapel of that Castle, about One of the Clock in the Afternoon. But the King and his Councillors in the mean time had privately consulted what was to be done with *Anselm*; but He having called the Bishops, Abbots, and Chief Men of the Kingdom, made a Long Speech to them, (a great number of Monks, Clerks and Laicks also assisting) in which he stated the Case between the King and Himself, as is already declared; And then put them in mind, That notwithstanding he had told them when they Elected him, that he had owned *Urban* for Lawful Pope, and would never depart from his Obedience to him; yet they had forced him to take that weighty Charge upon him fore against his Will: He now therefore desired their Advice, how he should act in so nice an Affair, as to preserve both his Canonical Obedience to the Pope, and the Fealty due to his King; since it seemed to him impossible (at present) duly to observe both. To which the Bishops very cunningly replied, that he was best able to direct himself in this great Point; tho' if they might give their Opinion, he would do well to refer the whole matter to the King's pleasure, yet if he thought fit they would further acquaint him with any thing he desired. But because this was *Sunday*, the Business was adjourned till the

[4.]  
Idem. P. 26.  
A Great  
Council held  
at *Rockin-  
gham*, and  
what was  
done there.

Morrow,



Anno Dom.  
MXCV.

[5.]  
Idem. P. 27.  
Archbishop  
Anselm's Ora-  
tion to the  
Bishops.

[1.]  
Idem. P. 28.  
What effect  
it had.

The King  
highly relents  
the Archbi-  
shop's Carri-  
age.

Morrow, when they met again in the same place; and the Archbishop anew demanding their Advice in this Great Point, which they wholly seem'd to decline, told him, if he would please absolutely to submit himself to the King's Will, he should have their frank Advice and Consent, otherwise he must not expect either from them; for he should find they would never assist him in any such matter. So they All held their peace.

[5.] Upon this *Anselm*, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, made them another Speech to this effect: "That since they had all of them refused to give Advice to Him who was their Chief, unless he would act according to the Humour of one single person, he would from thenceforth take Counsel of Him who was the *Supreme Pastor* and Head of them all: For *Christ* said to *Peter*, the Chief of the Apostles, *Upon this Rock will I build my Church, &c.* Likewise to all the Apostles in Common, *He who heareth you heareth me, and he who despiseth you despiseth me, &c.* These things as they were chiefly spoken to *St. Peter*, and in Him to All the other Apostles; so we also hold them to be spoken principally to the Vicar of *St. Peter*, and through him to all other Bishops who were to succeed the Apostles, and not to any Emperour, King, Duke, or Earl; but in our Subjection to Secular Princes, the same *Christ* hath taught and instructed us, saying, *Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars, and unto God the things that are God's.* This I approve of, and receive, and will never depart from: Wherefore know All of you in Common, that in those things which belong to God, I will yield Obedience to the Vicar of *St. Peter*, and in those things which of right concern the Dignity of my Earthly Lord and King, I will according to the best of my capacity give faithful Counsel and Assistance.

[1.] When the Archbishop had made an end of his Speech, our Author further relates, That all there present being much confounded, could only reply, That they would report his words to the King; which yet the Archbishop would not trust them to do, but went himself, and with his own mouth told him all he had said. At which the King was very angry, and consulted with his Bishops and Nobles, what answer to return; about which they spent some time before they could agree, being of several minds; but at length the Bishops with some of the Nobility made the Archbishop this Reply, (or at least to this effect): "That the King desired his speedy and positive Answer concerning those things which had been Treated of between them at *Illingham*, and were hitherto deferred; tho' he well knew the whole Kingdom complained of him, as going about to take away the King's Crown from off his Head; for, said they, whoever takes away the Antient Prerogatives belonging to the Royal Dignity, does the same in effect as if he took away the Crown from his Head; He ought therefore in the first place, to throw off his Obedience from Pope *Urban*, and submit himself intirely to the King's Will, as became an Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and also to ask his pardon, for what he had done contrary thereto. Which when the Archbishop had heard, he told them, "That he could by no means renounce his Obedience to the Pope; but desired that since it was now towards Night, the Business might be adjourned till



"till to Morrow, and then he would answer what God should inspire him with. But when they attended him next day with the same Demands, and again laid to his charge the breach of his Oath of Fidelity to the King. The Archbishop briefly replied, "Whosoever will maintain, that because I will not renounce my Obedience to the Chief Bishop of the Roman Church, therefore I break my Oath of Fidelity which I owe to my Temporal Prince, let him come forth, and (in the Name of God) he shall find me ready to answer him, as I ought. Which when they heard, looking upon each other, and knowing not what Reply to make; they returned to the King; for now they began to understand what they had not hitherto consider'd, (and which they thought he had heeded as little himself,) *That the Archbishop of Canterbury could be judged or condemned by none but the Pope, neither could he be compelled by any body to answer any Accusation, but to Him alone.*

[2.] In the mean time there arose a great murmur amongst all there present, complaining of the injury that was done to so great a Man; tho' none durst speak openly for fear of the King, one Knight excepted, who coming out from the Crowd, and kneeling down before the Archbishop, said, *My Lord and Father, your Suppliant Sons desire you by me, that you would not be troubled at those things you have heard, but be mindful of blessed Job, who overcame the Devil even upon the Dung-hill; and revenged Adam, whom he had overcome in Paradise.* Which words the Archbishop received with a pleasing look, for he thereby understood that the People were on his side.

[3.] But when this came to the King's ear, he was very much troubled, and said to the Bishops, What does this mean? Did you not promise me, you would deal with, Judge and Condemn him according to my Will? Then William Bishop of Durham (the chief Instigator of this Quarrel) not being able to give a satisfactory answer, talked very weakly; at last the Bishops desired leave to go home, that they might consider farther of this affair against the Morrow, when also finding the Archbishop's Reasons not to be easily answered, they in fine told the King, how sorry they were that they could not give him that satisfaction he required, by a positive Condemnation of the Archbishop: "For (said they) he is not only Primate of this Kingdom, but of Scotland and Ireland, and the adjacent Islands; and we (being his Suffragans) cannot Judge or Condemn him, altho' it could be proved that he were in a fault. Then replied the King, "What now remains to be done? Cannot you however renounce all Friendship with, and Obedience to him. To which they answered, Yes, if you command it. He then bid them go, and do so immediately; That Anselm seeing himself slighted and forsaken by them all, might be sorry and ashamed for having preferred Urban before him. So the Bishops went to Anselm, and did as they were commanded.

[4.] But the Archbishop made them a very discreet Reply; telling them, "They did not act well in denying him their Friendship and Obedience, because he maintained his Subjection and Fidelity to St. Peter's Successor: Yet that he would not return the like Usage, but yield them all Paternal and Brotherly affection; and that (if they would permit it) by the power God had given him, he would

Anno Dom.  
MXCV.

The Bishops dare not proceed against the Archbishop.

[2.]  
Idem. P. 29.  
A great Discontent arises in the Council.

[3.]  
Idem. 18.  
The Bishops being much perplexed, know not what to do.

[4.]  
Idem. P. 30.  
Archbishop Anselm's wheedling Speech to the Bishops.

"again



Anno Dom.  
MXCV.

“ again restore them to the right way from which they had so wretchedly swerved; and tho’ the King had refused to own him for his Archbishop and Spiritual Father, yet he promised him all faithful service and care of his Soul, if he would vouchsafe to accept it himself: Still resolving to retain the Power, Title, and Office of Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whatsoever Oppressions he might endure for so doing. This being told the King, he utterly slighted his offer’d service, and further required of the Lay-Nobility of the Kingdom, that they should renounce all Fealty to, and Friendship with him, as the Bishops had done; but they plainly told him, that they never had been his Leigemen, and so could not renounce what they never owed; but he was still their Archbishop, and ought to Govern Matters of Religion in the Kingdom; wherefore being Christians they could not decline or renounce his Power, especially not finding him guilty of any crime which might oblige the King thus to proceed against him. Which answer, tho’ not at all satisfactory, yet for fear of displeasing them all at once, he would not by any means then contradict.

[5.]  
Idem. P. 311.  
The Archbishop desires leave to depart the Kingdom.

[5.] But Archbishop *Anselm* now perceiving that there was no security left for him in *England*, desired the King’s leave and safe Conduct to depart out of it, which made the King not a little concerned; for tho’ he did really desire his absence, yet durst he not deprive him of his Archbishoprick, because he knew this would give greater offence, than any thing he had done already. Besides, he found it impossible to be done; leaving therefore the Counsel of the Bishops, by whom he now complained he was drawn into these Streights, he asked Advice of the Lay-Noblemen, what was best to be done? who thereupon consulting together, advised the King to send for the Archbishop again to Court; where, when he came, the Lay-Lords accompanied with some of the Bishops, spoke to him (as it were from themselves) to this effect, That they desiring out of Antient Friendship to him, that a perfect peace and concord might be made between the King and him, did therefore propose, that a Truce should be allowed on both sides concerning this affair, until a certain time to be agreed on between them, during which, nothing should be transacted by the King or his Subjects, nor yet any thing by the Archbishop or his Servants, which should any ways transgress this Agreement: And to this they desired his positive Answer.

The Proposal made by the Bishops and Lay-Lords to the Archbishop.

[1.]  
Id. Ib.  
His Answer to it.

[1.] Whereupon the Archbishop replied to this effect: “ That he no ways refused peace, but only desired time to consider what sort of Agreement it was they offered; yet that he might not be thought to trust intirely to his own Judgment, rather than that of others, he was contented to submit to what ever it pleased his Lord the King and them to appoint for the obtaining this Concord, still saving the Reverence which he owed to Pope *Urban*: Which Answer they approved of, and reported to the King. Whereupon a Truce was granted him by the King’s promise, until the *Octaves of Pentecost*, to which time all things were to remain as they were.

But our Author tells us, that this Cessation was not at all well observed on the King’s part; for within a few days after he drove one *Baldwin a Monk* (upon whose Advice the Archbishop chiefly depended) and Two other of his Clerks out of *England*, besides doing several Injuries to the Archbishop’s Servants.

[2.] But



[2.] But some days before the time expir'd *Walter* Bishop of *Alba* came into *England*, Legate from Pope *Urban*, bringing along with him two Clerks of the King's Chappel, *William* and *Gerard*, whom the King had sent over before privately to *Rome*, (without the knowledg of *Anselm*) being desirous to learn by them the true state of the *Roman* Church, for there were then (as we have already said) two Popes, who were both called Apostolical by their different parties; but which of them was chosen Canonically, and which till that very time was wholly unknown in *England*; and therefore these two Clerks had been sent over to discover the truth of that matter, which when they had found out, they were order'd (if they could) to bring the True Pope to this Point, that he should send over the Pall to the King, for the use of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, without specifying his name; by which means the King believed, that *Anselm* being Deposed from his Archbishoprick, and Banished the Kingdom, he might afterwards dispose of the Pall in the Pope's stead upon whomsoever he would; But this design miscarried, tho' the King thought he had laid it very cunningly and sure.

[3.] For the two Clerks he had sent, judging Pope *Urban*'s Title to be the best, and having thereupon acknowledg'd him; the said Legate was sent over with them into *England*, bringing the Pall along with him, and seem'd at first to comply so far with the King's designs, that passing privately by *Canterbury*, as it were on purpose to avoid the Bishop, he made hast to the King's Presence, not speaking to any one in the absence of his two Conductors, as the King had ordered, the better to cover his Design. Thus he came to the King some days before *Pentecost*, and put him in great hopes, by his smooth and cunning Answers, to every thing that was propos'd to him, saying nothing on *Anselm*'s behalf, or that might tend to a Reconciliation between them; whereupon many began to suspect that the Pope had been wrought upon by the King's Money, to sacrifice the Archbishop to his Resentments.

[4.] Wherefore the King believing that the Legate would declare all things from Pope *Urban* according to his own mind, and that if he should receive him for Pope in his Kingdom, he would then confirm by his Apostolical Authority what he had now desired, he commanded *Urban* to be acknowledged for Lawful Pope, throughout all his Dominions. After which the King dealt privately with the Legate, promising him a great Sum of Money, besides what he would pay yearly to the *Roman* See, if he wou'd but concur with him to deprive *Anselm* of his Archbishoprick.

[5.] But the Legate having now done the business which he came about, was too cunning for the King in this affair, and knowing it not for his Master's interest to discourage so faithful a Servant as *Anselm*, he at last plainly told the King, That what he desired could by no means be granted: Which when He heard, he was cruelly vexed, perceiving he had gain'd nothing at all by receiving and acknowledg-ing this new *Roman* Bishop; yet considering that what was done was not to be recalled, he took advice of those about him after what manner, his Royal Dignity preserv'd, he might outwardly express some kindness to a Man whom he mortally hated, but on whom at present he was not in a condition to be revenged.

Anno Dom.  
MXCV.

[2.]

Idem.

Lib. 2. p. 32.

The Pope's

Legate comes

into England.

[3.]

Id. Ibid.

The King is

outwitted by

the Pope's

Legate.

[4.]

[4.]

Idem. Ib.

[5.]

Idem. Ib.



Anno Dom.

MCCV

[1.]

Ibid.

P. 33.

The Archbi-  
shop Sum-  
mon'd to  
come to  
Court.

[1.] Now the day drawing near in which this forementioned Truce was to expire, the King sent Messengers to summon the Archbishop to come to his Court at *Windsor* at the next Feast of *Pentecost*, which he obey'd; but after his coming, there flock'd to him almost all the Bishops of *England*, who were let on to try whither they could bring him to give some Money for obtaining the King's favour, but they finding him in this point as inflexible as ever, they desisted from that Proposal, and only desired him, since he would give nothing to make his Peace, he would briefly tell them what he was resolved to do. To which he replied, He had already told them, that he would never put such an Affront upon his Lord the King, as to shew all the World that his Friendship was to be bought with Money; yet if he would love him *gratis*, as his Spiritual Father, and permit him to live quietly under the Obedience of Pope *Urban*, he would then faithfully serve him as his King and Lord; but if he refused this, he desired his *Safe-Conduct* to the Sea-side, and then he would do what he understood was his duty. But when they asked him, Whither he had any thing more to say, and he had told them, No; Then they further insisted, That the Pope had sent the Pall by his Legate to the King, and therefore he should do well to consider, what return to make him for so great a Benefit, which he could not have otherwise obtained without many dangers, much trouble and great expence in a Journey to *Rome*, all which was now saved. This the Archbishop also put off. Then they press'd him, that he would at least give the King as much as the Journey to *Rome* would have cost him, lest he should be accounted ungrateful. But when he bid them desist, for he would give nothing at all upon that consideration, they ceas'd all further discourse about it, and left him to follow his own Resolutions.

[2.]

Idem.

P. 33, 34.

The King not  
being able to  
prevail upon  
him, seems  
to yield.

[2.] When the King found he could by no means draw Money from the Archbishop, He by the advice of his Nobles, laying aside all past Quarrels, seem'd to restore *Anselm* to his former favour, and gave him leave to exercise his *Archiepiscopal* Authority throughout *England*, which the Archbishop thankfully received; and so all Quarrels being forgot on both sides, he presented himself at the King's Great Council at *Windsor*, who admitted him to his own familiar Conversation, and that of the Lords and the rest there assembled.

But the Business of the Pall was again renew'd, and some to curry favour with the King endeavour'd to bring the Archbishop to this, that for the honour of his Royal Majesty, he should receive it from the King's hand, but he would by no means assent to it; declaring that this gift did not belong to the Royal Dignity, but the particular Authority of *St. Peter*; and so at last it was agreed, that the Pall being carried to *Canterbury*, should be laid upon the High Altar by the same hand that had brought it over, and from thence the Archbishop should receive it as if it were from the hand of *St. Peter* himself. Whereupon a day being appointed for this Solemnity, the Pope's Legate brought the Pall to *Canterbury*, and was met by all the Monks of both the Monasteries, (with a great number of Clergy and Laity,) and by the Archbishop himself, sustained on each hand, and array'd in his Pontifical Habit, but yet he went barefoot to meet this Sacred Present, which being brought in a Silver Box, and laid upon the Altar,

was



was by him devoutly kissed, as also by all the Spectators, and was then taken up, and put on by the Archbishop himself, who so array'd celebrated Mass.

[3.] Not long after this a certain *Irish* Monk of *St. Alban's* Abbey; whose name was *Samuel*, being Elected by *Murdach* a King of *Ireland*, and the Clergy and People of the City of *Dublin*, to be Bishop of that See in the Room of *Donatus* lately deceased, came to Archbishop *Anselm* to be Consecrated according to Antient Custom; to which Election and Petition of theirs Archbishop *Anselm* assenting, after he had Treated him Honourably for some time, and had fully instructed him in all things relating to his Episcopal Charge, he Consecrated him Bishop, having first taken his Oath of Canonical Obedience as was formerly usual: then this new Bishop after he had received the Archbishop's Benediction, with his Letters to the King, Clergy and People of *Ireland*, return'd into his own Country with great Satisfaction.

Anno Dom.  
MXCV.

[3.]  
Idem.

Lib. 2. p. 34.  
An Irish Monk  
Consecrated  
by Anselm  
Archbishop  
of Dublin.

I have been the larger in this Relation concerning *Anselm*, that so the Reader might not only see the mighty Power the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had in that Age, and how great a party he could make amongst the Laity, even against the King himself; but also that he may take notice of the notable Policy of the Pope's Legate in the Conduct of this Affair, in which he was too hard for the King himself; Which sufficiently shews us, that the Court of *Rome* understood how to manage Secular Princes in that Age as well or better than in ours.

No other Ecclesiastical Affairs of any moment happened this Year, but among those of less Note we may observe, the founding of the Rich Abbey of *Chester* by *Hugh Lupus* Earl thereof, who expelling the Secular Chanons, placed *Benedictines* in their Room, adding many New Mannors to the Old Endowments; and those being long after dissolved by King *Henry* the Eighth, he there placed a Dean and Prebendaries, and also made that Church a distinct Bishop's See, taken out of the Diocese of *Litchfield*: For tho' that Bishop is often stiled in our Antient Historians Bishop of *Chester*, yet it was no more than the Bishop of the former place that is meant by that Title.

Mon. Angl.  
I. Vol. p. 199.  
The Abbey of  
*Chester* Found-  
ed.

That Church  
when made a  
Bishop's See.

This [4.] *Christmass* the King held his Court or Council at *Windsor*, where *William* Bishop of *Durham* died the first day of *January*: and in the Octaves of *Epiphany* the King, with all his Great Men, removed to *Salisbury*, where he order'd a Great Council to be held, and *Godfrey Baynard* accused there *William* Earl of *Owe*, or *Eu*, the King's Cousin, of High Treason; alledging, that he was privy to the late Conspiracy: and fighting with him upon it in a single Combat, overcame him. This the King took for a sufficient Conviction, and commanded first his Eyes to be pull'd out, and then his Testicles to be cut off: he likewise order'd *William de Alder* the Earl's Kinsman, as well as his Steward to be hanged, being privy to the same Conspiracy, tho' he took it upon his Death that he was wholly innocent of that Crime. He also committed *Odo* Earl of *Champaign*, and *Philip* Son to the Earl of *Shrewsbury* close Prisoners, and deprived them of all their Estates in *England*, with several others, on whom the same punishment was inflicted, besides some who suffer'd Death at *London* upon the same account.

Anno Dom.  
MXCVI.

[4.]  
C.S. F.W.

A Great  
Council at  
*Salisbury*,  
wherein the  
Earl of *Eu* is  
accused of  
Treason, and  
his Punish-  
ment.



Anno Domini  
MCCVI.

[1.]  
Idem.  
The Pope comes in-  
to France, and there ex-  
horts Christian Princes to  
undertake the Crusade. And  
who were that under-  
took it.

[1.]  
Idem.  
Robert Duke of Normandy  
resolves to make one in  
this War. And to that  
end desires to Pawn his  
Duchy for Money to un-  
dertake it.

[2.]  
Ead. p. 35.

[3.]  
Idem.  
The Duke of Normandy  
takes possession of the  
Duchy of Normandy.

IVCCX

[4.]  
P. 722, 723.

A Great  
Council  
was  
held  
at  
Paris  
in  
the  
year  
1099.

[5.] In the Spring Pope Urban being forced to quit Italy, came to France about Lent, and there held a Council at Clermont, where he exhorted all Christian Princes to undertake a War against the Turks in the Holy Land, they having some time before Conquer'd Jerusalem, and driven the Christians out of Palestine, and the Adjacent Countries. So that chiefly by the Pope's persuasions, Raymond Count of St. Giles, Hugh Brother to the King of France, Godfrey Duke of Lorraine, Robert Duke of Normandy, Robert Earl of Flanders, with several other Princes and Noblemen from Germany, France and England, being all Signed with the Cross upon their Upper-Garments, engaged in this Expedition, and were followed by vast multitudes of their own, as well as other Nations. One Peter a Hermite (a great Preacher up of this War) going along with them himself.

[1.] The Duke of Normandy being thus resolved to undertake this Expedition, sent over Ambassadors to his Brother King William, desiring that a firm Peace might be established between them, and that he would lend him presently Ten thousand Marks of Silver, and take the Duchy of Normandy for his Security, for three Years, till the Money should be repaid. The King was highly pleas'd with this Proposal, and presently sent to all the Great Men of England, that they should furnish him with what Money they could, towards the raising this Sum; [2.] insomuch that the Bishops, Abbots, and Abbesses broke in pieces the very Gold and Silver Plate and Ornaments of their Churches; and the Earls, Barons and Sheriffs squeezed their Knights and Tenants to help to raise it.

[3.] Then the King passing into Normandy in September following, concluded a Peace with Duke Robert, and upon the Payment of the afore-said Sum, he took Possession of that Duchy by his Brother's consent; who presently after took his Voyage to the Holy Land, together with his Uncle Odo, Bishop of Bayeux.

But perhaps it may seem strange to those who read this Relation, that all England should be thus put to it to raise so small a Sum as Ten thousand Marks, which does not amount to Seven Thousand Pounds: to this I can only say, that the Kingdom had been already exhausted by grievous Taxes, and that the Money was to be raised all on the sudden; and besides it was much greater than it sounds for, being more than Sixty thousand Pounds at this day.

But here I ought to tell you, [4.] that Ordericus Vitalis makes Duke Robert's Voyage to the Holy Land, to have proceeded from another cause, than mere Devotion, (viz.) that notwithstanding the late Peace between him and the King his Brother, the former being given up to Sloth and Luxury, stood more in awe of his Subjects than they of him, whence much mischief happened to his Country; wherefore King William being now possessor of above Twenty Castles, then brought over many of the Great Men, being either bribed by his Gifts, or else awed by the terrour of his Arms; as the Earls of Albemarle and Mellent, with Gerard de Gournay, Ralph de Conchis, Walter Giffard, Philip de Brause, Richard de Curcey, and several other Barons, who all adhered to the King: by which misfortune the Duke, being much perplex'd, and fearing lest somewhat worse might happen, and being almost too destitute of Friends, by the Advice of certain Monks, resolved to make over his Dukedom to his Brother King William, whilst he



he himself went to *Jerusalem*, upon the Conditions above mentioned.

The same [5.] Author further tells us, (what we cannot find in any of our own) that the King being thus possessed of *Normandy*, claimed the *French-Vexin* of *Philip* King of *France*, with the chief Towns thereof, *Pontoyse*, *Chaumont*, and *Mante*; and that after about a Year's scuffle for it, by Burnings, Rapines, and making the People Prisoners on both sides, the two Kings came to make a firm Peace; *William's* Affairs in *England* requiring his Presence, which probably was the Insurrection of the *Welsh*, and the fresh attempts they had lately made upon *England*.

Among Ecclesiastical Matters of less moment, this may be noted that [1.] *Eudo* a Noble Norman, Steward to King *William*, Founded a Rich Abbey for *Benedictine* Monks at *Colchester*, to the Honour of *St. John Baptist*.

[2.] This Year also according to the best account, (tho' some Authors place it two Years sooner) Bishop *Herbert* (Nick-named *Lozeing* i.e. the Flatterer) Translated the Episcopal See from *Thetford* to *Norwich*, being the greater and richer Town; and he also some Years after, placed in that Monastery *Benedictine* Monks instead of a Dean and Secular Chansons, who before constituted the Chapter of that Cathedral. But to return to our History.

This Year [3.] King *William* having kept his *Christmas* in *Normandy*, arrived in *England* on *Easter-Eve*, (having been long detain'd by contrary Winds;) then after some time spent at *Windsor*, where he held a *Curia*, or Council, he marched with a great Army into *Wales* the third time; but tho' he passed quite through the Country by the help of some *Welshmen*, who had come over to him, and shewed him the secret passes into it, and stayed there from *Midsummer* to the end of *July*; yet the People retiring into their accustomed Fastnesses, he lost more of his own Men by Hunger or ill Diet, than he could kill or take of the Enemy; for the *Welsh*, after they had revolted, had chosen among themselves divers notable Leaders of their own Nation, and among the rest one called *Cadogan*, who was Nephew to Prince *Griffyn*; but when the King saw he could not perform what he had a mind to, he returned home again *re infecta*, having only commanded certain Castles to be built in the Marches between *England* and *Wales*.

[4.] A little before *Michaelmas* there appeared a terrible Blazing Star, or Comet, towards the *South-East*, shooting very long Rays; tho' it was visible but for fifteen days. About the same time King *William* sent *Edgar Atheling* with a great Army into *Scotland*, to make his Nephew *Edgar* King thereof, by expelling *Dufnal* or *Donald* his Uncle, who had Usurped that Kingdom; which *Edgar Atheling* in a short time valiantly performed, and placing his Nephew on the Throne, tho' under the Dominion of King *William*, returned into *England*.

[5.] About this time the Quarrel broke out afresh between the King and Archbishop *Anselm*, and it was upon this occasion: You have already heard how *Anselm* got the better of the King in the business about acknowledging the Pope; but when he perceived no hopes of amendment in the King, as to the Sale of Bishopricks and Abbeyes, and seeing what spoil was made of their Revenues, when he came to attend

Anno Dom.  
MXCVI.

[5.]  
Id. B.  
King *William* demands all the *French-Vexin* of the King of *France*.

A Peace made at last between the two Kings.

[1.]  
M. A. Tom. 2.  
p. 389. vid.  
Hist. Fund. in  
Bib. Cotton.  
Nero. B. 8.  
A monastery Founded at *Colchester*.

[2.]  
Idem. Tom. 1.  
p. 407.  
The Bishop's See Translated from *Thetford* to *Norwich*.

Anno Dom.  
MXCVII.

[3.]  
C. S. H. H.  
The King returns into *England*, and then invades *Wales*.

But meeting with ill success is forced to return.

[4.]  
Idem.  
King *William* sends *Edgar Atheling* into *Scotland* to make his Nephew King.

[5.]  
Ead. Lib. 2.  
p. 37.  
The Quarrel breaks out afresh between the King and Archbishop *Anselm*, and on what occasion.



*Anno Domini* attend him at the Feast of *Pentecost*, after the ordinary business was over, Archbishop *Anselm* desired some of the Chief Men about the King to let him know, that being constrained by his necessary occasions, he desired his leave to go to *Rome*, at which the King seemed much astonished; saying, *by no means, for we do not think him guilty of any such sin, that may render it necessary for him to beg the Pope's Absolution; nor yet to be so void of prudence, as to be more fit to be advised by the Pope, than the Pope by him.* Which being told the Archbishop, his Answer only was, *The power is in the King's hand, he may say what he pleases, but if he will not grant it now, perhaps he will grant it another time, I will reiterate my Intreaties to him.*

*[1.]* At the next Great Council in *August* following, when the publick business was dispatched, he again renewed his Petition, but was denied as before. After which the Archbishop attending the King at *Winchester*, again repeated his request, upon which the King was very much provoked; but still civilly denied him. In short, after divers Messages that passed between them, the King sent him word, That if he went away, he gave him first fair notice, that he would seize upon the Revenues of his Archbishoprick, and never for the future own him for Primate. At last, when the Bishop of *Durham*, and divers of the Bishops had done all they could to perswade him not to go (tho' to no purpose) they brought him this peremptory Message from the King, that since he presum'd to do that which was contrary to the Custom of the Kingdom; (for no Great Man, and particularly himself ought to go to *Rome* without his Majesty's leave) that he might not be further troubled, he required him to take an Oath, never upon any occasion whatever to appeal to the Pope; or if he denied this, he should with all speed depart the Kingdom. Which when they had told him, they return'd to the King, *Anselm* himself presently following them; and then there arose a sharp dispute between the King and Him, too long here to be inserted, and which at last ended very abruptly; for the Archbishop rising up, and going to the place where he had before attended, some Messengers from the King presently followed, and brought him word, that he might go if he pleased; but he was to know this much before hand, that he should carry nothing of the King's away with him. To which the Archbishop replied, I have Horses, Apparel, and Furniture, which the King may say are his own, and if he will not permit me to take these with me, let him know that I will go away on foot, nay naked, rather than I will desist from my designed Journey.

The Arch-  
shop at last  
obtains the  
King's Leave  
to depart.  
But upon very  
strict Con-  
ditions.

The King being a little out of Countenance with this Answer, sent him again word, "That he misunderstood him, for he did not mean, that he should go away naked, or on foot; nevertheless he commanded, that he should within Eleven days be ready at the Port for his Voyage, where he should meet a Messenger from himself, who should tell him what He and those that accompanied him should be permitted to carry over with them."

*[1.]*  
*Idem.*  
P. 41.  
The Arch-  
shop takes his  
Leave of the  
King.

*[1.]* This Affair being thus dispatched, the Archbishop went and took his leave of the King, when offering him his Blessing before he departed, the King replied, *I do not refuse your Blessing.* So bowing his Head, the Archbishop making the Sign of the Cross over it, and giving him his Benediction, he presently departed, and went to *Canterbury*,



terbury, to take his Leave of, and comfort the Monks, and a multitude of People that resorted thither. Then he took a Scrip and Staff, after the manner of Pilgrims, and commending them all to Christ, he departed, they following him out of Town with tears and great lamentations. But when he came to *Dover*, he found there one *William* a Priest or Clerk sent from the King, who for fourteen days that the Archbishop lay there Wind-bound, said nothing concerning what he was sent about; but when on the fifteenth day the Wind served, and the Seamen urged them to go on Board, he then commanded him from the King not to depart till he had searched whatever he had brought with him. So that all his Trunks and Baggage were open'd, and search'd to see if he could find any quantity of Plate or Money in them; but missing of what was expected, he at last permitted him to go on Board; so he quickly passed over to *Whitsand*, and from thence went to *St. Omers*, and after some stay there, he travelled to *Lyons*, where he abode a good while, till the Pope sent for him to come to *Rome*; of which I shall say more anon. But so soon as the King had heard that the Archbishop was Landed, he presently commanded all his Goods and Revenues to be transfer'd into his own Exchequer, and all things that had been ordain'd, or alter'd by him, from his first coming to the Archbishoprick, to be declared null and void.

I have been the more particular in this Relation, because the Reader may see how much an Archbishop of *Canterbury* took upon him in those days, and the great boldness of this Man, who being sure of support from the Pope, durst quit the Kingdom against the King's will; a thing which none of his Predecessors ever attempted before; tho' perhaps the King was glad to hear of his departure, because he was thereby not only rid of One who always took upon him to controll him, but he also by that means got all his ample Revenues into his own hands.

The King being now rid of the Archbishop, about the end of *November* passed over into *Normandy*, where he spent all the rest of this Year, either in Business, or Diversions; for I find no particular Action related.

But to conclude this Year's Transactions between the King and this Archbishop, I shall from the same Author give you a short account of what happened at *Rome* after his arrival, [2.] where he was received very kindly by the Pope; to whom he gave the same account of the occasion of his leaving *England*, as he had before done by [3.] Letter from *Lyons*; in which he highly complained of the King, that he had given the Lands of the Archbishoprick to his Knights, and did not restore them to him, as *Lanfranc* had enjoy'd them: That he exacted grievous Services from him, such as his Predecessors knew not, and such as he could not, nay ought not to bear: And that he overturned the Laws of God, and all Canonical Constitutions by his Arbitrary Customs, and would not give him leave to come to his *Fatherhood* to seek redress, or ask advice what he should do, &c.

[4.] The Pope having heard his Complaints, promised him relief; and immediately wrote Letters to King *William*, wherein he earnestly exhorted him to restore the Archbishop to all that had been taken from him, as also to what other Rights he ought to enjoy. And *Anselm* himself wrote to the King to the same effect; but before the Messenger

Anno Dom.  
MXCVII.

The Archb.  
shop passes  
over beyond  
Sea.

The King ha-  
ving seized  
the Archbi-  
shop's Reve-  
nues, goes in-  
to *Normandy*.

[2.]  
Ibid. P. 47.  
The Archbi-  
shop is kind-  
ly received at  
*Rome*.

[3.]  
Ibid. P. 43.

[4.]  
Ibid. P. 45.  
The Pope  
writes Letters  
to the King  
on his behalf.



Anno Dom.  
MXOVII

[5.]

Ibid. P. 48, 49.  
The Arch-  
bishop attends  
the Pope at  
the Council  
of Bari, and  
what was done  
in it.

[1.]

Idem.

P. 51, 52, 53.  
How the King  
received the  
Pope's and  
Archbishop's  
Letters.

The King  
receives the  
Pope's and  
Archbishop's  
Letters.

Idem. Ibid.

The King  
sends an En-  
voy to Rome  
about Arch-  
bishop Anselm,  
and what was  
then Trans-  
acted.

[2.]

Idem.

The King  
sends an En-  
voy to Rome  
about Arch-  
bishop Anselm,  
and what was  
then Trans-  
acted.

Messenger that carried these Letters could return, *Anselm* made great Complaints to the Pope of the burthen of his Place, and beg'd his Holiness's leave to resign it, which he would by no means permit, but enjoyn'd him to keep it: And he had very good reason for so doing, for he could not have had a better Man for his turn. He also told the Archbishop, that as for King *William* he should be Excommunicated in the next General Council, which was shortly to be held at *Bari* in *Apulia*, if the King refused to obey his Commands. [5.] Then the Archbishop retiring for some time to an Abbey not far from *Capua*, remain'd there till the Council met, where he not long after attended on the Pope, and being placed among the chief Bishops of the Western Church, he by the Pope's Command was call'd up to sit on a Seat nearer to him, and there made a Speech to the General satisfaction of all there present, concerning the differences then in Dispute between the Greek and Latin Church touching the Procession of the Holy Ghost; after which mention being made in this Council of King *William*, and the Pope making great Complaints against him, it was decreed, that he should be Curs'd and Excommunicated, which *Anselm* hearing, fell down upon his Knees before the Pope, and with much difficulty obtained the Revocation of that Sentence.

[1.] This Council being ended, the Pope and *Anselm* departed to *Rome*, where they found the Messenger that carried the last Letters to King *William*; who told them that with much ado he received the Pope's Letters, but would by no means receive *Anselm's*; and that perceiving the Messenger to be a Retainer of his, he swore by God's Face, (his usual Oath) That if he did not depart the Kingdom immediately, he should have his Eyes pulled out, which highly incensed both the Pope and the Archbishop. But let us see what in the mean while happen'd in *England*.

The [2.] King being rather willing to return the Pope an Answer by his own Envoy, sent *William Warelwast* on purpose to *Rome*, who declared that the King his Master wonder'd not a little, why he should so much urge the Restitution of *Anselm*, seeing he was expressly warned, that if he departed out of *England* without License, the King would seize his Archbishoprick. The Pope asked, whither there was any thing else against *Anselm*, save that he had appealed to the Apostolick See, and come thither without his King's leave? He answered no: Wonderful! (said the Pope) have you come thus far to tell me this! Return, and that quickly, and command your King on behalf of St. Peter, if he will not be Excommunicated, to restore Archbishop *Anselm* intirely to all things; and let me know his Resolution before the next Meeting of the General Council, (which was to be not long after Easter in that City) otherwise he shall there receive the Sentence he deserves. To which the King's Agent replied, That he had private Instructions to impart to his Holiness. And remaining a good while in *Rome*, he so well managed this Affair, that with Gifts and Promises he procured several Cardinals to favour his Cause; who so turned the Pope's mind, that to the satisfaction of his Master, the further Prosecution of it was put off until *Michaëls* following, it being then *Christmas* time. After Easter the Pope, as he had appointed, held a Council at *Rome*, in which, tho' *Anselm's* Cause was propounded, and



and vehemently urged by some, yet nothing was done in it particularly to his advantage, the Pope himself putting a stop to all further proceedings against the King. So that the chief Affair which passed in this Council was, that all Laymen that gave Investitures of Churches; as also those that received them, should be *Excommunicated*. But of this you shall hear more hereafter.

I shall conclude this Year with some *English* Transactions, tho' of less moment. [3.] The King continuing still in *Normandy*, *England* suffer'd very much in the mean while, by reason of the great scarcity of Provisions, occasion'd by the badness of the Season, as also through the heavy Taxes that were laid upon the Nation, for the rebuilding of *London-Bridge*, which had been lately carried away by an unusual Flood; and for building the New Walls about the *Tower*, and the Great Hall at *Westminster*; which tho' they were Buildings of great use, as well as Magnificence, yet requir'd vast Sums of Money to finish them.

All [4.] this Year King *William* remain'd in *Normandy*, being taken up in reducing the City of *Mans*, and great part of that Province to his Obedience; and all that time there happened nothing here in *England*, worth the mentioning, except that the [1.] Nation continued still to be very much oppress'd by the King's cruel and unreasonable Taxes; and that *Hugh* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and *Hugh* Sirnamed *Lupus*, Earl of *Chester*, (with a good number of the Nobility) rais'd a great Army, and invaded *North-Wales*, being thereto excited by certain Lords of that Country. But *Griffyth ap. Conan* Prince of *Wales*, and *Cadogan ap. Blethyn* took the Mountains for their Defence, because they were not able to cope with the said Earls, neither durst they trust to their own Men; and so the Earls came over against the Isle of *Mon* or *Anglesey*, where they built the Castle of *Aberlbiennawc*. After this the Princes *Griffyth* and *Cadogan* went to *Anglesey*, thinking to defend that Isle, and sent for Succours to *Ireland*; but what they received thence was very small and insignificant. Then did *Owen ap. Edwin*, who was the Prince's chief Councillor, and Father-in-law, discover his Treason, in going with all his Forces to the Earls above mentioned, and marching them over into the Isle of *Anglesey*, which so soon as the Princes *Griffyth* and *Cadogan* perceived, distrusting the Treachery of their own People, presently fled over into *Ireland*; but the Earls coming into the Isle, Plundered it, used great Cruelties toward those Inhabitants they could meet with; in cutting off the Hands and Feet of some, and the Privy-Parts of others.

But they had not been long there, [2.] before *Magnus* Son of *Olave*, King of *Norway*, (who had lately Conquered the *Orchades* and Isle of *Man*) happened to come thither with a few Ships (either being driven by a Storm, or else coming to spy the Country, for our Authors do not tell us which) and would fain have Landed with his Men, but these Earls with their Forces oppos'd him. However there *Magnus* with an Arrow shot the Earl of *Shrewsbury* in the Face, of which Wound within a few days after he died; which at that time was looked upon as a just Reward of his Cruelty toward the Poor unarmed *Welshmen*. But yet *Magnus* his *Norwegians*, when they found they could not Land, return'd home; and the Earl of *Chester* and the *English* that were with him, being sensible they could not keep the Island, left the Com-

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P

mand

Anno Dom.  
MXCVII[3.]  
C. S.Anno Dom.  
MXCVIII[4.]  
C. S. R. H.  
The King continues in Normandy and takes Mans.[1.]  
Idem.  
Dr. Powell's Chron.  
The Earls of Chester and Shrewsbury invade Wales.

The Welsh Princes being betray'd, the Earl's take the Isle of Anglesey.

[2.]  
F. W.  
But are beaten out of it by the Norwegians.

The Earl of Shrewsbury mortally Wounded.



King William  
keeps his  
Whitsontide in  
his New Hall  
at Westminster.

[3.]  
C. S. H. H.  
King William  
keeps his  
Whitsontide in  
his New Hall  
at Westminster.

[4.]  
Idem.  
W. M.  
P. 124.  
The King  
hearing that  
was surpris-  
ed, goes pre-  
sently for  
Normandy.

King William  
keeps his  
Whitsontide in  
his New Hall  
at Westminster.

[4.]  
H. L. 2. C.  
The King  
resolved to go  
to Sea not-  
withstanding  
a storm.

King William  
keeps his  
Whitsontide in  
his New Hall  
at Westminster.

[5.]  
F. W.  
Pope Urban  
holds a Coun-  
cil at Rome.

[6.]  
F. W.  
Pope Urban  
holds a Coun-  
cil at Rome.

[7.]  
F. W.  
Pope Urban  
holds a Coun-  
cil at Rome.

[8.]  
F. W.  
Pope Urban  
holds a Coun-  
cil at Rome.

[9.]  
F. W.  
Pope Urban  
holds a Coun-  
cil at Rome.

[10.]  
F. W.  
Pope Urban  
holds a Coun-  
cil at Rome.

mund of it to *Odo*, who had invited them thither. [3.] King *William* kept his *Christmas* in *Normandy*, and returning in to *England* a little before *Whitsontide*, kept that Feast in his New Hall at *Westminster*, which had been built in his Absence; when he first saw it, and heard others highly admire it for its Spaciousness, the King was of another opinion, saying it was too little by half; which shew'd the Greatness of his Mind, whatever it did of his Judgment. From [4.] thence he went down to hunt at *New Forrest*, and whilst he was one day there at his Sport, a Messenger came in all hast out of *Normandy*, and told him, that the City of *Mans* was surprized by *Count Hely de la Flesche*, who (in right of his Wife pretended to it) and that the Castle which held out stoutly for him, was without some present relief, like to be Surrendered: Upon which he immediately sent back the Messenger, bidding him to tell [5.] in the Castle, that if possible he would be with them in Eight days. And then turning his Horse's Head toward the Sea-side, he rode on with all the speed he could; but some that were near desiring him to stay till his Army could be got ready, he replied only this, *They who love me will follow me*. And so coming to *Dartmouth* with very few Attendants, in order to take Shipping, the Weather proved so very rough, that the Master of the Vessel said there was no passing over without eminent hazard of their Lives: *Tush*, (said the King) *for sail, I never yet heard of a King that was drowned*. And so making all the Sail he could, he arrived at *Barsen* the next Morning, and sent for all his Officers and Soldiers that were in *Normandy*, to attend him at *Mans*; but no sooner had the Enemy heard of his approach, but they raised the Siege, and the King presently after taking this Count *Ellis* Prisoner, and he being brought before him, the King somewhat as it were in triumph, said, *Now Sir, I have got you*: *Yes*, answered he, *you have got me; but it was by a Wife, yet if I were at liberty again, I know what I could do*: The King thereupon replied, *Well, Sir, and what would you do? get you gone, and do your worst, nor do I expect any return for the favour*: And so presently dismissed him to go where he pleased. The King having thus rescued *Mans*, and reduced the Country once more to his Obedience, return'd into *England* about *Michaelmas*.

[5.] As [5.] for Ecclesiastical Affairs, this Year Pope *Urban* held a General Council at *Rome*, in which he Excommunicated all Laymen who should offer to grant the Investitures of Churches, and all those Clergymen that should offer to receive them at their hands, for any that should Consecrate such Receivers, as likewise all those that did any Homage to Laymen for Ecclesiastical Benefices; all which Decrees being approved of by the Cardinals and Bishops there present were confirmed by the Pope. Archbishop *Anselm* was present at this Council, and from thence went to *Lyons*, where he stayed till the King's Death.

[1.] At a Great Court or Council held at *London* about *Whitsontide*, he bestowed the Bishoprick of *Durham* upon *Ranulph* his Chaplain, [2.] whom from one of the meanest of the Vulgar the King advanced by degrees, and long made use of as a chief Informer and Minister to raise Money by all manner of ways; it was he who let out the Vacant Bishopricks and Abbeyes to Farm for the King's use, and thereby

gained



gained him a great Revenue; and when the King issued out his Edict, and had set what Tax *England* should pay, this bold Man would by one stroke of his Pen make it as much more: He was an invincible Lawyer, and to whom the King committed the management of the Revenues of the whole Kingdom. Thus he continued oppressing the Rich, and peeling the Poor during all the King's Reign; being but too well rewarded for his Tyranny and Injustice.

[3.] This Year also the Christians took the City of *Jerusalem* by Storm, and near Forty thousand *Saracens* that were in it were put to the Sword; then the Christian Princes all agreed to Elect *Robert Duke of Normandy* King of that City, and all *Palestine*, but he refusing out of an expectation of the Crown of *England*, it is observed by our Historians, that he never after prospered in any thing he undertook; and upon this his Denial, the Christian Princes agreed to chuse *Geoffrey Duke of Lorrain* (commonly called *Geoffrey of Boloign*) King of *Jerusalem*, a Prince of great Courage and Piety, and who Governed very worthily, tho' it happened to be but for a little time.

[4.] King *William* being now in perfect quiet and great prosperity, kept his *Christmass* at *Gloucester*, and his *Easter* at *Winchester*, where [5.] (as *Ordericus* informs us, for I find it in no other Author) the King had vast designs in his head; for *William Earl of Poitou* having an Intention to go to make War in the *Holy Land* (according to the humour of the Princes of that Age) now offer'd King *William* to Mortgage to him his Dutchy of *Aquitain*, with his other Territories, for a great Sum of Money which he desired to borrow for that Expedition, and that the King most willingly embraced the Proposal, and commanded a mighty Fleet to be prepared, and a great Army to accompany him out of *England*, that he might hinder his Brother *Robert's* return into *Normandy*, take Possession of *Aquitain*, and extend the Bounds of his Empire, as far as the River *Garonne*. In order to which his Royal Navy that was to carry over vast Sums of Gold and Silver, was now almost ready to Sail; which till it was got ready, the King to divert himself went in the beginning of *August* to Hunt in the *New Forrest* (which in the *English-Saxon* was called *Itene*) where he met his Death; of which our [1.] Author gives us these Circumstances. A Monk (it seems) the Night before had dream'd, that he saw the King knaw a Crucifix with his Teeth, and that as he was about to bite off its Leggs, the Image spurn'd him to the Ground, and that as he lay groveling on the Earth, there came out of his mouth a flame of fire, with abundance of smoke; this being related to the King in the Morning by *Robert Fitz Haimon*, he made a Jest of it, saying, This Monk would fain have something for his Dream: Go, give him a Hundred Shillings, but bid him look he dream better Dreams hereafter. Nevertheless the King being much dissuaded by those about him not to make tryal of the truth of this Dream at his own expence.

[2.] When setting aside all serious business, he went to Breakfast, and having drank plentifully, would needs in that humour go out into the Forrest a Hunting, being accompanied with but a few Followers, of whom his Brother *Henry* was chief; yet one of the most intimate, was, \* *Walter Tyrrell* a French Knight (who had lived in *Normandy* for some years, and being invited hither by the King's Liberality, was

Anno Dom.  
MXCIX.

[3.]  
W. M.  
P. 80. 4.  
F. W.  
*Jerusalem* taken by the Christians.

Anno Dom.  
MC.

[4.]  
Idem.  
C. S.  
[5.]  
P. 649.  
King *William* has vast Designs in his Head, and makes great Warlike Preparations.

The King goes down to *New Forrest* to Hunt.

[1.]  
W. M.  
P. 71.  
The strange Dream before his Death.

[2.]  
Id. Ib.  
The odd manner of it.  
\* *Ordericus* calls him a rich Native of *Pontoyse*, a Valiant Knight, dextrous in Arms, and therefore very intimate with the King.



Anno Dom.

MC.

He is kill'd  
by Walter  
Tyrrell.

His Body is  
Buried at  
Winchester.

The differ-  
ence between  
Authors as to  
the manner of  
his Death.

[3.]  
Eadmerus. P. 34.

[4.]

P. 224.

[5.]

Histor. Franc.  
Tom. 4. P. 283.

newly come over; this Man being an expert Huntsman, and an excellent Archer, remain'd alone with the King, who at the end of the Chace being then alighted, stayed till the rest of his Company (dispersed up and down the Forrest) could come up; when about Sun-set a Stag happening to pass by the King, he shot at him, and gave him a slight Wound, and as he ran away, the King followed him (holding up his hand before his Eyes to defend them from the Sun, then shining full in his Face) when another Deer just passing by, *Walter* shot at it; But his Arrow missing the Stag, hit the King (then intent upon another Object) full in the Breast, who presently fell down without speaking a word, and in the fall not only broke the Arrow, but hastened his own Death; upon which, *Walter* when he saw he had neither Breath nor Life in him, left him, presently took his Horse, and Galloped away as fast as he could, no Man pursuing him; every Body's thoughts being taken up about greater matters. Then a few Colliers passing through the Forrest, put his Body into their Cart, and drove it to the Bishop's Palace at *Winchester*, where it was the next day Buried in the Church under the Tower, many Noblemen being present, and few or none lamenting his loss.

His Tomb (somewhat raised from the Ground) remains at this day in the midst of the Choir of that Cathedral: Thus fell this Magnanimous, but rough-natured Prince, in the Forty fourth Year of his Age, and the Thirteenth of his Reign.

And here I cannot but take notice, that tho' *W.* of *Malmesbury*, *Florence of Worcester*, and *Simeon of Durham* (Authors of the best Credit, who flourished and wrote their Histories within less than forty years after this Accident) I say tho' they do all agree not only in the Place, but the Person, who had the misfortune thus to kill this Prince, yet there are also Authors of that very Age, and those of good credit too, who are not only doubtful of it, but some of them do positively deny that this *Walter* had any hand in it; for [3.] *Eadmerus* speaking of it by the by, only says, *That whither the Arrow was shot at him, or (as most affirm) slew him by his stumbling, and falling down upon it, it were needless to enquire; it being sufficient to understand, that which way soever it happened, it was by the just Judgment of God.*

But tho' *Dr. Brady* in his History makes it uncertain, whether *Tyrrell* then shot at a Deer, or else at the King, yet I am satisfied he cannot make out his Suspicion from the Authority of any other Author; for those that lived in that very time make a great doubt of it, as may farther appear from [5.] *Sugerius* Abbot of *St. Denis* near *Paris*, who lived at that time, and in his Life of King *Lewis the Grose*, speaking of the manner of *William Rufus's* Death, says thus, *It was laid by some upon a most Noble Person, called Walter Tyrrell, as if he should have shot him through with an Arrow, whom we (says he) have often heard, when he had no occasion either to fear or hope to affirm with an Oath, That he came not that day into that side of the Forrest, where the King hunted, nor ever saw him there.* The same Passage is taken almost word for word by the Continuator of *Bede's* History, out of the Author above mentioned, who, without so much as citing him, speaks in his own Person, as if he had seen it himself, which shews what a bungling Plagiary this Writer was, who seems to have been a Monk, that lived in that very time, since he concludes his History with the beginning



of the Reign of King *Henry the First*; I desire the Reader's pardon for this digression, for tho' it be of no great moment to posterity, how this King came by his Death, yet since it is a piece of History not commonly known, and also concerns the memory of a Person, who is looked upon as the Common Ancestor of all of that numerous Family both in *England* and *Ireland*, of the same name, I hope I may not appear impertinent, if I have dwelt somewhat the longer upon it.

I cannot but here also remark that this Prince was the Third of this Race who found their Deaths in this Forrest within a few years: for [1.] *Richard* his Elder Brother here perished by the goring of a Stag's Horn, or (as *William of Malmesbury* relates it) by the blast of a Pestilential Air that took him as he was Hunting; and *Richard* his Nephew, base Son to Duke *Robert*, was but a Year before this killed by an Arrow as he was Hunting in this same Forrest, much after the same manner, as his Uncle King *William*; or else (as others relate) was caught by the Neck as he rid under the Boughs of a thick Oak, and his Horse going from under him was there hanged: So that it seems as if God design'd to revenge upon the Children their Father's Sins, in destroying so many Churches and Villages to make them a Receptacle for wild Beasts.

I shall now conclude with saying something of this King's Person and Disposition: [2.] He was but of a middle Stature, yet strong and well set, his Face Red; his Hair a deep Yellow, inclining to the same colour; his Forehead square, his Eyes speckled, the one not like the other; His Countenance severe, his Speech unpleasant and stammering, especially when provoked to anger.

As for the Qualities of his Mind, they may be best known from the Actions of his Life, which shew him to have been stout and daring, never dejected in the greatest extremity.

He was also very Liberal to his Friends, and especially to Soldiers; Magnificent in his Retinue and Buildings, which *Westminster Hall* remains a lasting Monument of; but as to his own Apparel very plain and moderate, reckoning the finery of his Clothes, not by the outside, but the price they cost; as appears by the noted story of the pair of Breeches or Hose which his Chamberlain brought him one Morning, which he disliked, because they cost but three Shillings: which being so common a Story, I need but only mention.

He was also a Prince of little or no Faith, breaking his Oaths and Promises not only to his own Subjects, and foreign Princes, but even to his own Brother when he found it for his Advantage; as you may observe through the whole course of his Reign. He is also by divers Monkish Writers said to be mightily addicted to Fornication, but they do not name any particular Mistress of his; which shews, that either he was not very constant in his Amours, or else that the Mistresses he kept were of that mean condition as not to deserve any particular mention: But being never Married, it is not likely a Prince of his loose Principles and Sanguine Constitution should be very chaste. He was also cruel, seldom or never pardoning any that he thought had offended him; but either putting them to death, or else to punishments worse than death it self, as you may observe by his severe usage of *William Count of Owe* or *Eu*, his near Kinsman, and others; as like-

Anno Dom.  
MC.

[1.]  
Idem. P. 111.

[2.]  
W. M.  
P. 124.  
The Description of this Prince's Person.

A Character of his Humour.

Idem.  
P. 122, 123.



Anna Dom.  
MO.

[3.]  
Ead. P. 48.  
Some Instances  
of his  
Prophaness  
and Infidelity.

[4.]  
Idem. P. 47.

likewise by this passage: [3.] There were fifty *English* Gentlemen (who had some Estates left,) accused for hunting and killing the King's Deer, which they denied, and were therefore condemned to the tryal of the *Fire-ordeal*, which (by God's mercy) they passed through untouched. The King hearing of it, and being deceived of the Confiscations he expected, said in a great passion, *How happens this? is God a Just Judge in suffering it! Now a Murrain take him that believes it!* So that he seems to have been as cruel as he was prophane; and how unferried he was in the *Christian* Religion, may appear also in the Story related by the same [4.] Author.

A young Jew was Converted to the *Christian* Faith (as he said) by the Vision of a Saint that had appeared to him; his Father being much troubled at it, presented the King with sixty Marks, intreating him to make his Son return to his former *Judaism*; whereupon the King sent for him, commanding him without more ado to return to the Religion of his Nation. But the young Man answered with much Resolution, He wondred his Majesty should use such words; for being a *Christian* himself, he should rather perswade him to continue in that belief. With which Answer the King was so confounded, that he commanded the young Man to get out of his sight. His Father finding the King could do no good upon his Son, required his Money again: Nay, (said the King) *I have taken pains enough for it all; but yet that thou mayst see how kindly I will use thee, thou shalt have one half, and the other half thou canst not in conscience deny me for my pains.* Which Reply shews him to have had Wit enough had he been pleased to have made good use of it; which since he did not, I shall not relate several other of his prophane Sayings, for the very reading of them were enough to create Horror and Aversion in all sober Readers.

[5.]  
W. M.  
Pag. 184.

[5.] He was of a very haughty Temper, as appears by his carriage to the King of Scots; and yet in private conversation amongst his Confidants no Prince could be more free, playing and jesting not only upon others, but Himself too, if he thought he had done any thing that they might justly carp at. Yet notwithstanding his severe and covetous temper, there are some Relations that shew he had sometimes a sense of Generosity, Justice, and Good Nature, of which I shall give you some Instances, I find in our [1.] Authors: One is that a great Abbey becoming vacant by the Death of the Abbot, two rich and ambitious Monks came to the King, each of whom desiring to purchase it, privately strived to out-bid the other, but whither the King did not like the Price they offer'd, or else his Chapmen, is uncertain; only that seeing a third Monk (who came as a Companion to one of them) standing at a distance, he called him to him, and asked what he would offer for the Investiture of that Abbey: the Monk replied, That he had no Money, and if he had, that his Conscience would not permit him to give any thing for it, and that for his part he had enough already; whereupon the King admiring his modesty, immediately made Answer, *By St. Luke's Face, thou alone dost deserve it, and therefore shalt have it for nothing.* And so immediately bestowed it on him, and caus'd the Monks of that Abbey to chuse him, as he commanded.

[1.]  
Ran. Higden.  
Polychron., &  
alii.



The other is this, [2.] one *Hugh* a Norman Knight, and Kinsman to King *William*, having been a valiant Warrior, quieted the World, and took the Habit of a Monk in the Monastery of *St. Augustine* in *Canterbury*, where he had not been long, when *Guido* the Abbot deceasing, the Monks of that Abbey sent two of their Brethren, and with them this *Hugh* (being as yet in the year of his Probation) to the King, to see if they could prevail with him, to give them leave to chuse a new Abbot; so soon as they came into his Presence, and that he saw *Hugh* in the Habit of a Monk, whom he had lately known in all his Military Gallantry, he could not forbear weeping, and hearing their Request, presently gave them leave to Elect one, provided it were his Kinsman *Hugh*, and no other Person; threatening if they did not, to burn down their House about their Ears. With which Injunction the Monks easily complying, presently chose him Abbot, tho' much against their will; and this the King did out of pure kindness and compassion, tho' he might have had a good Sum of Money for it: yet these were but single Instances, and the greater part of his Life being Covetous and cruel, we may justly repute him One of the worst and most Tyrannical Kings that ever *England* had; and yet none had better fortune than he, till the Accident of his untimely Death; which I term so, not in respect of the Nation, but of himself, being then in the flower of his Age.

Anno Dom.  
MC.

[2.]  
Will. Thorn's  
Chron. Anno  
1097. Col.  
1795.

Of Laws and Taxations during his Reign.

As for his Laws, if ever he made any, they are lost, and indeed there seemed no great need of any under a Prince who commonly made his Will his Law; yet as Arbitrary as he was, we see he would not condemn those Gentlemen above mentioned, who had been acquitted by the *Ordeal*.

As for his Taxations, we cannot tell how many they were, (his whole Reign being so full of them) only it is certain, he imposed the *Danegelt* in divers years thereof; and we find in the *Saxon* Chronicles under almost every year great complaints of his Taxes, and oppressing Exactions. He also sold divers Abbeyes for Money, and let out others when vacant, and also Bishopricks to Farm; and at the time of his Death had the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, with the Bishopricks of *Winchester* and *Salisbury* in his hands, of all which he received the Profits.

As a Conclusion to this Reign, I shall also here take notice from [3.] \* *William* of *Malmesbury*, and † *Odericus Vitalis*, of the great corruption of Manners among the young Noblemen and Gentlemen of those Times, notwithstanding the Warlikeness of the Age; for it was then the fashion for them to wear their Hair as long as Women, which they kept every day curl'd, and nicely Combed out; they wore also straight-Bodied Coats with wide Sleeves, \* their Breasts open, so that they differ'd not much from our present fashions; only they wore the Toes of their Shoos long and picked, which much exceeding the length of their Feet turn'd up in their Faces; which foolish fashion was again reassumed in the Reign of King *Richard* the Second; inso-much that the Historians of those Times tell us that many Noblemen and Gentlemen used Gold or Silver Chains tyed to their Knees to keep

[3.]  
\* Pag. 86.  
† Pag. 682.

\* Latere nudo.



Anne Dom.

MC.

[4.]

W.M. Dia.

keep them still turned up. From whence we may observe, that the same Modes in Clothes after several Ages return again, and are ever thought becoming by those that wear them.

[4.] But which was worse than the folly of those Fashions the young Men that wore them seem'd to contend with Women in softness and effeminacy, walking affectedly, as if they seem'd unwilling to appear what they really were, shewing themselves Men in nothing so much as in their attempts upon the Chastity of the Women: and I with a great deal of this Character might not be too justly applied to the Youth of our present Age.

As for his Laws, if ever he made any, they are lost, and indeed there seem'd no great need of any under a Prince who commonly made his Will his Law; yet as Arbitrary as he was, yet for he would not condemn those Gentlemen who had been put to death by the Oracle.

As for his Taxations, we cannot tell how many they were (his whole Reign being full of them) only it is certain, he imposed the most diverse taxes; and we find in the Saxo-Chronicon, that under almost every year great complaints of the Taxation, pressing Exactions. He also sold over Abbeys for Money, and let out others when vacant, and also bishoprics to laymen, and at the time of his Death had the Archbishopric of Canterbury, and the Bishopric of Winchester, and Wiltshire in his hands, or all which he received the Profits.

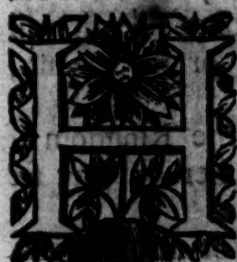
As a Conclusion to this Reign, I shall also here take notice from [3.] William of Malmesbury, and I believe a name of the great corruption of Manners among the young Noblemen and Gentlemen of those times, notwithstanding the weakness of the Age; for it was then the fashion for them to wear their Hair as long as Women, which they kept every day curl'd, and nicely Combed out; they wore also straight Bodiced Coats with wide sleeves, their Breasts open to the navel, they us'd not much from our present fashion, only they wore the Toes of their Shoes long and piked, which much exceeding the length of their Feet, and up in their faces; which foolish fashion was again reasum'd in the Reign of King Richard the Second; in so much that the Historians of those Times tell us that many Noblemen and Gentlemen us'd Gold or Silver Chains tyed to their Knees to keep



THE  
General History  
OF  
ENGLAND  
BOTH  
Ecclesiastical and Civil.

VOL. II. Book III.

King HENRY I.



**H**ENRY, Youngest Son to King *William* the First, was the only Child he had Born in *England*, after he came to the Crown; upon which account he is looked upon by [1.] *William* of *Malmesbury* to have had the best Right to it. He was in his Youth kept close to his Book, which gave his Mind such a deep tincture of good Literature, that neither Wars, nor Domestick Troubles could ever efface it: This also gave him so great a Reputation for Learning (not then commonly found among the Laity, and especially Princes) that it procured him the Sirname of *Beau-clerk*, that is, the *Good Scholar*. He had not much Land left him by his Father, the greatest part of his Portion being in Money, which was bequeathed him both by King *William*, and by the Queen his Mother; but most of what he had by the former, he was defrauded of by his Brother Duke *Robert*, who payed it away to his Mercenary Soldiers, that under him made War upon King *William*, whilst *Henry* was gone into *Bretaign* upon Duke *Robert*'s Service: after which being still hardly used by him (as you have heard) in the former Reign, he came over to the late King, and continued with him for some time before his Death; and being a Hunting with him that day he was killed, he laid hold on that opportunity to obtain the Crown, and immediately Posting to *Winchester*, where the late King's Treasure then was, and boldly demanding the Keys, he seized it to his own use; and had, I think, as much

Vol. II.

Q

right

Anno Dom.  
MC.

[1.]

P. 87. b.

An account  
of this King's  
Actions be-  
fore he came  
to the Crown.

Anno Dom.  
MC.

How he laid  
hold of this  
Opportunity  
to gain the  
Crown.



Anno Dom.  
MC.

[2.]  
Idem.  
P. 88.  
He is solemn-  
ly Elected,  
and Crown'd.

Id. 16.  
[3.]  
C. S. H. H.  
\* W.M. Ibid.

[4.]  
Ead. L. 3. p. 55.  
[5.]  
F. W. C. S.

His Corona-  
tion Oath.  
\* See this  
Charter in  
Latin in the  
Appendix.

No. 1.  
His Charter  
of Liberties.

[1.]  
P. 55.

right to it as his Brother *Robert*, who was then upon his return from the *Holy Land*.

[2.] The day after his Brother's Interment, he hasted to *London*, (where as many of the Nobility as could meet upon so short warning attended him) and was in a [3.] Great Council of the Bishops, Earls and Barons, the *Saturday* following Elected King, tho' some disputes had arose among them about it, but they were at last composed by *Henry* Earl of *Warwick*, whose Friendship he had gained long before; and the next being *Sunday* the fifth of *August*, he was solemnly Crowned by *Maurice* [4.] Bishop of *London*. But before hand he took an Oath,

[5.] "To observe and keep all good and just Laws toward his People, and to take away all those Oppressions and unjust Practices, which had sprung up during his Brother's Reign, as well in Ecclesiastical as Secular Affairs. All which so soon as the Solemnity was over, he caused to be published by his Edict or Proclamation, and soon after confirmed by his Charter, \* under his Broad Seal; a Copy of which is at this day to be found in the Red Book of the *Exchequer*; but a Transcript of that which was sent into *Herefordshire* (being the Foundation of King *John's Magna Charta*) I shall here give you from [1.] *Matthew Paris*.

"*Henry*, by the Grace of God King of *England*, to *Hugh de Bockland* the Sheriff; and to all his faithful Subjects in *Herefordshire*, as well *French* as *English*, Greeting: Know ye, that seeing by the Mercy of God, and the Common Assent of the Barons of *England*, I am now Crowned King; and being sensible that this Kingdom has been oppressed by unjust Exactions: &c. I do hereby, for the Honour of God, and the Love which I bear toward you all, set God's Church at Liberty; so that I will neither sell, nor set it out to Farm; nor upon any Archbishop, Bishop, or Abbot's death, will I take any thing of the Demesnes of the Church, or its Tenants, until a Successor shall be admitted to it.

"I also abrogate all evil Customs, with which the Kingdom of *England* has been unjustly oppressed, and which I here in part set down.

"If any of my Barons, Earls, or others who hold of me, shall die, his Heir shall not redeem the Estate, as he was wont to do in the time of my Father, but shall redeem it by a just and lawful Relief, (and in like manner shall other \* Tenants † redeem their Estates of their Lord by a lawful and just Relief;) if any of my Barons or other Tenants will give his Daughter, Sister, Neice, or Kinswoman in Marriage, he shall treat with me about it; but I will neither take any thing of his for it, nor will I forbid him to give her in Marriage, unless he shall do it to my Enemies. And if a Baron or any other of my Tenants die, leaving a Daughter and Heir, I will give her in Marriage, together with her Land, by the Assent of my Barons.

"But if the Husband die, and the Wife remain alive without Children, she shall have her Dower and Marriage-Portion, and I will not give her again in Marriage without her own consent: But if the Wife be left with Children, she shall then have her Dower and Marriage-Portion, whilst she preserves her Body in \* Chastity; and I will not dispose of her in Marriage, but with her own good liking.

There

\* *Homines*.  
† *Religare*.



"There shall also be Guardians appointed of the Children's Estates, either the Wife, or some near Kinsman, who ought to be just. *Anno Dom. MC.*

"I also Command that all my Vassals carry themselves in like manner towards the Sons, Daughters and Wives of their Tenants.

"The Common Mintage \* of Money, which was wont to be taken through Cities or Countries, and not paid in the time of King Edward, I do wholly forbid to be taken for the future. *\* Moneta*

"If any Coyner or other be taken with false Money, Right Justice shall be done upon him.

"All Pleas and Debts which were due to my Brother I forgive, except my Farms, and those things which were Bargained for, concerning the Inheritance of others; or for those things which justly concern'd other Men.

"But if any one has engaged any thing for his own Inheritance, that I forgive, with all Reliefs which were Bargain'd for such their Lawful Inheritances. And if any of my Barons or Tenants shall lye Sick, and he will give, or designs to bequeath his Money or Estate, I grant it shall be disposed of accordingly.

"But if, being prevented by War, or Sickness, he neither give nor dispose of his Money, or Estate; his Wife, or Children, or next of Kin, and his \* Lawful Tenants, shall divide it among them, for the good of his Soul, as it shall seem best to them. *\* Legitimi homines sui.*

"If any of my Barons or Tenants shall forfeit, he shall not give a Pledge for the † forbearance of the Fine, as he did in the Reigns of my Father and Brother, but only according to the measure of the Fine, as he was wont formerly to make: But if he shall be convicted of Perfidie, or other wickedness, he shall \* make satisfaction for such his offence. *† Misericordia. \* Emendabitur.*

"Also I pardon all † Murders from the day in which I was Crowned King, and those things which shall be hereafter committed, shall be justly amended or satisfied for, according to the \* Law of King Edward. *† Mordra. \* Lagam.*

"I have by the Common Assent of my Barons retain'd in my hands all Forests in such manner as my Father held them.

"I also grant of my own free gift to my Knights, i.e. Tenants by Knight-service, who defend their Lands by their \* Habergeons, that their Demesne Lands shall be free from all unjust Guelts, or Taxes, that since they are eased of so great a Burthen, they may the better provide themselves with Horses and Armes, and so be made fitter and more ready for my Service, and for the defence of my Kingdom. *\* Loricis.*

"I establish firm Peace in all my Realm, and command it to be observed for the future.

"I also restore you the † Law of King Edward, with those amendments with which my Father amended it; by the Assent of his Barons. *† Lagam.*

"If any Man hath taken any thing of mine, or the Goods of others, since the death of King William my Brother, the whole shall be speedily restored without any other satisfaction; but if he shall retain any thing thereof, he upon whom it is found shall pay soundly for it. To which these are Witnesses, Maurice Bishop of London,



Anno Dom. MC. William Elect of Winchester, Girald Bishop of Hereford, Earl Simon, Earl Walter Gifford, Robert de Montford, Roger Bigot, and many others.

[2.]  
Id. Ibid.  
Many of these  
Charters sent  
into several  
Counties, and  
Religious  
Houses.

[2.] It is also to be noted, that by the King's Command, there were as many of these Charters transcribed as there were Counties in *England*, and they were sent to certain Abbeyes in each County to be there preserved as Monuments to Posterity; and yet notwithstanding all this care, there were scarce any of them to be found in the Reign of King *John*, when the Quarrel began about this Charter, between that King and the Barons, as you will find in due time.

[3.]  
Idem Ib.  
F. W. W. M.  
P. 884.  
Ranulph Bi-  
shop of Dur-  
ham commit-  
ted to Prison.

[3.] Besides this the King further to ingratiate himself with the Nation, by the consent of its Common Council, committed *Ranulph* Bishop of *Durham* close Prisoner, he being looked on as the chief Instrument of all the Violences and Oppressions of the late Reign; but he not long after escaping by corrupting his Keepers, fled over into *Normandy*, and what he did there you will find hereafter.

[4.]  
Eadm. p. 55.  
Archbishop  
Anselm invi-  
ted to return  
home.

[4.] Presently after the Coronation, the King and great Men dispatched a Messenger to Archbishop *Anselm*, then in Exile at *Lyons* in *France*, inviting him to return into *England* with what speed he could; the King in his Letters adding his Prayers and Wishes for the same, promising to subject himself and his Kingdom to his Council and Direction: So he making all the hast he could, Landed at *Dover* the Twenty third day of *September*, to the great satisfaction of the whole Nation.

[5.]  
W. M.  
P. 884.  
Ead. p. 56.  
The King is  
inclined to  
Marry *Matilda*,  
Daughter  
to the late  
King of *Scots*.

[5.] Not long after his return, the King by the advice of his Friends, and especially the Bishops, resolved to leave off his Mistresses, and Marry; and he having a very great affection for *Matilda*, Daughter to *Malcolme*, late King of *Scotland*, and Grand-daughter to *Margaret*, Sister to *Edgar Atheling*, resolved (if it could proved be Lawful) to Marry her; for there being some scruple, Whither she might Marry or not, the Cause was brought before the Archbishop not long after his return; and the reason of this doubt was, for that she had been educated in the Monastery of *Wilton* amongst Nuns from her Infancy; whereon it was thought by many that had often seen her there, that her Parents had devoted her to God: these Reports putting a stop to the intended Mariage; to take away all Scruples about it, it was left to the determination of Archbishop *Anselm*, to whom the Lady privately applied her self, and begged his Advice and Assistance in it; and confessed, to him, That indeed she had been Veil'd, tho' against her will, and took that Habit upon her, only to preserve her Chastity from the then raging lust of the *Normans*, (which she could prove by sufficient Witnesses) But as for the Veil she had never worn it, unless in the presence of the Abbess *Christiana* her Aunt, and that as soon as her back was turned she flung it away; also that the King her Father seeing it once on her Head, had pulled it off and torn it, protesting to *Alan* Earl of *Bretaign*, that he intended to Marry her, and not to make her a Nun. This is the substance of this Lady's Defence.

Some Scr-  
uples against  
it, as she had  
been a Nun.

[1.]  
Idem.  
P. 57.  
Anselm calls a  
Synod to de-  
termine whi-  
ther *Matilda*  
had been real-  
ly a Nun.

[1.] Upon hearing which, Archbishop *Anselm* deferr'd giving his Judgment, and for greater security resolved to adjourn it to an Assembly of all the Clergy, who were to meet immediately after by his Command; where in a full Council of the Bishops, Abbots, and Inferior Clergy, together with certain Noblemen, held at *Lambeth*, the Cause



Cause being solemnly heard, and all there present giving their Votes according to their Consciencés, and the Merits of the Cause, the matter of fact appear'd to be thus; That when the Great *William* had subdued this Land, divers Virgins went into *Monasteries*, and Veiled themselves, that they might be thereby protected from the Lusts of his Soldiers, who being puffed up with so great a Victory, thought all things subject to their will, and that they might not only seize the Estates of the Conquered, but also ravish Matrons and Virgins whenever they had opportunity. Yet that Archbishop *Lanfranc*, when Peace was settled, being asked his Opinion concerning such Persons, whether they should be kept to a Monastick Life or not, had given it in the Negative, unless they would undertake it by their own Free wills. Whereupon the Archbishop, after hearing all the said Allegations and Proofs, coming out before the Church-doors, there in the presence of the King, the Nobility and \* Common People (who all flocked about him) related the whole Process in this Cause, and then openly gave Sentence, That the Lady might enjoy the Lawful liberty of her Person, and according to the Law of God might Marry; which being approved of by the whole Assembly there present, not long after (*viz.*) at *Martinmas* following, the Mariage between King *Henry* and the Lady was Solemnized.

Anno Dom.  
MC.

\* *Populus minor.*

This Year in [2.] *September*, after the King's Coronation, Duke *Robert* his Brother returned home from his Voyage to *Jerusalem*, from whence he brought more Reputation than Money; but tho' in all that Expedition, as also at the taking of that City from the *Saracens*, he behaved himself with remarkable valour; yet (as for what some of our Historians relate) that he was offer'd by all the Princes there present, to be chosen King of that new Kingdom, but that he refusing it, *Godfrey* Duke of *Lorraine* was Elected in his stead, since I find it in no antienter Author than [3.] *Henry* of *Huntington*, I shall not mention it, as any more than a common Tradition of that Age.

[2.]  
W. M.  
P. 89.  
F. W.  
Duke Robert returns from his Voyage to the Holy Land.

[3.]  
*Idem. Ibid.*

Yet he was now joyfully received into his Dutchy without any opposition, [4.] having in his return home Married in *Sicily* a most beautiful Lady, called *Sibilla*, Daughter to *William* Earl of *Conversano*, a Prince of *Italy*, and with whom he had a Portion sufficient to have redeem'd his Dutchy (had there been occasion for it) but he squander'd away all that Money in a short time, upon Parasites and mean Fellows. The Duke was no sooner a little settled, but being much discontented at the loss of the Kingdom of *England*, many Noblemen that were dissatisfied with the new King's Government, went over to him, and excited him to vindicate his Right; but since he did nothing in it all the rest of this Year, I shall defer the further mention of it till the next.

[4.]  
F. W.  
W. M.  
*Ibid.*  
His Mariage in his way home.

I shall conclude this Year with an Account of Ecclesiastical Affairs: [5.] Archbishop *Anselm* not long after his Return waited on the King at *Salisbury*, who first made him an Excuse that he could not stop his Coronation till coming over, because it required his immediate dispatch; and then desired him, that according to the Custom of his Predecessors, he would do him homage, and receive the Investiture of his Bishoprick at his hand: To which the Archbishop answered, That he could by no means agree to it; and being asked the reason, he then related, what Injunctions he had lately received at *Rome* concerning

[5.]  
*Eadm. p. 56.*  
Archbishop *Anselm* returns into *England*, and his Answer to the King's demands.



Anno Dom.  
MC.

The King be-  
ing loth to  
lose his Inve-  
stiture of Bi-  
shopricks and  
Abbeys, re-  
quires some  
Respite.

[1.]

Idem. Ib.

ing that, as well as other matters; plainly declaring, That if the King would be contented with this, they might then agree, and there would be a firm Peace between them; but if he saw the King resolved to confer Bishopricks and Abbeys as had been done formerly, he (the Archbishop) should then be satisfied, that his stay in *England* would neither be Honourable nor Safe; for he had not come over, nor would stay here, if the King was not resolved to obey the Pope, and therefore desired a positive answer what he must expect. The King hearing this, was very much troubled, because it seemed hard for him to lose the Investiture of Churches, and the Homages of his Prelates, nevertheless it seemed as difficult to suffer the Archbishop to leave the Kingdom, being as yet unsettled; for he was satisfied he should run a great Risque if *Anselm* should go over to his Brother Duke *Robert*, and having perswaded him to submit to the See of *Rome*, should thereupon own him for King.

[1.]

[1.] *Henry* therefore desired some respite till *Easter*, that he might send to *Rome* to see if they could obtain of the Pope, that the Antient Customs of the Kingdom might continue, and that in the mean time the Churches of *England* should remain in the same state as they were at present, and the Archbishop should have the Lands restored to him which the late King had taken away; and that if the Pope could not be drawn from his former Sentence, all things should remain in the same state as they were at present: this, tho' *Anselm* very well knew would be altogether in vain (as he then foretold) yet lest he should give any suspicion to the new King and the Nobility, as if he intended to translate the Kingdom to his Brother, he yielded to their Entreaties, and the \* Council being dismissed, the Archbishop return'd home to his See.

[2.]

Idem Ib.  
A Legate  
from the  
Pope comes  
over hither.

The same Year [2.] *Guido*, Archbishop of *Vienne* in *Dauphine*, came into *England*, as Legate of all *Bretaign*, by the Pope's command and authority, which being made publick, (as the same Author tells us) caused great Admiration, since all Men knew it was unheard of before in *Bretaign*, that any Man should represent the Apostolick See here, except the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and therefore as he came so he return'd, without being received by any body as the Pope's *Nuncio*, or performing the Office of a Legate in any matter whatsoever.

Now this seems very strange, since, as this Author himself relates, *Walter* Bishop of *Alba* came over hither as *Nuncio* from the Pope in the last King's Reign; not to mention others, who had been likewise sent hither, and had presided in former Synods, as you have already heard.

Anno Dom.  
MCI.

[3.]

Idem Ib.  
Upon the  
News of  
Duke Robert's  
intended In-  
vasion, the  
Nation is di-  
vided.

But [3.] at *Whitsunday* following, the Report of Duke *Robert*'s intended Invasion of *England*, disturbed the whole Realm, and (as it afterwards appear'd) drew Men's minds several ways; for *Ranulph* Bishop of *Durham*, having lately made his escape out of Prison into *Normandy*, (as has been said before) had done his utmost to excite the Duke to make War upon his Brother; which news divided the Nobility into parties, and made the King very jealous of them; for as he suspected their fidelity, lest they should depart from the Faith they had plighted to him, so they likewise fear'd, that when he was once settled in his Throne in Peace, he would again oppress them with severer Laws: therefore it was upon mature deliberation resolved, that



that such a Security should be mutually given on both sides; as might effectually remove all Jealousies; but when they were about to take a further engagement of the King's Faith, the whole Nobility of the Kingdom, with all the People, made Archbishop *Anselm* Mediator between the King and them; who giving them his hand \* on the King's behalf, solemnly promised, that he would govern the whole Kingdom so long as he lived, by pious and just Laws; which being done, every one was very well satisfied with this Security; from whence you may observe, how great a trust the whole Nation at this time placed in this Archbishop's promise and engagement.

Anno Dom.  
MCI.

\* A Custom then in use upon all Pledging of Faith, which is still retain'd in Marriage.

[4.]

*Idem Ib.*  
The King raises a great Army to resist his Brother.

After [4.] the King was assured of his Brother's coming over, he resolved to raise a Great Army out of the whole Kingdom to resist him, which indeed was very numerous; and Archbishop *Anselm* with his Dependants continued most faithful to the King in this Expedition.

But since the *Saxon Annals* give us a more exact account of this affair than any other Author, I shall here give you what they relate concerning it, (*viz.*) that upon the News of the Duke's coming over, many of the Chief Men of this Kingdom became secret Enemies to the King, so that when he set out his Fleet to Sea, some of the Ships deserted him, and went over to the Duke: To which *Florence of Worcester* adds, That many of the Great Men had privately invited Duke *Robert* over, and that when he Landed, some of them openly sided with him, whilst others dissembling their kindness, stayed with the King, expecting an opportunity to revolt; but that the Bishops, Common Soldiers and *English* remain'd firm to the King: yet *William of [5.] Malmesbury* says expressly, that almost all the Great Men of *England* broke their Oaths of Allegiance to him, some for no cause, and others for very slight ones, as that he would not grant them what Lands they desired, or the like. To which [1.] *Ordericus Vitalis* joyns another reason, which might sway very much with divers of these Seditious Grandees, *viz.* that they feared the Magnanimous temper of King *Henry*, that it would keep them too much in awe, and therefore prefer'd the ease and slothful humour of Duke *Robert*, so that (as the former Author relates) only *Robert Fitz-Hatmon*, *Richard de Redvers*, and *Roger Bigod*, and a few others there named, still remain'd faithful to him in this extremity. Then about *Midsummer* the King march'd to *Pevensey* with his whole Army against his Brother, and there tarried for his coming over; but he was at that time in such great fear of both his Life and Kingdom, that he scarce trusted any Body besides the Archbishop.

Many of the great Men desert the King, as also some of his Fleet.

[5.]

P. 88. a.  
Most of the Great Men break their Oaths to King *Henry*.

[1.]

P. 786.  
The King's Army is defeated by Duke Robert.

[2.]

F. W.  
Duke Robert arrives in England.

[3.]

F. W.  
Duke Robert arrives in England.

*Eadm.* p. 59.

[4.]

Archbishop *Anselm* and some of the Nobility stick close to the King.

[2.] In August Duke *Robert* setting Sail from *Utrecht* in *Normandy* with a powerful Force, (yet relying more upon the Revolt of the Nobility) arrived at *Portsmouth*, and marching thence encamp'd near *Winchester*; then the King with all his Army went out against him, but before he did so, he promised the Archbishop, that he should freely exercise Ecclesiastical Discipline as he pleased, and that for ever after He himself would be obedient to the Decrees of the Apostolick See. Then the Archbishop called together all the Great Men, and urged to them and the whole Army, how execrable a thing it would be for them to violate their Faith once given to their Prince; by which Pathetical Discourse he so well fixed their minds, that they resolved rather to lose their Lives, than ever to revolt from the King; and



Anno Dom.  
MCI.

A Peace made  
between the  
King and  
Duke.

[3.]  
A more full  
Relation of  
it from *Ordericus*.

[4.]  
C. S. F. W.  
The Articles  
of their Agreement.

[5.]  
Twelve Noblemen of  
each side  
swore to the  
true observance of them.

[5.]  
*Eadm. p. 58.*  
Archbishop  
*Anselm* Summon'd to  
give his Answer concern-  
ing the Investiture of  
Bishops.

*P. 58.*

*Idem 16.*  
What was  
done upon  
his Arrival  
there.

and it was chiefly the owing to Archbishop's Fidelity and Industry, that at this time King *Henry* kept the Crown upon his Head: for Duke *Robert* being thereby defeated of the Trust he reposed in the Nobility, and fearing to be *Excommunicated* by *Anselm* as an Invader of another's Right. He by the Mediation of some of the Chief Men of his own as well as his Brother's Party, made Peace with the King upon certain Terms.

[3.] *Ordericus Vitalis* is something more particular in this Transaction, and says, that so soon as the Duke Landed, he was received by the Noblemen of his Party, and that the two Brothers remain'd with their Forces in a Plain not far from *Winchester*, for some days, and there was a daily Intercourse of Messengers between the Noblemen of both sides, but without any effect; yet at length only the two Brothers by mutual consent, without any Assistants, met between the two Armies, and after some Discourse agreed upon the conditions that are express'd more at large in our own Authors, being these that follow:

1. That [4.] the King should surrender to the Duke whatsoever he had taken or held in *Normandy* by Force.

2. That all Persons should have their Honours and Lands restored to them who had lost them upon the Duke's Account, and also *Eustace* (Earl of *Boleign*) should have those his Father had enjoyed in this Kingdom, as also those of the King's party, who had their Estates in *Normandy* seized, were to be restored to them.

3. That the King should also pay to Duke *Robert* the Sum of three Thousand marks of Silver yearly, and that the surviving Brother should be Heir to the other, both of *England*, and *Normandy*, if the Deceased left no Lawful Heirs of his own Body.

For the performance of which Agreement, Twelve of the chief Noblemen on each side were solemnly sworn: Then the Duke disbanded his Army; but before that, his Soldiers did a great deal of mischief in all places where ever they marched; yet the Duke (being a Prince of an easy Temper) stayed here till *Michaelmas* was over, and then he returned into *Normandy*.

Not long after this Reconciliation, [5.] Archbishop *Anselm* was Summon'd to appear at the King's Court, to give his Answer concerning the Investitures of Bishops, which had been hitherto delayed; for the Messengers being now returned from *Rome*, brought Letters from Pope *Paschal* (who had lately succeeded *Urban*) concerning this Affair; which because they are very tedious, and only contain some frivolous reasons, why the Pope would not grant the King a Dispensation for his bestowing the Investiture of Bishopricks and Abbeys, I shall pass by, and refer the Reader for his further satisfaction to [1.] *Eadmer's* History concerning them.

But so soon as the Archbishop came to Court, the King by the Counsel of his Brother Duke *Robert*, and those of his party (who were very angry with *Anselm*, because that by his means he had been defeated in his hopes of the Kingdom) required of him, that either he should become the King's Liegeman, and, according to the Custom of his Predecessors, consecrate those on whom the King would bestow Bishopricks and Abbeys, or else quit the Kingdom without delay; which was but an ungrateful return for the Archbishop's late kindness.



ness and fidelity: But to this message he modestly replied that he had already told the King what had been Ordained at the Council of Rome in this matter, and that if he should now yield to what was required, he should be *Excommunicated* by his own Sentence; and since the Messengers who were sent thither to get this altered, were returned without doing any thing, that he should be very indiscreet, if he should offer now to transgress in those things which could not be done with any safety or honesty. Whereupon the King answered again, What is that to me? I will not lose the Usages of my Predecessors, neither will I suffer any one to stay in my Kingdom, who will not be my Subject. To which the Archbishop as sharply retorted, I know very well to what all these things tend, and have been already versed in like matters; yet I shall not leave the Land, as the King commands me, but will go to my own Church, and there performing my duty, will see if any Body dare do any violence to me and mine. There were many Messages about this Affair carried between them by the Bishops and Nobles, who in all things endeavoured to observe the King's will, and would have perswaded the Archbishop to comply with it too, and not to obey the Pope: But nothing being now concluded, *Anselm* returned home, and was much grieved at these great oppressions (as he thought them) of the *English Church*.

[2.] Not long after, the King sent friendly Letters to the Archbishop, inviting him to come to Court, telling him, That he was resolved to mitigate his former Sentence; upon which the Archbishop went to *Winchester*, where the Bishops and the Chief Men of the Kingdom were soon after assembled, and there it was by common assent resolved, that farther time should be allowed on both sides, and other Messengers should be sent to *Rome* of greater quality than the former, who should relate to the Pope by word of mouth, that he must either depart from his former Sentence, or else that Archbishop *Anselm*, and those of his party would be Banished *England*, and then his Holiness might lose the Subjection of that Kingdom, and the Profits he was wont to receive from thence. Also the Archbishop sent two Monks, viz. *Baldwin* of the Abbey of *Bet*, and *Alexander* of *Canterbury*, partly that they might appeal to the Pope against these Court-threatnings, and partly that they might relate to *Anselm* the final Determination of the *Roman See* in this matter; so likewise from the King there went three Bishops, (viz.) *Gerard* late Bishop of *Hereford*, (now made Archbishop of *Tork*) *Herbert* Bishop of *Thetford*, and *Robert* Bishop of *Chester*, who had each of them their own particular business besides; but what success they had in the Affair they were sent about, you will hear further hereafter.

The King had not been long free from the danger of a foreign Invasion, but there arose a fresh disturbance at home, which proceeded from his over great severity; for whereas it had been his wisest way to have forgiven all offences past, yet he was no sooner confirm'd in his Kingdom, but [3.] he began by degrees to punish all such as had deserted him, or adhered to, or invited over Duke *Robert*; he also Summon'd to tryal *Robert Mallet*, *Ivo de Grentemaisnil*, *Robert de Pontefract*, the Son of *Ilbert Lacy*, and *Robert de Belesme* the greatest of them all, with divers others; tho' not all at once, but at several

Anno Dom.  
MCL.

*Anselm* refuses to receive any Investiture from the King.

[2.]  
Idem ib.  
The King again writes to the Archbishop, and promises to mitigate his former Sentence.

Whereupon he and the Bishops meet at *Winchester*.

The Archbishop and the King send their several Messengers to *Rome*.

Anno Dom.  
MCII.

[3.]  
O. V.  
P. 787.  
A new Insurrection in *England*, and on what occasion.



Anno Dom.

MCH.

Idem.

[4.]

Idem.

P. 806.

Robert Earl of  
Shrewsbury  
Summon'd to  
appear.He falls into  
open Rebelli-  
on.

[5.]

F. W.

[6.]

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[272.]

[273.]

[274.]

[275.]

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[298.]

[299.]

[300.]

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[303.]

[304.]

[305.]

[306.]

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[308.]

[309.]

[310.]

[311.]

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[313.]

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[315.]

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[319.]

[320.]

[321.]

[322.]

[323.]

[324.]

[325.]

[326.]

[327.]

[328.]

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[330.]

[331.]

[332.]

[333.]&lt;/



him Two hundred Soldiers, and made him Governour of *Stafford Castle*; from whence by Excursions he mightily annoyed the Earl; and it was He that by great Promises and Gifts brought over the *Welsh Princes* to the King's side. After this the King demanded *Shrewsbury* of the two Governours, and threaten'd, that if it were not delivered to him in three days, he would hang all he should take therein. Then the Governours Treated with the King by the Mediation of *William Pantulf*, One allied to them, who with the Townsmen and Burgesses were willing to save themselves, and deliver up the Town; so the Keys of the Castle were sent to the King by *Ralph Abbot of Seys*, who was afterwards made Archbishop of *Canterbury*; but the Mercenaries knew nothing of this Treaty, but still remained faithful to their Master, and therefore when the King entered the Town, he permitted them freely to depart with their Horses and Armes.

King [4.] *Henry* having thus subdued his Enemies, took away from *Robert de Belesme* his Earldom and Lands, and all the Estates of such as adhered to him; yet gave him a safe Conduct to pass into *Normandy*, (knowing very well, that a Nobleman bereft of his Estate, is like an Eagle stript of his Wings and Feathers; the King also Banished his two Brothers, *Arnulph* and *Roger of Poitou*, which put an end to this Rebellion sooner than was expected.

But these Noblemen being expell'd *England*, raised fresh Disturbances in *Normandy*, which lasted three years longer; for Duke *Robert*, tho' he had courage enough, yet wanted Power (or rather Discretion) to quell them; for *Robert de Belesme* being a Man of great Power in *Normandy*, always kept considerable Forces about him, and supported himself by his vast Wealth, which he had Treasured up in Thirty four strong Castles, formerly built with a design to rebell when ever it lay in his Power.

Let us now look back to Ecclesiastical Affairs: [5.] The Messengers who were lately sent to *Rome*, as well on the Archbishop's as on the King's behalf, returning this Summer, brought back the Pope's Letters to the King in answer to his last Message, concerning his Resolution of retaining the Investiture of Churches; the Pope also wrote to the Archbishop upon the same Subject; in those to the King, by his Pontifical Authority he positively forbid him any longer to retain those Investitures; whilst in those to the Archbishop he exclaims against it as the Root of all Simonical corruption, and directly against the late Decrees of the *Lateran Council*.

But [1.] the King concealing the Letters which were sent to himself, Summoned the Archbishop to Court, and the Nobility being again assembled at *London*, he demanded of *Anselm*, either to observe the Customs of his Predecessors, or else to quit the Kingdom. To which the Archbishop answered, That he desired the Pope's Letters might be read that were lately brought, and then he should not stick to obey the King, still preserving his Obedience to the Apostolick See; which the King denying he had receiv'd, the Archbishop told him, That when ever he pleased to produce those Letters, he should always find him ready to observe them: Whereupon the King still persisting in his denial that he had any, he at last declared he would treat with him no further about them, but bid him to answer positively, whether he would obey his will or not, without any further

*Anno Dom.*  
MCII.

The King  
Summons  
*Shrewsbury*,  
which is at  
last surren-  
dered.

[4.]  
O. V.  
*Robert de Be-*  
*lesme* is disin-  
herited and  
Banished the  
Kingdom,  
with other  
Noblemen.

[5.]  
*Eadm. Lib. 3.*  
p. 63.

The Messen-  
gers return  
from *Rome*,  
with Letters  
from the  
Pope.

[1.]  
*Id. Ib.*

The King con-  
ceals the Con-  
tents of the  
Pope's Let-  
ters.



*Anno Domini*  
MCII

The Bishop's  
Report differs  
from the  
Archbishop's  
Letters.

[3]

V O

the Bishop's  
Report differs  
from the  
Archbishop's  
Letters.

[3]

Ibid.

P. 66.

The King in-  
sists that An-  
selm should  
do him Ho-  
mage, where-  
upon the  
Archbishop  
resolves to go  
to Rome.

[4]

Ibid.

P. 67.

A General  
Synod held at  
Westminster.

Subterfuges: Which made some give out, That the Pope's Letters were according to the King's own desires, and that he would quickly publish them, whither *Anselm* would or not.

But those to the Archbishop being read over and over before all there present, nothing could be found in them to the King's advantage, yet notwithstanding the Bishops who came from *Rome* pretended to have received other private Instructions from the Pope by word of mouth, than what the Letters even to the King himself contained; and being required upon their Episcopal Veracity to speak the truth, they farther declar'd that the Pope himself had sent the King word by them, that so long as he did the part of a good Prince in other things, he would connive at the Investiture of Churches, and would never excommunicate him, altho' he Invested Religious Persons with the delivery of the Pastoral Staff; but the reason why he would not grant him that privilege in Writing, as they pretended, was, lest if it should come to the knowledge of other Princes, they should contend the Authority of the Pope, and without his leave usurp it to themselves. Which *Baldwin* the Monk hearing, he challenged the Bishops as if they had acted contrary to the Faith and Oaths, they had given the Pope at *Rome*. So there arose no small Dissension among the Noblemen and Bishops, some endeavouring to maintain that slighting the uncertainty of Verbal Messages, they ought rather to believe the Pope's Letters, and the Testimony of the Monks, whilst others maintained the contrary, that they ought rather to give credit to the assertion of three Bishops, than to a piece of Parchment scribbled over with Ink, or to the Testimony of two Monks, who as soon as they professed to renounce the World, had lost the credit of Witnesses. Whereupon a great Dispute arose between them, and the two Monks, insomuch that the Archbishop was for some time doubtful which way to turn himself, the Pope's Letters saying one thing, and the Bishops another.

The [3.] King therefore being encouraged in his opinion from those things which the Bishops then alledged, and the Noblemen inciting him to it, he began again to insist, That Archbishop *Anselm* should do him Homage, and also promise to Consecrate those whom the King should nominate to Bishopricks; which the Archbishop refused, saying, That if the Pope's Letters had agreed with the Bishop's words, perhaps he would have done what was now required; but to prevent all mistakes for the future, he thought it better to go to *Rome* himself, to consult the Pope in this Affair, than to precipitate his opinion in so doubtful a point. So after some further contest between him and the Bishops that came from *Rome*, he at last told them, that he resolved to send thither again about this matter, and in the mean time would not Consecrate any of those who had received their Investitures from the King, nor yet would command any other Bishop to do so. Upon which the Controversie was laid asleep for a time.

Not [4.] long after, (*viz.* at *Michaelmas* following) the King being at *Westminster*, there was held a General Synod in the Church of *St. Peter's*, of all the Bishops and Abbots of *England*, in which Archbishop *Anselm* presided, there sitting with him Gerard Archbishop of *Tork*, and the other Bishops particularly named by *Eadmerus*, who has given us the Decrees of this Synod at large, and likewise informs

us,



us, that at the request of *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, (the chief Noblemen of the Kingdom being also present) it was declar'd, that whatsoever was decreed by the Authority of the said Council, (and being also establish'd and confirm'd by the joyn't consent of both Orders) should be inviolably observed; the chief Decrees of which Synod, since they alter'd many things in Church-Discipline, and also relate to Secular Affairs, I shall here set down at large from [5.] *Radmerus*.

[5.]  
*Idem Ib.*

1. That *Synony* be severely punished; of which several Abbots (there named) being found guilty, were by this Synod deposed.

2. That Bishops undertake not the Office of Secular Pleas, nor wear Habits like Lay-men, but as becomes Religious Persons. "Yet notwithstanding this Decree, we find several Bishops not long after to Officiate as Judges in the King's Courts; which shews how little they were concern'd in those days for the Canons of the Church, when either profit or honour stood in competition with them."

3. That no Arch-Deaconries should be let out to Farm.

4. That all Arch-Deacons should be Deacons.

From whence we may observe, that before this Council, that great Office of an Arch-Deacon was often by the Bishops let out to Farm to meer Lay-men.

5. That no Arch-Deacon, Priest, Deacon, or Chanon marry a Wife, or retain one, tho' Married to him; and that every Sub-Deacon that is not a Chanon, (if he had Married after his Profession made of Chastity) should be bound by the same Rule.

This Decree tho' made before at *Rome*, was not till now received in *England*, and gave occasion to *Henry* Arch-Deacon of *Huntington*, to pass this severe remark upon this Prohibition: *Hec quibusdam mundissimum visum est, quibusdam periculosum, ne dum munditias viribus majores Sacerdotes appetere, in immunditias horribiles ad Christiani nominis summum dedecus incidere*: In *English* thus, Which thing seem'd very pure to some, to others very dangerous, lest whilst the Priests sought for a purity beyond their strength, they should fall into horrible uncleannesses to the great disgrace of the Christian Profession. Which censure has since been found but too true, amongst many of the Clergy of the Church of *Rome*.

6. That a Priest, so long as he holds unlawful conversation with a Woman (tho' his own Wife) is not Chanoical, nor can rightly Celebrate, nor is his Mass to be heard.

7. That none be admitted to the Order of Sub-Deacon, or upwards, without the Profession of Chastity.

8. That the Sons of Priests be not made Heirs to the Churches of their Fathers.

9. That no Clerk be a \*Bayliff or Steward in Secular Matters, or \* *Propositus*. Judge in Blood.

This is the Reason, saith the *Appendix to Harpsfield's Church History*, why Bishops, being arraigned for their Lives, are not to be tryed by their Peers, but by a Jury of Ordinary Men; because debarred by the Canons to be Judges of Lay-Peers in like Cases, and therefore it was conceived unfitting, that they should receive that Honour which they could not return.

But



Anno Dom.  
MCH.

But since this is only that Author's guess, I think I may also give another, and I hope as satisfactory a reason for this Law, or rather Custom now in use; viz. that Bishops, being formerly exempted from the Authority of Secular Courts, could not be arraigned before them, until they were first solemnly degraded of their Episcopal Orders, and when so degraded they were no longer Barons.

10. That Priests should not go to publick Drinkings, *Nec ad pinas bibant*, nor drink to the Pins.

You may remember at the end of the last Volume there is an additional Law of King *Edgar's*, whereby Men were forbidden to drink at one Draught below certain Pins, that were ordered to be fixed on the inside of the Cups and Goblets; which being also abused to Drunkenness by the Clergy as well as Laity, it now produced this Law to forbid it.

11. That the Garments of Clergy-men be of one Colour, and their Shoes also, according to order.

12. That Monks and Clerks, who have cast off their Orders, either return thereto, or be *Excommunicated*.

13. [1.] That Clerks have Crowns *Patent*, (i.e. broad Shaved) so that their Shaving be conspicuous to the Beholders.

14. That Tythes be given to none, but to Churches.

15. That Churches, or Prebends, be not Bought.

16. That New Chappels be not made without the consent of the Bishop.

17. That no Church be Consecrated, until a necessary Maintenance be provided for the Priest and Church.

18. That Abbots make no Knights, and that they Eat and sleep in the same House with their Monks, except some necessity forbid.

Hence it farther appeareth, that it was the Antient Custom of Abbots in those days to make Knights, as you may find from the example of Abbot *Brand's* Knighting his Nephew *Hereward*, in the Reign of King *William* the First, the Form of which I have there also set down: And yet this is certain, that notwithstanding this Canon, King *Henry* the First, some years after granted, and King *John* confirmed to the Abbot of *Reading*, the Power of making Knights, with some Cautions for their Behaviour therein.

19. That Monks enjoyn no Pennance to any, without permission of their Abbot, and that only to such Persons, of whose Souls they have the Cure.

By which Decree great part of the Monks's Profits, which arose from their hearing Confessions, was now taken away.

20. That Monks and Nuns, be not God-fathers nor God-mothers.

21. That Monks hold no Lands in Farm.

22. That they take no Churches unless by the Bishops Consent; and that they may not alienate the Revenues of such as are given them, so that the Priests serving in those Cures, may be provided with Necessaries.

This is to be understood of such Churches whose Advowsons belonged to their own Monasteries; yet of these they were to take Institution from the Bishop.

23. That

[1.]  
Idem.  
P. 68.



23. That Vows of Marriage pledged secretly, and without Witnesses betwixt Man and Woman be of no effect, if either party do deny them.

Anno Dom.  
MCH.

24. That such as \* wore long Hair be so polled, that part of their Ears may appear, and their Eyes be not covered.

\* Crinisi.

This the Church then thought it had cognisance of, as being contrary to the dictates of \* St. Paul.

\* 1 Cor. II. 14.

This Fashion having very much prevailed in the last King's Reign, was come to that height, that the same † Author tells us, the young Gentlemen of the Court used to wear their Hair very long, and daily combed out like Women; which Archbishop *Anselm* not enduring, when several of those Gallants came on *Asb-wednesday* to hear his Mass, he refused to sprinkle ashes on them, or to give them Absolution, unless they would cut off their Hair; whereupon a good many of them did; but it seems this fashion could not suddenly be rooted out, and therefore this Decree was now made against it, and yet all to little purpose (as you will see anon) till the King himself reformed it by his own example.

† *Edm. rui.*

24. That Parties akin to the Seventh Generation be not Coupled in Marriage, and that Persons so Coupled remain not in that state; and if any be privy to this Incest, without declaring it, he shall be accounted guilty of the same crime.

26. That the Bodies of the Dead be not carried to be buried, out of their own Parishes, lest the Parish Priest should lose his Dues.

From whence we may gather the Reason, why Parsons now a days demand their Fees for the Burial of such as die within their Parishes, tho' carried to be Interr'd else where.

27. That none out of a rash desire of Novelty pay any Reverence to any dead Bodies, Fountains, or other things without Authority from the Bishops.

Where you may observe, that this Superstition of paying Religious Worship to Bodies of pretended Saints was unlawful without the Bishop's Licenses.

28. That none presume hereafter to sell Men like Brute-beasts; a thing which hath hitherto been too much used.

From which time we do not read of the publick Sale of Slaves, which before was frequently practised.

29. That the Sin of *Sodomy* both in Clergy and Laity should be punished with heavy Censures, until by Penance and Confession they might deserve Absolution.

And it was Decreed, That if a Person in Holy Orders were found guilty of it, he should be deprived, and advanced no higher; but a Lay-Gentleman and Nobleman was to be degraded from his Dignity.

And it was likewise Ordained, That the said *Excommunication* should be renewed every Lord's-day through all *England*.

But this was also dispensed with by Archbishop *Anselm's* Order, which shews how general this Horrid Sin was then in *England*, and the smallness of the punishment that was ordained for it.

These were the Decrees of this Council, which now broke up.

But it is high time to return to Civil Affairs.

This



Anno Dom.

MCH.

[2.]

C. S.

Duke Robert comes into England, and the 3000. Mark's Pension he was to have from hence.

[3.]

Eadm. p. 69. The old Quarrel between the King and the Archbishop about Investitures is again revived.

[4.]

Id. lb.

P. 69, 70. The King goes to Dover to meet with the Earl of Flanders.

And sends Messengers to the Archbishop, and his Answer.

This [2.] Year Duke Robert came again out of Normandy to visit the King his Brother, and then out of Kindness and Generosity, or (as others report) at the request of his Sister-in-law, Queen Mathilda, he also remitted the Pension of *Three thousand Marks*, which the King was to pay him, according to the late Agreement between them.

[3.] Not long after the Duke's coming over, the old Quarrel between the King and the Archbishop about Investitures was again revived, upon the Archbishop's refusing to Consecrate those Bishops the King had nominated: Whereupon the King commanded Gerard Archbishop of York to Consecrate those on whom he had before bestowed the Investitures of the Bishopricks, (*viz.*) William Gifford Bishop Elect of Winchester, and Roger Bishop Elect of Sarum; but as for Renelm Bishop Elect of Hereford, he repenting of what he had done, returned the King the Pastoral Staff and Ring; upon this, when the Archbishop of York was just ready to Consecrate the two other Bishops, William Elect of Winchester also would not consent to be Consecrated by him, as not being his Metropolitan; and being thereof accused before the King, and having endured many threatnings about it, he still obstinately refused to obey his Commands; whereupon he was bereaved of his Goods, and Banished the Kingdom, which begot such a Division among these Bishops of the King's making, that now there were not any Bishops Consecrated at all.

[4.] Then about Mid-lem following the King went down to Dover, in order to treat with the Earl of Flanders about some weighty Affairs; and taking Canterbury in his way, stay'd there for three days, and from thence sent Messengers to the Archbishop, admonishing him to observe the Antient Customs of his Kingdom, and not provoke him to Execute against him according to the utmost of his Power. To which the Archbishop answered, That the Messengers he had sent to Rome concerning the Message lately brought by the Bishops, were now return'd, and had brought Letters along with them, attesting the truth, which he desired might be opened, to see whither there were any thing in them that might persuade him to yield to the King's will: But to this the King reply'd, That he would endure no farther delays, but expected his final resolution in this matter; for what had the Pope to do with his Affairs? Did not whatsoever his Predecessors had enjoy'd, belong to him? therefore whoever would take it from him, was his Enemy. To which the Archbishop protested, that his design was not to take away any thing which belonged to the King, yet he should know that for his Life he could not consent to those things which he had heard forbidden in the Council at Rome, unless he could receive a Dispensation from the same See from whence they had received their Sanction. Upon this many Messages passing to and fro between them, the King at last meeting the Archbishop himself, spoke to him very calmly, and desired him with many Entreaties to go to Rome in Person, and that he would endeavour to procure for him what others could not obtain, lest losing the Antient Rights of his Predecessors, he should appear inferiour to them. Then the Archbishop perceiving whither these things tended, desired that all might be defer'd till Easter, that the chief Men of the Kingdom being met in Council, he might there give his Answer, and so they parted for the present upon pretty good Terms.

[5.] There-



[5.] Therefore when the Archbishop came to the Court at *Easter*, he consulted the Nobility of the Kingdom upon the present Affair, and then received the General Vote of the Common Council, that it was very fitting, for the sake of so weighty a Business, that he should not refuse the trouble of so long a Journey; to which the Archbishop replied, Since they all agreed in that opinion, tho' he were weak in Body, and on the confines of old Age, yet he would undertake the Voyage and go to *Rome*, as they advised, as God gave him strength; yet they must know, that if ever he came to the Pope's Presence he should not desire him to do any thing at his request, which might be contrary to the Liberty of the Church, or his own honesty. They then reply'd, That the King would send his Ambassadour along with him, who was to represent the whole matter to the Pope, so that the Archbishop was to do no more than attest those things to be true, which he should say. The Archbishop's answer to this was short, (*viz.*) That what he had already said he now repeated, that by God's help he would never contradict any Man so long as he spoke the truth.

[1.] The Feast of *Easter* being over, *Anselm* left the Court, resolving to hasten his Departure out of *England*, for he was much concern'd that the King would neither by himself, nor any of his Ministers let him know the Contents of the Letters lately brought from *Rome*, which however some believed he did, because he seem'd already to understand the substance of them; for one of those whom *Anselm* had sent to *Rome* might have acquainted him therewith. Whereupon the Archbishop got himself ready to begin his Journey with all the speed he could, left by Communicating with those who were *Excommunicated*, he himself might be involved in the same crime, and arriving at *Canterbury*, he staid there about four days, and having bestowed his Benediction upon the Monks, Citizens, and those multitudes of People that flock'd to take their leaves of him, he went to the Sea-side, and there embarking (with the King's approbation) Landed at *Witsands*, and went by *Boloign* into *Normandy*, where he made his Residence for some time at the Abbey of *Bec*.

So soon as he came thither, he opened the Pope's Letters, which, tho' he had before received them, he had deferred perusing till now, for fear the King should have required them to be read; and then finding their Seals already broken, might have had some pretence to deny their Authority; but as for the Letters themselves you may find them at large in *Eadmerus*; the substance of which is, that the Pope there utterly denies, whatsoever the Bishops that came from *Rome* had said, concerning his being willing to connive at the King's granting the Investiture of Churches, or that he would not *Excommunicate* him for it, and informs the Archbishop, that it seems, the Bishops had made him say those things which he had never so much as thought of before. The rest containing his Reasons, why no Lay-men ought to confer the Pastoral Staff and Ring for if they did, that the Christian Religion would be trampled upon, &c. I omit, as not material enough to be here related.

Yet I cannot but take notice, that some things in this Transaction seem very mysterious: First, that the King, who sent two Bishops as his Ambassadors on purpose to *Rome*, should not from them have re-

Anno Dom.

MCIII.

[5.]

Idem Ib.

\* Ingenuitas Regni.

The Nobility of England desire Anselm to go to Rome.

[1.]

Idem Ib.

The Archbishop resolves upon the Journey, and takes his Leave.

The Archbishop arriving in Normandy, opens the Pope's Letters.

The Contents of the Pope's Letters.



Anno Dom.  
MCIII

Idem.

P. 72.

The Archbi-

shop comes to

Rome, and

there finds

the King's

Ambassadour.

They both re-

ceive Audi-

ence of the

Pope, and

what passed

there.

Idem.

P. 73.

The Pope's

sturdy Reply

to the Amba-

sadour's Re-

monstrance.

Idem.

P. 74.

The Pope for-

bids all Lay-

Investitures,

and orders all

Bishops who

had received

them to re-

main Ex-

communicated.

Idem.

P. 75.

The Archbi-

shop having

done his Bu-

siness, takes

leave of the

Pope.

ceived a full Account of the Pope's Determination in this Affair, but that he must have it at second hand from the Archbishop's Messengers; Next, what should make so quick sighted a Prince as King Henry, so earnest to send the Archbishop himself to Rome, to mediate for him in an Affair, to which he could not but be sensible that he was in his own opinion wholly averse.

But before we leave this Year, and return to Civil Affairs, it is fit we give you a short account, what success the Business (about which Archbishop Anselm went) met with in the Pope's Court.

[2.] The Archbishop having passed the Summer heats at the Abbey of Bec, about the end of August began his Journey for Rome, where he found William de Warelwast, the King's Ambassadour (who had been formerly sent thither by William Rufus on the like Errand) already arrived; the Archbishop being very kindly received by the Pope, within a few days after his coming had an Audience of him together with William Warelwast abovesaid, who used all his Interest as well as Rhetorick, to perswade the Pope to confirm to his Master the Antient Rights and Usages of his Predecessors; since otherwise, as the King of England had been very kind and bountiful to the Aposto-See, so it would prove a thing of fatal consequence, should the Pope go about to deprive him of his Antient Rights.

[3.] Then the Ambassadour presuming on the great Interest he supposed he had already made in the Roman Court, and that the Pope could deny him nothing he desired, broke out into this Expression, *That whatever may be thought to the contrary, the King his Master would not for his Kingdom suffer himself to lose the Investiture of Churches.* Then the Pope interrupting him, answered sharply, tho' in few words: *If, as you say, your King would not for his Kingdom lose the Investiture of Churches, you must then know, that whilst Paschal is Pope, (were it to save your King's life) he will never permit him ever quietly to enjoy it.* At which positive Answer of the Pope, the King's Ambassadour was much confounded, especially when he perceived all the Cardinals to applaud his Holyness for it.

And [4.] as for Archbishop Anselm, he was so well pleased with it, that he did not so much as interpose the least word on the King's behalf. [5.] Whereupon the Pope again absolutely forbid all Lay-Investitures of Churches, and tho' he left the King free from the Sentence of Excommunication for some time, yet all those Bishops who had already received any such Investitures at his hands, were still to lye under it until they had acknowledged their crime, and made the Church satisfaction. And further, left the Parties already so Invested to the Judgment and Censure of the Archbishop, who having met with all the success in this Business which he could well desire, and having likewise received the Pope's Letters containing a confirmation of the Power and Preheminence of the See of Canterbury above that of York, and having had his Audience of Leave from the Pope, he departed Rome in Company with the King's Ambassadour, by whom also the Pope sent a Letter to the King, wherein he again declared, That he could by no means consent to his conferring Investitures, it being contrary (as he alledged) to the Word of God.

[6.] And



[1.] And now the Archbishop and the Ambassadour travelled together till they came near *Lyons*, and there the latter took his leave of him, being to return speedily for *England*; but before his Departure he told him the King's Message, which he had till then concealed, (*viz.*) "If he would carry himself towards the King as his Predecessors had done towards his Ancestors, he should then desire his Company in *England*, otherwise not. And thereupon the Archbishop asking him, Whither he had any thing more to say? He replied, "I speak to a prudent Man, and I need say no more. To which the Archbishop returned, *I understand what you say, and take it accordingly.* And finding by this Discourse, that he should not be welcome in *England*, he went to *Lyons*, and there remained with the Archbishop of that Place. From thence he sent Letters to acquaint the King with the Pope's Final Determination concerning the Business he had gone about, and then repeating the Message which had been delivered to him by *William Warelwast*, he returned this Answer to it, That he could not continue with the King upon the same Terms as his Predecessors had done, for he could now neither do him Homage, nor yet communicate with those who had received Investitures from his hands, because of the Church's late Prohibition to the contrary; therefore humbly desired to know the King's pleasure, whither he might return into *England* upon the Terms he had proposed, for he was still ready to do his Duty to the King, and the People committed to his charge; but if he might not, and that any damage should happen thereby to Men's Souls, he hoped it would not lye at his door.

[2.] The Archbishop having sent away these Letters, tarried at *Lyons* waiting the King's Answer; but when *William* the late Ambassadour arrived in *England*, and had given him an account of the whole Affair, he without any more ado commanded the Rents of the Archbishoprick to be seized to his own use, yet appointed two of the Archbishop's Tenants to receive them, that so there might be the less oppression used in the collecting of them: But I will leave this matter for a time, and now return to the Secular.

[3.] This Year produced little Alterations in *England*, only *William* Earl of *Mortaigne*, the King's Cousin, (*viz.* Son to Count *Robert* the King's half Uncle) was disseized of all his Honours and Estate in *England*, upon this occasion; [4.] he had been under-hand a favourer of the Rebellion of *Robert de Belesme*, (tho' it was not then known to the King) and also not being contented with two Earldoms, that of *Mortaigne* in *Normandy*, and of *Cornwall* in *England*; upon the late Invasion of the *Norman* Duke, he had also sued to the King for the Earldom of *Kent*, which Bishop *Odo* his Uncle had before enjoyed; but he was then for that time put off by the King's prudent Answer; but those storms being blown over, and peace now happily settled, the King did not only deny his Request, but also began to challenge whatsoever he had illegally usurped; yet it was done by Judicial Process, lest he should seem to act any thing contrary to Law; upon which Earl *William* being cast by the Judgment of the King's Court, he so highly resented it, that he went over into *Normandy*, where besides the assaults which he committed upon the King's Castles there, he also invaded and took away by force some Lands belonging to *Hugh* Earl

Anno Dom.  
MCIII.

[1.]

Idem.

P. 75.

Returns back with the King's Ambassadour, but by the way is forbid to go into *England*, unless he would comply with the King.

[2.]

Idem.

Lib. 6. P. 76.  
The Archbishop thereupon writes to the King.

Anno Dom.  
MCIV.

[3.]

C. S. F. W.  
The Earl of *Mortaigne* disseized of his Estate, and on what occasion.

[4.]

W. M. Lib. 5.  
P. 88. b.

The Earl goes over into *Normandy*, and there raises fresh Disturbances.



Anno Dom.  
MCIV.

of *Chester*, being then a *Minor* under the King's Tutelage; and thus the Counts *Robert* and *William* (above mention'd) became the Heads of two several Factions, who together with divers others (whom for some reasons our Author will not name) became the Principal Inciters of Rebellion, and every where Plagued their Native Country with continual Devastations, whilst the Injured People made frequent complaints of their violence to the Duke, but all in vain; for tho' he was somewhat concerned at it, yet fearing lest these Noblemen, when once provoked, should joyn together and disturb his ease, he winked at all their Exorbitancies.

[5.]

P. 812.  
The remiss  
Government  
of Duke Ro-  
bert occasions  
many mil-  
chiefs to Nor-  
mandy.

But [5.] *Ordericus Vitalis* farther adds more particularly (what our *English* Historians have omitted) that this careless Duke having pawned and imbezelled the greatest part of the Revenues of his Dutchy, even to the City of *Roüen* it self, and seeing the desolation of his Country, and his own Inability to defend it against the Insolence of *Robert de Belesme*, without the advice or Privy of the King his Brother, he made Peace with him, who was his utter Enemy; but *Serlo* Bishop of *Seez*, and *Ralph* Abbot of the same place, not being willing to lye exposed to the Tyrannical Power of *Robert*, after they had Excommunicated him for his former Violences, they departed from that City, and fled into *England* to King *Henry*, who received them very kindly.

[1.]

Idem.

P. 813.

King Henry is  
desired by ma-  
ny of the Nor-  
mans to come  
over and re-  
dress them,  
which he  
complies  
with.

Not [1.] long after which many of the *Norman* Nobility both of the Clergy and Laity, reflecting upon the Miseries of their Church and Country, Petitioned King *Henry* to come over, and take both into his protection, and to correct those Prophane Robbers with the Rod of his Justice; accordingly he passed into *Normandy* with a great Fleet, and visited *Damfront* and other Towns subject to him, and was very Honourably received by his own Great Men, and also magnificently presented by those belonging to the Duke his Brother; then *Robert* Earl of *Mellent*, and *Richard* Earl of *Chester*, with several *Norman* Earls and Barons (too many to be particularly set down here, and those that are curious may see their Names in my Author) who all held Great Estates in *England*, upon the King's Arrival in *Normandy*, did also adhere to him, together with their Tenants and Dependants, and were ready to fight for him even against their own Country-men the *Normans*: A few days after this, the King sent to his Brother for an Interview, and when they met, he then gently reprov'd him for breaking the Accord concluded between them in *England*, by making Peace with *Robert de Belesme* (a Traytor to them both) and restoring him to his Father's Estate, as also for many other things unkindly done on his part. Then the Duke fearing his Brother's power, desired his Friendship, and they being again outwardly reconciled, the King before Winter returned into *England*.

[2.]

Idem.

P. 814.

As soon as  
the King is  
gone back, a  
fresh Rebelli-  
on breaks out  
there.

But [2.] no sooner was he gone, but *Robert de Belesme* with his Nephew, *William* Earl of *Mortaigne*, and as many Nobles as they could seduce to their Party, broke out again into open War, and falling upon such as favoured the King, seized their Lands, killed their Tenants, and burn'd their Houses; so that the Ploughmen and ordinary People fled into *France* with their Wives and Children, and suffer'd Great Miseries during their abode there; in the midst of these troubles the *Normans* applied themselves anew to the King of *England* for Succour and Relief.

He



He having kept [3.] his *Christmass* at *Windsor*, there received their Addresses and Complaints, and seeming much concern'd at them, he not long after took Shipping, and [4.] the last Week of *Lent* Land-ed again at *Barbesfleet* (now *Barfleur*) in *Normandy*, and on *Easter-day* was at *Carenton*, seated on the River *Vire*, where *Serlo* the Bishop of *Sees* came to him and offer'd his service; then going with the King into the Church of *Carenton* to celebrate the Solemnity of *Easter*, they found it almost filled with the Chests and other Moveables of the Country People, which was brought thither as to a place of safety; upon which sad spectacle he in an harangue to the King, laid open the Miseries of that Country, and shewed him what shift the poor People were forced to make to secure themselves from Robberies and Plunders, and that it was for want of a good courageous Prince and Governour that these things had happened to them; likewise laying open all the Vices and Failings of Duke *Robert*, he exhorted the King that by the Sword of Justice he would recover and defend that Dutchy. The King inflamed by this Speech, and by what he heard from the Noblemen that were with him, immediately consented by their assistance to procure the Peace and quiet of the Church and State, then in so much danger; whereupon the Earl of *Mellent* by the direction of all the Great Men there present, advised and urged him immediately to put in Execution what he had resolved.

But [5.] before they made any farther progress in this Affair, the Bishop laid hold of this opportunity to put in practice a small point of Ecclesiastical Discipline; the *Norman* Nobility (as I have told you) then wore very long Hair, and used much art in preserving and making it (as was then thought) Ornamental, when this Eloquent Pre-late (says our Historian) continuing his Oration enveigh'd mightily against that (then supposed) vice, admonishing and exhorting the King to shew a good Example to others, and suffer his own Hair to be first cut off; to which he presently submitting, the Bishop as present-ly drew a pair of Scissors out of his Sleeve, and first polled the King, and then the Earl of *Mellent*, and several Noblemen with his own hands; upon which the rest of the People, fearing the King's Edict came from all parts, and strove who should be thus polled, or clipt.

Whence we may observe that the Examples of Princes, are much more prevalent than their Laws; for tho' this supposed sin of long Hair had been often endeavoured to be reformed by Law in this King's, as well as in his Brother's Reign, yet they all proved ineffe-ctual, till the King himself not only resolved to observe it, but made all others that belonged to his Court to follow his Example.

After [1.] *Easter* the King sent Ambassadors to *Philip* King of *France*, and invited *Geoffrey* Earl of *Anjou* to his Assistance, and by that means severely chastized those that prey'd upon the Goods of Church-men.

King [2.] *Henry* was now resolved to make himself sole Lord of *Normandy*, designing wholly to take it from his Brother *Robert*; and to this end hired more Forces of *Elias* Earl of *Main*, and Besieged the City *Bayeux*, of which one *Gunter* *Dauney* was Governour, who went out to the King, and put into his hands *Robert Fitz-Haimon*, whom he had lately taken Prisoner; but yet he would not (though I know not for

*Anno Dom.*  
MCV.

[3.]

C. S.

[4.]

O. V.

P. 815.

The King, up-  
on the fresh  
Addresses of  
the *Norman*  
Nobility, re-  
turns again  
thither.

The Bishop of  
*Sees* makes a  
Speech to the  
King.

[5.]

*Idem.*

P. 815.

The Bishop's  
Artifice to  
make the  
King and the  
Lay-Nobility  
cut off their  
Hair.

[1.]

*Idem. Ib.*

The King  
sends Ambas-  
sadors to  
King *Philip*.

[2.]

*Idem.*

King *Henry*  
resolves to  
make himself  
Master of  
*Normandy*, and  
takes several  
Towns.

what



Anno Dom.  
MCV.

what reason) surrender the City to him; whereupon the King forthwith assaulted it, set it on fire, burnt it (with the Cathedral Church) almost to the Ground, and took the Governour and Garison Prisoners; at which sharp proceeding the Inhabitants of other places were so much affrighted, that the People of *Caën* (when the King marched against them) sent to him and yielded to his Terms, expelling *Engeran Fitz-Ilbert* their Governour, and received the King's Garison: for this Service He bestowed on four of the chief Citizens of *Caën*, the Mannour of *Dallington* in *England*, worth fourscore Pounds *per Annum* Rent; from hence he proceeded to *Falais*, but could not take it, because Count *Elias* would assist him no further, but returned home; yet there was an Assault given to the place in which he lost many Men whom he much valued, as *Roger of Gloucester* a Valiant Knight was slain, by a shot from a Cross-bow. But the Reader may observe, that altho' the Printed Copies of *Ordericus Vitalis* place these Actions under the next year, viz. 1106. yet it is a mistake, and they should be put under this, for the King went not over into *Normandy* the next Spring (as this Author places it) but in this; and the year following he did not arrive there until the latter end of *July*, as you will find in the *Saxon Chronicle*, as also in *Florence of Worcester*, Authors beyond exception, and tho' Co-temporaries with this Writer, yet are more curious in their Chronology, albeit his Relation of these matters of Fact is the most exact of any we have.

Yet thus much is certain, that the King this Year (as all our Authors agree) having taken *Bayeux* by force, and *Caën* by Composition, besides many other Castles and strong Places that were Surrendered to him, [3.] returned into *England* Victorious, in the end of *Autumn*, in order to Renew the War the next Campagne, being not able to finish his Conquests in this, for want of Money, which he went over on purpose to raise; in the mean time the Earl of *Mortaigne* did not fail to do the King all the mischief he could during his absence.

This is the Account the *Norman* Historians do give of the occasion and beginnings of this War, being very much to the King's Advantage; to which [4.] *William of Malmesbury* likewise adds, that as well for his Brother's Reputation, as for the Sufferings of *Normandy*, he could no longer endure that wicked Men should maintain their own Luxury with the Estates of the Poor, and therefore he first sent for his Brother into *England*, and there admonished him with gentle words, *That he should Act like a Duke, and not like a Monk*: And that since the King himself had before taken from Earl *William* (the chief Inciter of these Troubles) all his Estate in *England*, and razed his Castles to the Ground, and that Duke *Robert* had notwithstanding made Peace with him, who was the Common Enemy of his Country, therefore the King thought it high time to correct his Injustice and Partiality, yet was divided within himself for a while, whither he should lay aside all Brotherly Relation, and deliver his Country from so eminent a danger as it was then in, or else should prefer the Natural affection to his Brother before it. Yet at last the Common Good prevailed over his private Inclinations, which was also further'd by Pope *Paschal's* Exhortatory Letters, exciting him thereto; wherein he asserted, That it could not be reckoned an unjust War, but a commendable

[3.]  
Idem.  
The King returns victorious into *England*.

[4.]  
P. 88. a.  
*William of Malmesbury's* Defence of King *Henry's* Proceedings against his Brother Duke *Robert*.



commendable Benefit to relieve his Country, which was then in such a confusion. Whereupon the King passed over into *Normandy*, and there acted as you have already heard.

But most of our *English* Writers give us no better Reasons for this War, than the King's Ambition, as if he desired to make use of the opportunity of the present disturbances in *Normandy*, only to Conquer that Dutchy for himself; and that as soon as he arrived, almost all the Great Men of that Country, despising their own natural Duke for his too great Lenity and carelessness, ran after the Gold and Silver the King had brought over with him, which he so well bestowed, that they easily betrayed the Castles and Fortified Towns which had been committed to their Charge; and that thus King *Henry* Sacrificed his Brother to his own Ambition under the specious pretence of the publick good of his Country.

But it is very hard for a Writer (unless he knows it himself) positively to determine on what motives Princes have acted, especially at such a distance of time, and perhaps a mixture of both causes here given might influence King *Henry* to make this Expedition.

Therefore having faithfully given you the several Accounts related by the Historians of the causes of this War, I shall leave them to the Reader to determine as he shall think fit. After the King's coming over there happened little considerable this Winter, [5.] only not long before *Christmas*, *Robert de Belesme* came over into *England*, but whether upon any Ambassy from Duke *Robert*, or else upon his own private account, to make his Peace with the King, they do not tell us; tho' the latter seems most likely, since the same Author says, that he again left the Kingdom about *Christmas* following much displeased; and indeed it seems somewhat strange, that the King should permit a Man to stay here so long, against whom he had expressed so great an aversion.

This [1.] Year was very calamitous in *England*, as well by reason of the great Dearth, as the many severe Taxes, which were levied not only before he went over, but also after his return home.

As for Ecclesiastical Affairs I cannot here omit, that this Summer, whilst the King stayed in *Normandy*, [2.] he was in great part reconciled to Archbishop *Anselm*, who was now returned thither from the farther parts of *France*; for a meeting being procured between the King and him, by the Intercession of his Sister *Adela*, Countess of *Blais*, at the Castle of *Aquila*, he so far relaxed of his former severity, that the Archbishop was again restored to the Profits of his Archbishoprick, and the King would have given him leave to return into *England*, if he would have promised not to withdraw himself from the Communion of those Bishops who had received the King's Investiture, or of those who had Consecrated them; which he still refusing to accept of, resolved to remain in *Normandy*, till the Messengers that were sent to the Pope for his directions in that, as well as in some other Affairs, could again come back from *Rome*; and so the King for the present avoided the *Excommunication*, which was every where reported to be ready to issue out against him.

Yet so [3.] soon as he returned into *England*, that he might raise Money with greater Expedition, he ordered all the Priests to be impleaded in his Court for having Wives or Concubines, and to make them

Anno Dom.  
MCV.

How most of our *English* Historians represent this Action of King *Henry's*.

[5.]  
C. S. 4.  
*Robert de Belesme* comes over into *England*.

[1.]  
*Idem* lb. 22.  
This Year very Calamitous to *England*.

[2.]  
*Eadm.* p. 80.  
The King is almost quite reconciled to Archbishop *Anselm*, and thereby avoids the *Excommunication* with which he was threatned.

[3.]  
*Idem*.  
P. 83, 84.  
The King exacts Money from the Priests that kept either Wives, or Concubines.



Anno Dom.  
MCV.

To the King's Officers  
changed their Methods,  
and confounding the innocent  
with the guilty, Taxed  
all Parish Churches at a certain  
Rate, all Persons being to  
redeem themselves by the  
immediate payment of it,  
which when some refused,  
and others delayed to perform,  
many of them were cast into  
Prison; but the King coming  
to London in the height of  
this Exaction, near two hundred  
Priests in their Surplices went  
to Petition Him on their bare  
Feet to have pity upon them;  
but all to no purpose.

Anno Dom.  
MCVI.

[4.]  
C. S. F. W.  
Duke Robert comes over  
into England, hoping to obtain  
his Brother's favour, and being  
repulsed, goes back more  
exasperated.

[5.]  
P. 61, 62.

The King after his Departure  
holds a Great Council at London,  
where he inveighs against his  
Brother.

This Year he

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them pay soundly for that offence; but when very many were found innocent, and that the profit thereby expected was like to fall much short of the Sum at which it was first rated, the King's Officers changed their Methods, and confounding the innocent with the guilty, Taxed all Parish Churches at a certain Rate, all Persons being to redeem themselves by the immediate payment of it, which when some refused, and others delayed to perform, many of them were cast into Prison; but the King coming to London in the height of this Exaction, near two hundred Priests in their Surplices went to Petition Him on their bare Feet to have pity upon them; but all to no purpose.

This [4.] Year the King kept his *Christmass* at *Westminster*, and somewhat before *Lent* Duke Robert came over to visit him, who was gone then to *Northampton*, desiring to be restored to those Places which had been lately taken from him in *Normandy*; but the King absolutely refusing it, the Duke returned back again much more exasperated than he was before, and threaten'd to be revenged for all these injuries.

[5.] *Matthew Paris* in his Relation of this Affair, makes King *Henry* to feel some remorse of Conscience for this unkind usage of his Brother, and usurping of his Kingdom, and also that he feared some sudden Rebellion of his Subjects; yet that he rather feared Men, than God; whom he supposed he could appease by building of an Abbey; all which depending on the Author's sole Relation, and not being to be found in any Writer of that Age, I think should rather be slighted as a malicious surmise, proceeding from the ill will the Monks bore to this King's memory. But this seems more certain from the same Author, that not long after Duke Robert's departure, the King called a Great Council at London, and there he brings him in making of a long Speech to them, "Enveighing against Duke Robert his Brother; and that for refusing the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, he was now forsaken of God. Then setting forth his uneasie temper, and contempt of the *English* Nobility, as also his own humble and peaceable disposition and resolution to maintain their Liberties, and the Laws of King *Edward*; and that if he had but their affections, he valued not any thing his Brother and all his *Normans* could do against him: And with these fair Promises he so won their hearts, that they declared they would live and die with him against any Enemy whatever.

From whence you may observe, that an *English* King, who has once gain'd the affections of his People, by the restoring and maintaining their Antient Liberties and Priviledges, needs not fear any foreign Powers, being strong enough of himself to make an absolute Conquest.

After this the King stayed in *England* most part of this Summer, keeping his *Easter* at *Bathe*, and his *Whitsontide* at *Salisbury*, because he would not hold his Court or Great Council in Foreign Parts.

Then [1.] about the end of *July* (as our Writers place it) the King passed over again into *Normandy* with the Principal Nobility of the Kingdom; where upon his arrival most of the chief Men of that Country submitted themselves to him, except *Robert de Belesme*, and *William* Earl of *Mortaigne*, with some other Barons who still held firm to Duke Robert.

[1.]  
F. W. O. V.

P. 818.

The King passes again into

Normandy,

where most

of the Great

Men submit

to him.

Not



Not long after the King built a Fort near the Town of *Tenerchebray* (now called *Tinchebray*) and put a Garison into it, with intention so to streighten it, as to make it yield; but the Earl of *Mortaigne* with some Companies of Soldiers relieved it, at which the King being much incensed, assembled his Army, and laid Siege to the Town; whereupon the said Earl solicited Duke *Robert*, and *Robert de Belesme*, and others for their assistance, to raise the Siege, and obtain'd it; for there immediately marched along with the Duke, (besides the two Great Earls last mentioned) *Robert de Stuteville*, and *William de Ferrars*, with many other Noblemen, and indeed all the Forces the Duke could then muster together. The King had on his side *William* Earl of *Eureux*, *Robert* Earl of *Mellent*, *William* Earl of *Warren*, with divers other Barons, most of whom had Estates both in *Normandy* and *England*. And tho' the King had a greater number of Horse in his Army; yet the Duke had many more Foot; so before this Town they came to a Battel, which was very sharply fought on both sides, till at last the Duke's Army was totally routed; with very small loss on the King's part. There were taken Prisoners at this Battel, the Duke of *Normandy*, and the Earl of *Mortaigne*; and of *Norman* Barons, *William Crispin*, *William Ferrars*, *Robert Stuteville* the Elder, and many others, to the number of Four hundred Knights, or Horsemen, and Ten thousand Foot; so that upon this Great Victory all *Normandy* surrendered it self to the King, as appears by a Letter, which he then wrote to Archbishop *Anselm* on that Subject, as you will find in [2.] *Eadmerus*; for the Archbishop had not long before returned into *England* after more than three years absence, all differences between the King and him having been fully composed at a meeting they lately had at the Abbey of *Bec*.

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MCVI.

The Great  
Battel of *Ten-  
chebray*, where  
Duke *Robert*  
with divers  
Barons are ta-  
ken Prisoners.

Whereupon  
all *Normandy*  
submits to  
the King.

[2.]  
P. 90.

I have been the more particular in this great Battel between the King and his Brother, because it was fought on *Michaelmas* Eve, near that time forty years, that the Battel of *Hastings* had been gained before, and as the *Norman* Duke then subdued an *English* King, and thereby obtained this Kingdom; so now an *English* King (by the assistance of his *English* Subjects) now Conquered *Normandy*, which from that time was held by the King's of *England*, (except for some part of King *Stephen's* Reign) till *Philip* (surnamed *Augustus*.) King of *France* took it from King *John*, by the same means by which it was at first acquired.

The [3.] King notwithstanding this great Success was so far from claiming *Normandy* as a Conquerour, that calling a Great Council at *Lisieux* of all the Great Men of *Normandy*, it was then decreed, That for the future a firm Peace should be establish'd throughout all that Dut- chy; so that all Plunderings, Robberies, forcible Entries, and War-like Invasions upon Men's Estates being suppressed, the Churches as well as private Subjects should enjoy their Possessions in Peace, as they did the day his Father died.

[3.]  
O. V.  
P. 822.  
The King does  
not claim  
that Province  
as a Conque-  
rour, but set-  
tles it by a  
Council of  
the Estates.

He then also took into his own Possession all his Father's Lands and Lordships, which his Brother had Sold, or squandered away, and by the Judgment of his Great and wise Men made all those Grants void, which had been imprudently bestowed upon undeserving Persons.



Anno Dom.  
MCVI.

[4.]  
Eadm. p. 90.  
R. H.  
The King  
sends Duke  
Robert, and  
the Earl of  
Mortaigne Pri-  
soners into  
England.

As for the Prisoners taken in this Battel, [4.] he sent Duke Robert his Brother, William Earl of Mortaigne, Robert de Stuteville, and some others into England, where they were kept perpetual Prisoners, notwithstanding all the Intercession and Promises made on their behalfs for their Releases; for the King wisely trusted more to the strong Castles wherein they were kept, than to the frail and uncertain engagements of those who had always shew'd themselves his Enemies.

Our Saxons Annals also inform us, that Edgar Atheling being taken Prisoner at the Battel, was by the King presently set at liberty, whether out of love or contempt I will not determine; but it is certain he lived all the rest of his days at home in Peace.

[5.]  
P. 89.

But since we find no farther mention of this Prince in any of our Annals or Histories, I shall here give you [5.] William of Malmesbury's Character of him, viz. "That being contemned at Court for his easiness and simplicity, which (he thinks) must needs be great, since he remitted to the King a Pound-weight of Silver (being his daily allowance) for a Horse in his younger years. He went to Jerusalem (as hath been already declared) and having lost all his Men in his return, received great favours from both the Greek and German Emperors, who, because of the Nobleness of his Birth, would have allowed him an Honourable maintenance, but he refused it, out of too fond a love to his native soil; to which being returned at last, and having been often made the sport of Fortune; He had (when our \* Author wrote this) retired from Court, and passed his old age privately in the Country, without ever being Married, as we can find.

\* Viz. About  
the middle or  
latter end of  
K. Henry the  
First's Reign.

[1.]  
Idem.  
O. U.  
P. 823.

As for [1.] Robert de Belesme, the King's mortal Enemy, he escaped by flight out of this Battle, and when he saw he could raise no more disturbances, he at last made his Peace with the King, and was for a time restored to all his Paternal Estate, which he again forfeited by a new Treason, as you will find hereafter.

[2.]  
Idem Ib.

The [2.] King having thus subdued Normandy, and settled it in Peace, by the good Laws he made in several Assemblies of the Estates of that Dutchy, return'd into England in the Lent of the ensuing Year.

Anno Dom.  
MCVII.

[3.]  
Eadm. p. 90.  
\* Curia.  
The King re-  
turns into  
England, and  
there holds a  
Council of all  
the chief Men  
of the King-  
dom.

[4.]  
Idem. P. 91.  
The King  
holds another  
Council in  
August, where  
he gives  
up his Right  
of Investiture  
of Bishops  
and Abbots.

But almost so soon as he arrived, [3.] He held a \* Council of all the chief Men in the Kingdom at Windsor; yet nevertheless he delayed to dispose of all the vacant Churches as he intended, because the Pope being arrived in France, was about to hold a General Council at Troyes in Champagne, to which the King and the Archbishop had sent William Warelwast, and Baldwin the Monk, as their Envoys, to know the Pope's pleasure in some Points of Importance (I suppose concerning the Homages of Bishops) that so the King might the more securely dispose of these Vacant Sees and Abbeys.

Also in [4.] the beginning of the Month of August, the King again Summoned a Great Council of all the Bishops, Abbots and Nobles of the Kingdom, at his Palace at Westminster, which lasted three days, (Archbishop Anselm being at first absent by reason of a late Sicknes) where the great Affair concerning the Investiture of Churches was sufficiently debated between the King and the Bishops; some endeavour'd (tho' in vain) to have the King confer them, as his Father and Brother had done before, and not according to the Pope's late Decree; but tho' he continued firm as to the point of Investitures, yet he granted to the King that he might receive the Homages of the Bishops



shops and Abbots, which Pope *Urban* had forbid as well as the other; yet this Pope was willing to yield the one, that so he might oblige the King the more easily to part with the other.

Towards the end of the Council, the Archbishop came thither, and then the King granted and ordained, (in the \* presence of the People) that for the future no Person should be Invested in any Bishoprick, either by himself, or any other Lay-hand, by the delivery of the Pastoral Staff, or Ring; whereupon the Archbishop also consented that no Person Elected to be a Prelate should be refused Consecration, because of the Homage he had done to the King. These matters now being thus settled, all the Bishopricks and Abbeyes which were then Vacant were filled up by the King, with the Council and consent of Archbishop *Anselm*, and the \* chief Men of the Kingdom.

Then [1.] the Archbishop, before the King, Bishops and Nobility of the Kingdom, began to demand of *Gerard* Archbishop of *Tork*, a Profession of his Obedience and Subjection to him, which he had not yet made since the time that he had been Translated from *Hereford* to *Tork*; but the King himself declared, he did not think it necessary for the Archbishop now to renew that Profession he had formerly made when he was first Ordained Bishop, since, tho' he had changed Sees, yet he was still the same Person; with which Declaration of the King's Archbishop *Anselm* seemed to be satisfied for the present, provided *Gerard* would give him his hand, and promise to observe the same Subjection to himself and his Successors, that he had professed when he was made a Bishop, which accordingly was done; then it was also Ordained, That those who for the future should be Elected to any Bishoprick should go to *Canterbury*, and there receive their Consecration, which was observed by all the Bishops that were then Ordained. [2.] For about this time *William* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Roger* of *Salisbury*, and *Reinelm* of *Hereford*, as also *William Warelwast* (the late Ambassador) being Elected Bishop of *Exeter*, as *Urban* was of *Lan-dasse*, went all to *Canterbury*, and were there Consecrated by that Archbishop; but this Law did not hold long, as you will find hereafter.

To return to Secular Affairs. Nothing remarkable happened this Year, [3.] except that *Edgar* King of *Scotland* deceased without Issue, and *Alexander* his Brother succeeded to him, being a Prince of a much more Warlike Genius.

This Year the King at a Great Council, held either at [4.] *Christ-mass* at *Westminster*, or else at *Winchester* the *Easter* following, (our Author not asserting the Time or Place) by the advice of Archbishop *Anselm* and the Noblemen of the Kingdom, he redressed several Grievances and evil practises, by which Poor Men were oppressed, and for example-sake began with his own Court; for in the time of the King his Brother, those who followed the Court had this evil Custom, that in the King's Progress they spoiled and Plunder'd all things that came in their way, without any restraint, so that the Country was laid wast where ever the King travelled; for which cause all People when they knew of the King's coming, left their Houses, and carried away what Provisions they could, sheltering themselves in the Woods, and other by-places; but King *Henry* resolving fully to cure this Malady issued out a Proclamation, That who ever

Anno Domini  
MCVII

[5.]  
Idem ib.  
\* Affense mul-  
titudine.

\* Procerum  
Regni.

[1.]  
Id. ib.

The Arch-  
bishop of *Can-  
terbury* de-  
mands a new  
Profession of  
Obedience  
from him of  
*Tork*.

[2.]  
Idem.  
P. 92.

[3.]  
C. S.  
C. Mailros.

Anno Domini  
MCVIII

[+]  
Eadm. p. 94.  
The King  
calls another  
Council,  
wherein he  
redresses feve-  
ral Grievan-  
ces of his  
Subjects.



Anno Dom.  
MOVII.

Id. 16.  
Note, that

in these Times  
Pence were so  
Coyned with  
a Crease  
through  
them that  
they might  
be broken  
(when Men  
wanted  
Change) into  
four parts.

Idem 16.

Another  
Council held  
where several  
Decrees are  
made against  
Priest's Mary-  
ing, or keep-  
ing Women  
in their Hou-  
ses.

Idem 16.

Idem 16.

Idem 16.

Idem 16.

Idem 16.

Idem 16.

Idem 16.

Idem 16.

Idem 16.

Idem 16.

Idem 16.

Idem 16.

Idem 16.

Idem 16.

Idem 16.

Idem 16.

Idem 16.

Idem 16.

Idem 16.

Idem 16.

Idem 16.

Idem 16.

Idem 16.

Idem 16.

Idem 16.

Idem 16.

spoiled any Goods of those that entertain'd them, or abused their Per-  
sons, should, if proved, have their Eyes put out, or their Hands or Feet,  
or other Members cut off, which severe Justice being executed upon  
some, deterred others from the like Villanies.

Also [5.] the bad state of the *Coin* did very much trouble the Peo-  
ple, which the King took care to have remedied with that severity,  
that none could ever be pardoned that was convicted of having  
counterfeited any Money, but he certainly lost his Eyes and Testi-  
cles; and because the small Money, or *Pence*, being broke in pieces,  
were afterwards refused, he ordained that no *\* Penny*, or *Half-penny*,  
should be whole, which was a great help and benefit to the poor sort  
of People.

And in [1.] Ecclesiastical matters, because he supposed the Divine  
Offices were not perform'd as they ought by the hands of such Priests  
who still kept their Wives and Concubines, notwithstanding the late  
Decrees of the Council held at *London*, the King resolving to make a  
further Reformation in this matter, consulted with the Archbishops,  
Bishops, and Great Men of the Kingdom, when they met at *London*,  
at the Feast of *Beatecost*, how he might cure this Evil by his Royal  
Authority, wherefore *Anselm*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Thomas*,  
Archbishop Elect of *Tork*, and all the Bishops of *England*, being again  
met in a Council or Synod, with the consent of all the Barons, in the  
Presence of King *Henry* Ordained anew,

1. That all Presbyters, Deacons, and Sub-Deacons, should live  
chastly, and should not keep any Woman in their Houses unless they  
were near Relations.

2. That all those above mentioned, who kept their Wives, after  
they were forbid by the Council of *London*, or should take new ones, if  
they intended to perform their Functions, should put them away, so  
that they should not so much as come into their Houses, nor into  
their Company, unless it were upon some Lawful occasion, and  
then it was to be out of their own Houses, in the presence of two, or  
more Witnesses.

3. But if any of those above mentioned, were accused by two or  
three Lawful Witnesses, or the Common Report of their Parishioners,  
that they had broken this Law, if such a one were a Presbyter, he  
should purge himself by six sufficient Witnesses of his own Order; but  
if he were a Deacon with four, if a Sub-Deacon with two; and if he  
should be found wanting in this Purgation, he should be Judged as a  
Transgressor of this Decree.

4. But those Presbyters, who should prefer their Wives before the  
Service of the Holy Altar, should forthwith be removed from all  
\* Ecclesiastical Office and Benefice, and not be admitted into the *Choir*,  
but be looked upon as infamous.

5. But he who like a Rebel against, and a Contemner of this De-  
crees, should presume to keep his Wife, or Concubine, and yet would  
still say *Mass*, should be *Excommunicated*, if he refused to make satis-  
faction.

6. The same Sentence also was to extend to all Arch-Deacons,  
and Secular Chanons, concerning their leaving off Women, and a-  
voiding their Conversation, and they to be under the same Censures,  
if they transgressed.

7. Also



7. Also all Arch-Deacons and Deans, should swear that they would receive no Money for tolerating any Transgression of this Law, nor should suffer any Priest, whom they knew to keep a Woman, to Sing *Mass*, or to put in Curates; and the Arch-Deacon, or Dean, that should refuse thus to swear, should lose his Preferment.

8. And such Priests that would leave their Wives, and chuse to serve at the Holy Altar, should however forbear forty days from executing their Functions, and have Vicars in the mean time to supply their Places, and should undergo such Penance as the Bishops should think fit to enjoyn them.

I have been the more exact in setting down this Statute, because it is the first made by all the Estates of the Kingdom, that forbids Priests keeping either Wives or Concubines: These Canons which *Eadmerus* mentions to have been now made at *London*, having been before only Ordain'd by a Synod of the Bishops and Clergy of *Rome*.

Also this Year [2.] *Hervey* Bishop of *Bangor*, having been driven out by the *Welsh*, was now become Abbot of *Ely*, of which Abbey being desirous to make a Bishop's See, he not only obtain'd the good will of his Monks by fair Promises, but also procured the King's Charter, for the advancement of that Church to be a Cathedral; yet since that of *Lincoln* was thereby to lose a great part of its Jurisdiction, and that without the consent of *Robert* the then Bishop, this change could not be effected, it was therefore agreed between them, that that Church should enjoy the Manner of *Spalding* for ever, in exchange for the Episcopal Jurisdiction over all *Cambridgeshire*, and the Isle of *Ely*.

And because the Pope's consent was also necessary for so great an alteration, Archbishop *Anselm* wrote Letters to him, setting forth, that since the King, Bishops and Chief Men of *England*, nay, and the Bishop of *Lincoln* himself, had all consented, that this Diocese being too large for one Man's care, should have a new Bishoprick taken out of it, whose See was to be at the place above mentioned: Wherefore he in all their Names desired the Pope's Confirmation of it; but tho' his Answer to the Archbishop concerning this Affair is not set down by *Eadmerus*, yet the Manuscript History of *Ely* hath given us the Pope's Letter to King *Henry*, (which was sent by Bishop *Hervey* himself) wherein his Holiness consents to this Alteration, and with it also grants a Bull to the same effect. But as for the Charter of King *Henry*, which is there also recited, Mr. *Selden*, I think, does deservedly impeach it of Forgery, and that upon these accounts; first, that the year of Pope *Paschal* is there expressed before that of the Reign of the King himself; and next, that this Charter bears date *Anno Dom. 1108.* as in the Tenth year of this King's Reign, and as if it had been after the death of Archbishop *Anselm*; whereas the Year of our Lord above mentioned was not the tenth, but the eighth Year of this King's Reign; nor did *Anselm* die till the Year following, as you will see by and by. But we have enough other instances of the like Monkish Forgeries, therefore to return to Civil Affairs.

The King having settled his Affairs in *England*, [4.] at the beginning of *August* he passed over into *Normandy* upon the news of the death of *Philip* King of *France*, to whom [5.] *Lewis* his Son (an active young Prince) succeeding, he threaten'd to invade King *Henry*'s Dominions.

Anno Dom.  
MCVIII.

[2.]  
*Eadm. p. 96.*  
The Abbey of  
*Ely* made a  
Bishop's See  
by the King's  
Charter. 3 to  
the just pns  
between nish  
and nosh  
to color  
idid A wen  
qost

[3.]  
*Id. Ibid.*  
The Pope's  
consent also  
necessary, for  
which the  
Archbishop  
wrote Let-  
ters.

\* *Penor Doff.*  
*Doct. Gale &*  
*vid. Seldeni*  
*notas in Ead-*  
*mer. p. 210.*  
The Pope's  
Answer to  
these Letters.

† *In Notis ad*  
*Eadm. p. 212.*

[4.]  
C. S.  
The King  
goes into *Nor-*  
*mandy* upon  
the Death of  
King *Philip*.

[5.]  
H. H.

But



Anno Dom.  
MCVIII.

[1.]

O. V.

P. 838.

The King  
commands  
his Nephew  
*William* to be  
committed  
to safe Custody,  
who e-  
scapes.

But whilst [1.] he was in *Normandy* settling all things according to his mind, he upon some fresh Jealousie commanded his Nephew *William*, Son to his Brother *Robert*, (whom he had committed to the care of *Elias de St. Siden*) to be taken into safe Custody, and appointed *Robert Beauchamp*, Viscount d'Arches to do it; but when he came to *Elias's* Castle, the young Prince had by the means of his Tutor already made his escape; then *Elias* his Governour carried him to the Court of the King of *France*, and divers other Princes to sollicite for aid and assistance in his behalf, but all to no purpose, for tho' many of the *Normans* favoured him, as being a handsome Person, and one of good Natural Parts; and that *Robert de Belesme* upon the score of the affection he had for his Father, endeavoured all he could to set up his Son, yet none of them, either Prince or Subject, would presume at that time to make War upon King *Henry* on his behalf; and what became of this young Prince afterwards, we shall see anon.

[2.]

Eadm. p. 97.

The whole  
Quarrel be-  
tween the  
Archbishops  
of *Canterbury*  
and *Tork* a-  
gain renewed  
upon the  
choice of a  
new Archbi-  
shop.

There [2.] was also this Year renewed the old Quarrel between the two Churches of *Canterbury* and *Tork*, concerning their Priviledges; for *Gerard* Archbishop of *Tork* being lately Deceased, *Thomas* the King's Chaplain, and Provost of *Beverley*, was Elected in his stead; who had not only deferred his Consecration, because he was unwilling to make that Profession of Obedience and Subjection to Archbishop *Anselm*, as his Predecessor had done, but had been dealing under-hand with the Pope to obtain a Promise of his Pall before the Consecration, which produced many angry Letters between *Anselm* and him concerning that matter; the former pressing his coming to *Canterbury*, there to receive his Consecration with all speed possible, and then to perform those things, that he ought. [3.] But the King interposing by his Letters commanded *Anselm* to defer the Consecration of Archbishop *Thomas*, till the *Easter* following; and then before that time the former being much indisposed died, as you will see farther the next Year; so that this Business remain'd still undecided. I have put all this Transaction here together, tho' it did not happen all at one time.

[3.]

Idem. P. 101.

Archbishop  
*Thomas* his  
Consecration.

King [4.] *Henry* having passed all this Winter in *Normandy*, came over into *England* a little before *Whitsontide*, and held his Court (which was never more splendid than ordinary) at *Westminster*. *Henry* the Fourth, Emperour of *Germany*, having sent Ambassadors with a mighty Noble Retinue to the King, to desire his Daughter *Mathilda* in Mariage, which was consented to, and all the Articles agreed upon; and the King also received an Oath from the Emperour's Ambassador to perform them. But the Princess her self being very young, continued in *England* till the Year following.

[4.]

C. S. M. P.

P. 64.

The Empe-  
rour *Henry* IV.  
sends Amba-  
sadors to the  
King desiring  
his Daughter  
to Wife.

[5.]

Eadm. p. 97.

Archbishop  
*Anselm* dies,  
and his Cha-  
racter.

But during this Year nothing happen'd that was remarkable in Ecclesiastical Affairs, only [5.] *Anselm* the Archbishop of *Canterbury* his Death, on the Twenty second of *May* in the Seventy sixth year of his Age. He was certainly a Prelate of great Learning, Piety and strictness of Life, but, being bred a *Monk*, was so excessively Bigotted to the See of *Rome*, that he did all he could to advance its Grandeur, which procur'd him many Troubles both in this, as well as the former King's Reign, and therefore that See in Gratitude has Canonized him for a Saint.

But



But [1.] tho' the Archbishop of *Tork* Elect was in hopes, that by the Decease of *Anselm*, he should thereby avoid making his professing Subjection to the See of *Canterbury*, yet he therein found himself much mistaken; for at a great Council held at *London*, immediately after the Feast of *Pentecost*, the King consulted with the Bishops, and chief Men of the Kingdom, what was to be done concerning the Consecration of the Elect of *Tork*, and some Debate arising about it, whether it should be performed without his making the said Profession or not, it was at last agreed on by all the Bishops there present, (*Sampson* Bishop of *Worcester*, Father to the Archbishop Elect, first giving his Vote against him) that he should not be Consecrated without making that Profession, this being reported to the King, he thereupon commanded the Antient Priviledges of the Papal See to the Church of *Canterbury* to be read before him, which when he had heard, and was fully satisfied about it, he thereupon commanded the Profession, which Archbishop *Thomas* was to make, to be dictated and written in his own Presence, and close Sealed up with his Seal, and so be kept secret till the Consecration, which was solemnly performed the Twenty eighth of *June* following in *St. Paul's Church*, by *Richard* Bishop of *London*, and several other Bishops; but before the Archbishop was Consecrated, the aforesaid Profession of Obedience was opened, and required by the Bishops to be read aloud by him, which was done accordingly; and when the Consecration was over, was delivered by the Bishop of *London* to the Prior of *Canterbury*, to be kept as a perpetual Memorial; the Form of which the curious Reader may see in [2.] *Eadmerus* in *Latin*, and in [3.] *Dr. Brady's History* in *English*, Translated from that Author. About [4.] the same time also *Hervy* late Bishop of *Bangor*, and Elect of *Ely*, was Consecrated Bishop of that Place, for tho' all things in order to it were agreed upon the Year before, yet having been forced to go to *Rome* on purpose to obtain the Pope's consent, he could not till now be settled in it, and that too not without many difficulties.

Anno Dom.  
MCIX.

[1.]  
Idem.

P. 103, 104.  
The Elect of  
*Tork* is forced  
to make his  
Profession of  
Obedience to  
the See of  
*Canterbury*.

[2.]  
Ibid.

[3.]

P. 264.

[4.]

Id. Ib.

New Bishops  
also Consecrated.

[5.]  
Idem.

P. 105.

The Priests  
again forbid  
the Company  
of their  
Wives.

[1.]

Idem. Ib.

[2.]

Id. Ib.

Several Pro-  
digies in En-  
gland.

This [5.] Year affords us nothing more remarkable in Ecclesiastical Affairs, than that the Priests were now again forbid the Company of their Wives, tho' many of them hoped that by the death of Archbishop *Anselm* they might have found some Relaxation from that severe Law; yet the King imposed it upon them more strictly than ever, and made them submit to it, whither they would or nor.

But [1.] tho' the King held the poor Priests under this severe Discipline, yet he intended to be free himself; for having been perplexed by the late Archbishop *Anselm*, he resolved not to have another in haste, and therefore kept the See of *Canterbury* Vacant for above four Years after.

The [2.] same Year in *May* appeared a terrible Comet near the *Milky-way*, having its Tail toward the *South*, which was seen for three Weeks, and then disappeared. There also happen'd a Great Earthquake at *Shrewsbury*, and the River of *Trent* near *Nottingham* ceased running from Morning till Three of the Clock in the Afternoon, so that Men passed over its Channel dry-shod.

I hope it will not be impertinent if I relate the Account which an Author of good Credit gives us, of the restitution of Learning at the University of *Cambridge*, which happened about this time, when

[3.] *Joffrid*



Anno Dom.  
MCIX.

[3.]  
Pet. Blef. Con-  
tin. Hist. In-  
gulph. Rer.  
Ang. Scriptor.  
Vol. I. p. 114.  
The Revival  
of Learning  
at Cambridge.

[3.] *Joffrid* Abbot of *Crowland* sent over to his Mannor of *Cottenham* nigh *Cambridge*, *Gislebert* his fellow Monk, and Professor of Divinity, with three other Monks, who had followed him into *England*, who being thoroughly furnished with Philosophical Theorems, and other antient Sciences, repaired daily to *Cambridge*; and having hired a certain Barn, made open Profession of them, and in a short space drew together a great Company of Scholars; but in the second year after their coming their number grew so great, as well from out of the whole Country, as the Town, that not the biggest House nor Barn there, nor any Church there sufficed to contain them; whereupon these Monks dividing themselves into several Places, and taking the University of *Orleance* for their Pattern, read to their Scholars apart in several Companies.

I shall not trouble my self or the Reader, how these sorted their Scholars into the several Classes of *Grammar*, *Rhetorick* and *Logick*, but shall for that refer you to the Author for further satisfaction; only I must remark, that they made use of the best Authors; as for *Rhetorick*, Reading Lectures in *Tully* and *Quintilian*; and for *Logick* in *Aristotle*, with the Commentaries of *Porphyry* and *Averroes*. It is also worth observing, that *Gislebert* (chief of these Monks) upon every *Sunday* and *Holyday* Preached God's Word unto the People, tho' he were but meanly skill'd in the *English* Tongue; this shews that however Preaching might afterwards grow out of fashion, it was then accounted a duty by the Monks, tho' perhaps it was to shame the Secular Priests, who were extremely lazy and ignorant in that Age, as well as in after Times.

But that the Study of antient Learning then flourish'd at *Oxford* as well as at *Cambridge*, and that there were Publick Schools for the Teaching the Sciences I refer the Curious Ready to *Anthony a Wood's* History and Antiquities of the University of *Oxon* under the Years 1109, and 1122.

Anno Dom.  
MCX.

[4.]  
F. W. H. H.  
The King  
sends over  
his Daughter  
to be Married  
to the Empe-  
rour.

The [4.] King having the Year before betroathed his Daughter to the Emperour (as you have already heard) sent her now over to him a little before *Lent* with a Noble Retinue, and a vast Portion in ready Money, for which *England* was made to pay very dear; Three Shillings being laid upon every Hyde of Land throughout the whole Kingdom.

This serves to reconcile the difference between *Florence* and *Henry Huntington* on the one side, and the *Saxon Chronicle*, and *Matt. Paris* on the other, about the time of this Affair: the two former placing it under this, and the latter in the preceeding Year; but the truth is, the Emperour's Ambassadors came over the last Year to demand her, and then the Marriage was agreed upon, but they were not Affianced till her arrival in *Germany* this present Year (as is also expressed by *Matt. Paris*) nor was it consummated till four Years after, the Princess it seems not being till then mature for it, as you will find anon.

[5.]  
Chron. of  
Robert of  
Glocester.

[1.]  
H. H.  
When divers  
Barons were  
disinherited.

This [5.] Year also King *Henry* Married *Robert* his Natural Son to *Maud* Daughter and Heir to *Robert Fitz-Haimon* (late Earl of *Gloucester*) and then Invested him with that Earldom: [1.] The King also holding his Court, or Great Council at the Castle of *Windsor*, (which he new built) disseized *Philip de Brause*, *William Mallet*, and *William Bainart*, (all



(all great Barons) of their Estates, because they had been treacherous to him, tho' our Historians do not tell us in what.

The same [2.] Year also (*Elias* late Earl of *Maine* having been put to death by King *Henry* for Treason) *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*, who had Married *Elias* his Daughter, immediately thereupon seized the Earldom whither the King would or not, which produced a War between them the Year ensuing.

This Year [3.] King *Henry* did not wear his Crown, (that is, did not appear in State) neither at *Christmass*, *Easter*, nor *Whitsontide*, according to the usual Custom of those Times, and as he would have done, if the Great Council consisting of the Bishops and Noblemen of the Kingdom, had then assembled as they were wont to do, at such Festival Solemnities.

In [4.] the Month of *August* following, the King passed over again into *Normandy*, to prosecute the War with the Duke of *Anjou*, who had now got Possession of the Earldom of *Maine* against his will; so that all this Year nothing happened, but betraying and burning of Towns, and several other Devastations that were committed in those Parts, needless here to be recited.

Yet I cannot omit a most wise and Politick action of this King which happened this Year, and that was this; many Poor *Flemmings* had come over into *England*, in the Reign of King *William* his Father, as also lately in his own, being compell'd to seek refuge here, for their Habitations were destroyed, great part of the Sea-Coasts of *Flanders* having been overwhelmed by the Sea some years before; by whose coming in such great Numbers, *England* so swarmed with them, that they became a burthen to the Nation, whereupon the King at first Planted them in the wast parts of *Northumberland*; but finding they might do more good in *Wales*, to restrain the *Welsh*, whom he had not long before subdued, [1.] he transplanted them thither with their Goods and Families, giving them all the Country of *Rhos*, lying about *Pembroke* and *Haverford-west*, for their Habitation, which had been not long before Conquered from the *Welsh* Princes, and there the Descendants of those *Flemmings* have continued to this day, being quite different from the Native *Britains*, or *Welshmen*, both in Language and Manners: and these *Flemmings* being an Industrious and stout People, proved afterwards a strong Defence against the Insurrections of the *Welsh*, and serve to confirm that excellent *Roman* Policy, of preserving New Conquests by Colonies.

About this time also [2.] deceased *Robert* Earl of *Flanders*, who had been so famous in the late Expedition to the *Holy Land*, and his Son of the same Name succeeded him in that Earldom.

The [3.] King spent all this Year in *Normandy* by reason of his continual Wars with the King of *France*, and the Earl of *Anjou*, in the old Quarrel concerning the Earldom of *Maine*.

About this time also [4.] *Almeric* Earl of *Montfort*, who was Nephew and Heir to *William* Earl of *Eureux*, having displeased the King, he seiz'd upon that Earldom; whereupon the Earl having Confederated with the Earl of *Anjou*, by the Assistance of the King of *France*, Invaded *Normandy*; but by the Prudence and Power of King *Henry*, and the Succour of his Nephew *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, (who at that time made War upon the King of *France*, and gave him a Diversion) the Enemy's Forces

Anno Dom.  
MCX.

[2.]  
Idem Ib.

Anno Dom.  
MCXI.

[3.]  
C. S.

The King omits wearing his Crown at the great Festivals.

[4.]  
Idem Ib.  
H. H.

The King goes over again to prosecute the War with the Earl of *Anjou*.

[5.]  
W. M. F. W.  
P. 89.

The *Flemmings* removed from the North into *Wales*.

[1.]  
Camden's Britan. in Pembroke-shire.

[2.]  
H. H.  
Robert Earl of *Flanders* dies.

[3.]  
C. S.

[4.]  
W. G. L. 8. c. 7.  
O. V. P. 843.  
*Almeric* de *Montfort* having displeased the King, he seizes on the Earldom of *Eureux*.



Anno Dom.

MCXI.

[5.]

Idem.

P. 844.

Robert de Belesme is deprived of all his Estate.

[1.]

Idem Ib.

A Peace concluded between the King and the Earl of Anjou.

[2.]

Idem Ib.

The King of France makes Peace with King Henry.

Aud on what Terms.

Anno Dom.

MCXIII.

[3.]

C. S.

[4.]

W. M.

P. 80.

[5.]

O. V.

P. 844.

He subdues some Great Men that presumed to rebel against him in Normandy.

[1.]

F. W.

Forces were soon dispersed, and their Designs frustrated.

But [5.] *Robert de Belesme*, the King's antient Enemy, being found privy to this Design, now fell again into the King's displeasure, and being impeached for breach of Faith, and for not appearing at his Court, (tho' thrice Summoned,) as also for several other Misdemeanours, which he could not deny, was by the just Judgment of the King's Court condemned, and all his Estate forfeited to the King [1.], who still remained most part of this Year in *Normandy*; and before he returned into *England*, a Peace was concluded between him and *Fulk Earl of Anjou*, and he coming into the Territory of *Alençon*, there swore fealty to King *Henry*, and, doing him Homage, received from his hands the Earldom of *Main*; the Earl also betrothed his Daughter to *William* the King's Son, and the King further conferred upon him the Earldom of *Eureux*, tho' at the same time he received into favour *Almeric de Montfort*, whose Right that Honour was.

The [2.] King of *France* seeing himself bereft of two such Great Confederates grew now more inclinable to Peace, whereupon he and the King of *England* had an Enterview at *Gisors*, and there struck up a sudden Peace on a very advantageous Condition for King *Henry*, who was not only to keep what he had got, but *Lewis* also released to him all his Right to the Earldom of *Main*, and also his Pretences to the Sovereignty of *Bretagne*, and then *Fergan* its Duke did King *Henry* Homage for it.

This [3.] Year the King kept his *Christmas*, *Easter* and *Whitsontide*, in *Normandy*, being still detained by some Affairs, and about *Midsummer* he sent over *Robert de Belesme* into *England* to be kept close Prisoner in the Castle of *Warham*, where he continued all his life. But he was not to be pitied, having been a turbulent, faithless and cruel Man, [4.] as appears by his thrusting out the Eyes of his Godson a little Boy, who was delivered to him as a Hostage by his Father, and that only for some small offence the said Father had committed.

But tho' [5.] K. *Henry* had now made Peace with all the Neighbouring Princes, yet *Americ de Valerie*, and other great Noblemen, who were Homagers to the Earldom of *Belesme*, relying upon the strength of the Town of that name, and the multitude of its Dependants, presumed to hold it out against the King, and gave him some small disturbance; but he immediately marched against it with all the Forces of *Normandy*, and *Fulk Earl of Anjou*, *Theobald Earl of Blois*, with other Great Men, coming in unexpectedly to the King's assistance, they so Invested the Town, that within three days they took it by Assault.

Thus King *Henry* having at last totally subdued *Normandy*, and made Peace with all his Neighbours beyond the Seas, returned into *England* Victorious, and Governed this Kingdom and that Dutchy in great Tranquility for five years ensuing.

His Landing here was not till the Month of *July*, but what the King did after his return does not appear, and therefore it is to be supposed he spent it in diversions which he might now very well afford to take, having endured such great fatigues in his late Foreign Expeditions.

I find not any thing considerable to have happen'd this Year, [1.] but that the City of *Worcester* was wholly destroyed by Fire, together with the Monastery and Castle. This



This Year the [2.] King prepared a great Army against *Wales*, being provoked by some Incursions which had been made by those of the *North* and *South* upon the Territories of *Hugh* Earl of *Chester*, and *Gilbert* surnamed *Strongbow*, Earl of *Strigul* (or *Chepstow*) to whom the King had given all *Caerdiganshire*, and whose Lands in *South-Wales*, *Owen ap Cadogan*, a great Nobleman of that Country, had then much molested and spoiled; wherefore these two great Lords had highly excited the King to this War; as also because *Griffyth*, Prince of *North-Wales*, pretended not to owe any Service, nor had for a long time paid any Tribute to the King, wherewith he was so incensed, that he swore he would utterly destroy the People of *North-Wales* and *Powis-Land*, and Plant them with new Inhabitants; so dividing his Army into three parts, he gave the Command of the first (consisting chiefly of *West-Country* Men) to *Gilbert* Earl of *Strigul*, which was to march against *South-Wales*, whilst *Alexander* King of *Scots*, and *Hugh* Earl of *Chester*, with the Forces of *Scotland*, and the *North* of *England*, marched against *North-Wales*; and the King himself followed with the main Body, consisting of all the Forces of the middle parts of *England*.

So soon as the News of this Expedition arrived in *South-Wales*, [3.] *Meredyth ap Blethyn* a great Nobleman of that Country, (who had been accused for one concern'd in the late Incursions) being terrified with the King's great Preparations, came and submitted himself to his mercy; but *Owen ap Edwin*, another *Welsh* Lord of those parts, who was also accused of the same crime, fearing to commit himself to them that were so greedy of his Lands, fled to *Griffyth ap Conan* into *North-Wales*; whereupon the King turned all his Forces that way, coming himself as far as *Murcastel*, whilst the King of *Scots* marched up to *Pennant Bachwy*; but the People fled to the Mountains and Woods, and carried all their Victuals and Cattel along with them, so that the King could not follow them; and such of his Men as entered the Country were either slain or wounded in the Straights of the Mountains: then the *Scotish* King sent to the Prince of *Wales* to come and yield himself to the King, and promised him the King's Peace, but he would give no credence to those Promises, and therefore refused to come in.

Then [4.] the King, because he would not return without doing something, sent to Prince *Owen ap Edwin* to come to him, and leave the *Welsh* Prince, as one not able to defend himself, but was about to make Peace with the *Scotish* King, and the Earl of *Chester*, yet for all this *Owen* durst not trust the King, until such time as his Uncle *Meredyth* came and advised him not to slight the King's Gracious Offers, but to make his Peace before Prince *Griffyth* should prevent him. Thereupon *Owen* hearing this, came voluntarily to the King, who received him Graciously, telling him, That since he had trusted to his word, he would not only perform that, but also prefer him and all his Family, and he should enjoy his Lands without any Tribute. Then *Griffyth ap Conan* Prince of *North-Wales*, so soon as he heard this, sent to the King to make Peace, and he (not being able to come at him) was fain to grant it, tho' upon the Payment of a good round Sum of Money; and so this mighty Expedition ended with no great damage to either party; this Reconciliation was chiefly procured by the cunning

Anno Domini  
MGXIV.

[2.]  
F. W. H. H.  
Dr. Powel's  
Chron. p. 172;  
173.  
The King raises a great Army, and invades *North-Wales*.

[3.]  
Idem Ib.  
*Meredyth ap Blethyn* submits to King Henry.

The *Welsh* upon the King's approach fly to the Woods and Mountains, and their Prince refuses to submit to him.

[4.]  
Idem Ib.  
The King solicits other *Welsh* Princes to come in.

Prince *Owen* submits himself.

The King makes Peace with the Prince of *North-Wales*, upon payment of a Sum of Money.



Anno Dom.  
MCXIV.

[5.]

Edm. p. 109.

The King is  
at last per-  
suaded to  
make a new  
Archbishop  
of Canterbury.

\* Principer.

and artifice of *Hugh Earl of Chester*, and *Meredyth ap Blethyn*, who made both *Prince Griffyth* and this *Owen* believe, that each of them had made a separate Peace, when really there was no such thing.

But to come to Ecclesiastical Affairs, [5.] the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, having been now full five years vacant, the King was at last prevail'd upon by the Pope's Admonitions, as also by the Prayers of the Monks of *Canterbury*, and others, to Summon the Bishops and \* Chief Men of *England*, to meet at *Windsor* to take their Advice about the making a new Archbishop; where *Faricius* Abbot of *Abingdon*, was at first mentioned as fit for that Place, and *Ralph* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and the Prior, and some of the Monks of *Canterbury* were likewise ſent for to Court to concur in the Election; but the Bishops and divers of the Great Men were more inclined to chuſe ſome Biſhop or Chaplain of the King's out of the Secular Clergy; and when it was objected, that it was never known from the time of *St. Auguſtine*, that any but a Monk had (except once) been choſen Archbishop, the minds of the Bishops changing on the ſudden, they agreed in the Election of Biſhop *Ralph* above mentioned, and unanimouſly deſired the King's aſſent to confirm him Archbishop; with which he declared he would readily comply, provided the Monks with the Magiſtrates and People of *Canterbury* were willing; upon which there was no delay, for their good will was preſently aſked, and they were found to agree on him alone; ſo the whole matter being referred to the People, they all with one voice approve the Election.

[1.]

Idem Ib.  
Ralph Biſhop  
of Rocheſter  
Elected Arch-  
biſhop.

Thus was [1.] *Ralph* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* with great Joy Elected Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by the conſent of all Men; being a Man highly beloved for his affability and good humour. *Matt. Paris* alſo relates, that the King Inveſted him with the *Archiepiſcopal* Staff and Ring, which muſt needs be an error, for the King had already re-nounced that Right in the late Archbishop's time; but this is certain, [2.] that in *June* following, he went to *Canterbury*, and being there pompouſly received by the Clergy and Laiety, was Conſecrated by the Bishops, who came thither for that purpoſe.

[2.]

Idem Ib.  
P. 110.

This Election being over, the [3.] King reſolved to go into *Normandy*, about Affairs of great moment, but before he went he ſupplied all the Vacant Abbeys; tho' they might have been better filled, had he pleaſed to have choſen ſome of thoſe Abbots out of the *Engliſh* Natives, and not all Strangers; and it had been well if the King had not had ſuch an averſion for the former, as that if he were an *Engliſh* Man no Vertues could promote him; but if a Foreigner pretended to the leaſt ſhew of merit, by the help of his Friends he was advanced to the Hiſheſt Honours: this the Author laments as a Judgment of God, and as the effect of very evil Times.

[3.]

Idem Ib.  
F. W.

The [4.] King having thus diſpatched his Affairs, took Shipping and paſſed into *Normandy*, to prevent the attempts which the *French* and ſome others of his Neighbours were then about to make againſt him.

[4.]

Idem Ib.  
P. 111.  
Ernuſf Con-  
ſecrated Bi-  
ſhop of Ro-  
cheſter, and  
the Prodigy  
that then  
happen'd.

Not [5.] long after his departure the new Archbishop went to *Rocheſter*, there to Inſtall *Ernuſf* Abbot of *Peterburgh* in that See. And our Author relates a great Prodigy to have happen'd that day, viz. the River *Medway* (which runs by *Rocheſter*) fail'd on a ſudden; ſo that between the Bridge and the Caſtle it became ſo ſhallow, that great multitudes of Men and Boys waded over the River on Foot, the water ſcarce reach-

The Corruption  
of theſe  
times.



reaching to their knees; this lasted from Midnight till the Night following, as many who saw it testified to our Author. But that it was no miracle, appears from this, that the same defect was observed in the River of *Thames*, whose waters failed so much, that for the space of two days, they were scarce two foot deep; and this was observed not only in the *South*, but *North* parts of *England*, where the River of *Wye* failed in like manner at *Weremuthe*, as did also divers other Rivers.

But to say something more of Ecclesiastical Affairs, *Thomas* Archbishop of *Tork* being lately deceased, *Thurstan* the King's Chaplain was at *Winchester* Elected Archbishop in his stead, of whom you shall hear more hereafter.

As [1.] for Foreign Affairs I find nothing to have happened considerable this Year, except the consummation of the Mariage between the Emperour *Henry* and *Mathilda* the King's Daughter, who was at the same time also solemnly Crowned Empress at *Mentz*; which shews the Errour of those Historians, who make her to have been Married to him five years before, which is not at all likely, she being then but nine years of age, and now not above fourteen.

This Year proved very quiet and peaceable in [2.] *England*, so that our Historians are forced to fill it up with Accounts of the Weather: the Winter proving so severe, that most of the Bridges of *England* (being then of Wood) were broken by the Frost; but King *Henry* staying all this Year in *Normandy*, the main thing he did whilst he continued there, was, that he caused all the chief Men of that Dutchy to swear Fealty to his Son *William*, as his Lawful Successor, being then but Twelve years of Age, and so the King returned into *England* in *July* following.

[3.] But not long after, hearing that *Rees ap Theodor* (or *ap Tudor*) Son to the late Prince of *South-Wales*, was harboured and protected by *Griffyth ap Conan*, Prince of *North-Wales*, he sent for the Prince by Civil Letters to come to him; and being arrived, the King Courted him with fair words and great Presents, to send him so soon as he return'd home, the Head of young Prince *Rees*, which *Griffyth* (being overcome by the King's Presents) promised to do; and as soon as ever he came to his Palace at *Abberfran*, he inquired for *Griffyth ap Rees*, and learning where he was, sent certain Horsemen to bring him to his Court; but as they drew pretty near to the House where he was, he had notice given him of their coming, and with much ado escaped to the Church of *Aberdaron*, and there took Sanctuary; then the Messengers returned, and declared to the Prince what had happened, at which he was so much offended, that he commanded him to be pulled out by force; but the Clergy of the whole Country withstood it, and defended the Liberties of the Church. That Night some that pitied to see an innocent young Prince thus persecuted, conveyed him away out of *North-Wales* to *Stratwy* in *South-Wales*, where he was compelled for the safety of his own life to rebel against the King, and so mustering all the Power he could to him, he made War against the *Flemmings* and *Normans* for some time, as you will find hereafter.

Anno Dom.  
MCXIV.

[1.]  
F. W.  
The Mariage consummated between the Emperour, and the Lady *Mathilda*.

Anno Dom.  
MCXV.

[2.]  
C. S.  
The Chief Men of *Normandy* swear Fealty to *William* the King's Son.

[3.]  
Dr. Powell's Chron. P. 176.  
The King returns back, and does all he can to get Prince *Rees ap Theodor* into his hands.

Who to prevent being taken falls into Rebellion.

Nor



Anno Dom.

MCXV.

[4.]  
Eadm. P. 113.  
The Pope  
sends the Pall  
to the new  
Archbishop  
of Canterbury.

The Ceremo-  
ny of the  
Archbishop's  
receiving the  
Pall.

Nor did the Year produce any great Alteration in Ecclesiastical Affairs; only [4.] Pope *Paschal* now sent the Pall to the new Archbishop *Ralph* by Abbot *Anselm*, Nephew to the late Archbishop of the same name, who was therefore joyfully received by the present Archbishop: and *Anselm* bringing the Pall in a Silver Box, the Legate came to *Canterbury*, and the Archbishop went out barefoot to meet it, attended by all the Monks of *Christ-Church*, and *St. Augustines*: then the Pall being laid upon the High Altar, was from thence taken and put upon the Archbishop's Shoulders, who having first made an Oath of Fidelity and Canonical Obedience to the Pope, was presently Enthron'd, and having there Consecrated *Theobald* Bishop of *Worcester* (with the assistance of *Richard* Bishop of *London*, and of divers other Bishops) the Solemnity ended.

I have been the more particular in this Relation, that so the Reader may observe the manner how the Archbishops of *Canterbury* received their Palls from the Pope, when they were sent them into *England*; as also the end for which the Pope used to confer them, (*viz.*) that he might thereby oblige the new Archbishop to take the Oath above mentioned.

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MCXVI.

[5.]

C. S.

Idem.

P. 116.

[1.]

Idem.

P. 117.

\* *Principes*.  
The King  
causes all the  
Clergy and  
Laiety of the  
Kingdom to  
do Homage,  
and swear  
Fealty to  
*William* his  
Son.

[2.]

P. 165.

A more par-  
ticular Ac-  
count of the  
same Tran-  
saction from  
*W. of Malmes-*  
*bury*.

The Errour  
of certain  
Modern Au-  
thors who  
date our Par-  
liaments  
from this  
Assembly.

[3.]

C. S. H. H.  
The K. passes  
over into *Nor-*  
*mandy*, where  
a bloody War  
commences  
between him,  
and the King  
of *France*, and  
the cause of  
it.

But [5.] this Year the King kept his *Christmass* at *St. Albans*; the *Spring* following his Affairs again requiring his Presence in *Normandy*, and not knowing what might befall him in this Expedition, and besides being resolved to secure the Succession of the Crown in his own Family [1.] he therefore Summon'd a Great Council of all the Bishops, Abbots, and \* Chief Men of the Kingdom at *Salisbury* on the Twentieth of *March*, that he might appoint his Son *William* Heir of the Kingdom, and secure the Title to him; then all the Nobles (or Chief Men) perceiving the King's mind, readily did Homage, and swore Fealty to him, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and other Bishops, and Abbots swearing first, that if he should out-live his Father, they would (laying aside all other Claims, whatsoever) put him in possession of the Crown and Kingdom, and that when he should be King, they would faithfully serve him.

[2.] *W. of Malmesbury* declareth this Transaction more at large, affirming, "That all the Freemen of *England* and *Normandy*, of whatsoever Order or Dignity, or to what Lord soever they were Vassals (or Tenents) were made to do Homage, and swear Fealty to *William*, the Son of King *Henry*, and Queen *Matilda*."

The Reader may observe, that *Polydore Virgil*, and from him both *Stow* and *Speed's* Chronicle, commence the beginning of our High Court of Parliament from this Assembly, and that without citing any Authority for it. But I shall say no more of this grand mistake in this place, because I have already confuted it in my *Introduction* to this Volume. But to return to the History.

So soon [3.] as ever the King left *England*, and had arrived in *Normandy* about *Easter*, there arose a bloody War between Him and *Lewis* King of *France*, the occasion of which was thus; *Theobald* Earl of *Blou* Rebelling against that King (tho' his Sovereign) was therein assisted by King *Henry* his Uncle, who sending him both Commanders and Souldiers, reduced the *French* King to great Extremities; but he was even with the King of *England*, as you will see by and by, tho' in the mean time he was forced through the necessity of his Affairs to oppress the Kingdom with Grievous Taxes and Exactions. But



But [4.] *Sugerius* Abbot of *St. Denis* in his *Life of King Lewis the Gros*, gives us a much more particular account of the cause of, and proceedings in this War, between King *Henry* and that Prince, than any other Writer, being to this effect: that when the former had vanquished his Brother Duke *Robert*, and thereby wholly subdued *Normandy*, he and the *French* King mutually agreed, that whosoever of them first recovered the Town and Castle of *Gisors* out of the hands of *Payn* a Valiant Nobleman (who took his Sirname from that Place) he should raze that Castle to the Ground within four days, which the *French* King had a great deal of reason to desire, because it stood so conveniently upon the River *Epte*, that being a Frontier, it not only gave King *Henry* an easie entrance into *France*, but also kept the *French* from Invading *Normandy*, on that side; but when he had now long deferr'd demolishing this Castle according to the Agreement, King *Lewis* sent divers Messages to him to put him in mind of it, but he still slighting them, *France* proclaim'd War against King *Henry*, and thereupon gathered together a great Army, and with the Joynt Forces of *Robert* Earl of *Flanders*, *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, the Earl of *Nevers*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, with other Noblemen, Invading *Normandy*, marched as far as a place called *Plancais* (the *French* name I know not more than that it was a Castle near the River) where the King of *England's* Army being drawn up on the other side of the River *Epte*, the *French* King sent a Message by some of his Noblemen, whereby (after upbraiding him with breach of his promise) he required him forthwith to demolish that Castle, or else to fight with him hand to hand; but King *Henry* thought the Castle too considerable to be destroyed, nor did he like to venture his Person without any just cause; so he only sent him back word, that he would not decline to defend himself, when a fit place and opportunity offer'd; at which answer King *Lewis* being incensed, both *French* and *Normans* marched to the River, but neither Party (for fear of the other) durst pass it, and so they retreated; the *Normans* to the Castle of *Gisors*, and the *French* to that of *Chauumont*: but the next Morning early the *French* passing the River near *Gisors*, and the *Normans* Sallying out from thence, there was a sharp engagement between them, and (as this Historian relates) the *Normans* were repulsed to the very Town, where the *French* were like to have entered the Gates with them; but it seems they were defeated of their Intention, for (according to *Polydore Virgil*) the *Normans* within, making a brisk Sally, beat the *French* back with considerable loss; which is most likely, since they did not so much as Besiege the Place again at that time: but tho' this proved the beginning of a sharp and bloody War, which lasted for near three years, between these two Kings and their Confederates, to the great damage of both Kingdoms, but more to the *French*, as the Reader will find hereafter; yet their Authors endeavour to conceal it.

But it is now time to look back into *England*, and see what has been done there since the King's departure, for no sooner was his Back turned, [5.] but *Griffyth ap Rees*, Prince of *Wales*, (who had entred into a War against the King the year before) assembling his *Welshmen*, laid Siege to several Castles in *Wales*, some of which he took, burnt and razed to the Ground, and others he very much endangered; so that being encouraged with these petty Successes, and having encreased

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MCXVI.

[4.]  
Hist. Franc.  
Tom. IV.  
P. 296, 297.  
Edit. Paris.  
A more exact  
Account of  
it from *Sugerius*.

[5.]  
Dr. *Powel's*  
Chron. P. 177.  
*Griffyth*  
Prince of  
*Wales* In-  
vades En-  
gland.



Anno Dom.  
MCXVI.

sed his Forces, he made Inroads into the Countries of *Rosse* and *Dyvent*, spoiling and robbing all places where he came; wherefore the *Normans* and *Flemmings* consulting how they might remedy the mischief, resolved to call together all the *Welsh* Lords of those parts that continued still faithful to the King, such as *Owen ap Rytherech*, and *Rytherech ap Theodor*, with several others, (whose Names would be tedious to recite) and proposed to them, that if they meant to continue faithful to the King of *England*, they must by turns with their own Men guard the Castle of *Caermarthin*, which they all undertook to do, each of them a Fortnight in his turn: But Prince *Griffyth* having intelligence by his Spies that the Castle was but weakly Mann'd, came suddenly before the Town with his Forces, and giving a great Shout, *Owen ap Caradoc* (whose turn it was then to keep the Castle) Sallied out toward the place where the Shout was given, and thinking his Men would have followed him, and fought as he did, he found himself much mistaken for they all ran away. But *Owen* fighting manfully was slain, and the Town taken and burnt, except the Castle, and that was much defaced. Then *Griffyth* return'd to his wonted place with a rich Booty: Whereupon a great Company of lusty young Fellows came in to him, and served him, thinking all was their own. He afterwards also went and took in several other Castles, all which he burnt and destroyed.

[1.]  
Idem Ib.  
The Welsh in  
Cardiganshire  
Rebell.

The Welshmen  
are repulsed  
at *Aberystyth*.

But when the Men of *Cardigan* heard of *Griffyth's* success, they sent to him, and chose him for their Leader, and he was well received by several of the *Welsh* Gentry, who had been driven out of *Dyvet* by the *Normans* and *Flemmings*; and tho' King *Henry* had reduced this Country to his Subjection, yet most of it revolted: but as for the Castles in those parts, which were held by Earl *Gilbert's* Men, he took them, and slew all that were therein; but thinking to take another place called *Aberystyth*, he sent for Succours from another Castle adjoyning, and they coming thither unknown to *Griffyth*, the *Normans* sent some Men to a River, near which the Castle stood, to Skirmish with the *Welshmen*, and intice them over the Bridge, which they having passed, the *English* who were on the other side fled towards the Castle on purpose, and the *Welshmen* persuing them to the Hill-top, an Ambush of Horsemen, that lay under the Hill, got between the *Welshmen* and the Bridge; and then the *English* who had before fled, turn'd again upon the *Welsh*, so that they being encompassed on either side, were most of them cut off, but the rest seeing a greater number of Armed Men than they looked for, retreated and quitted the Country with *Griffyth* their Leader.

[2.]  
Id. Ibid.  
The King  
sends Robert  
his Bole Son  
against the  
Welsh

When [2.] the King heard of these Devastations, he perswaded *Owen ap Caradoc* (the *Welsh* Lord above mentioned) to joyn his Forces to those he should send under the Command of his base Son *Robert*; whereupon *Owen ap Rytherech*, and *Lhywarch ap Trahaern* (another *Welsh* Lord) with all their Men marched to meet the King's Son, making the whole Country flie before them: And *Gerard*, Steward of *Pembroke*, was likewise upon the march with all his Men (consisting chiefly of *Flemmings*) to meet the above said *Robert*, who hearing *Owen* was gone out with a small party of about a Hundred Men to scoure a Wood, where certain *Welshmen* retreated with their Cattel, and thinking it a fit opportunity to be revenged on him for his former injuries,

*Gerard*



*Gerard* and his Party pursued him to the Wood; which *Owen* was made acquainted with, and tho' they were the greater number, yet for all that he would not flie, since he took them to be the King's friends; but so soon as the *Flemmings* drew nigh, and began to shoot at his men, they would fain have perswaded *Owen* to retire, which yet he scorning to do, because they were but *Flemmings*, turned upon his Enemies; but he paid dear for his rashness, for upon the first onset *Owen* was shot to the heart and slain; whereupon his Men fled, and brought word of it to *Lhywarch ap Trahearn* and his Followers, who being jealous of the King's Men that they could not trust them, tho' they were also in the King's service, returned to their own Country, and so there was for the present an end of these *Welsh* Commotions. Nor do we hear any more of this *Griffyth ap Rees* for several years after; the *Welsh* being (I suppose) employed the year following in Civil Broils among themselves, wherein many being slain, their *English* Neighbours thereby enjoyed the greater quiet; but these actions being too small to be particularly taken notice of, I refer the Reader that desires farther satisfaction to *Caradoc's Chronicle* published by Doctor *Powel*.

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MCXVI.

*Owen ap Rytharch* treacherously slain by *Gerard Steward of Pembroke*.

[3.] Let us now look back to the Ecclesiastical Affairs of this year; at a Common \* Council of the Bishops, Abbots, and Chief Men of the whole Kingdom lately held at *Salisbury* (as you have already heard) the old Controversie between *Ralph* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Thurstan* Archbishop Elect of *Tork*, concerning Superiority, was again renew'd; for the latter being admonished by the former to make his Profession of Obedience to the See of *Canterbury*, He answered he would willingly receive his Consecration, but could by no means make the Profession his Predecessor had done. *Ralph* not having patience to hear what was, or might be said on this Subject, the Discourse broke off abruptly, and the difference remain'd still undetermined; yet *Thurstan* presently sent to *Rome* to try to obtain a Dispensation for not making his Profession, but could not then prevail with the Pope to grant it. In the mean time the King taking notice of the obstinacy of *Thurstan*, and that he presumed too much upon his favour, declared, that unless he would make such a Profession as his Predecessors had done, and own the Superiority of the Church of *Canterbury*, he should never be Consecrated, nor enjoy the Archbishoprick of *Tork*; wherefore in a great heat he renounced it, assuring the King and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* that he would never so long as he lived pretend to claim any Title to it; yet for all this he soon changed his mind, and followed the King into *Normandy*, hoping to re-obtain his Bishoprick without the Profession required; but without any success.

[3.]  
*Eadm. p. 117.*  
A Council held at *Salisbury*, where the old difference between the Archbishops *Canterbury* and *Tork* is again revived.

\* *Eadmerus* places this Council under the former Year, but I rather follow *Florence of Worcester*, and *R. Hoveden*, who with more probability place it under this.

During [4.] this Controversie Abbot *Anselm* (the [5.] same that had formerly brought over the Pall to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*) came into *Normandy* with the Pope's Letters to be his Legate in *England*; which, so soon as it was known here, all the Bishops, Abbots and Lay-Nobility, much admired at, and being Summoned to *London* by the Queen to Treat in a Common Council about this and other matters, it was resolved by all there present, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (whom this business chiefly concern'd) should go to the

[4.]  
*Ibid.*  
P. 118.  
[5.]  
*Idem.*  
P. 11.



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MCXVI.

The Resolution of the Council concerning the Pope's Legate.

Anno Dom.  
MCXVII.

[1.]  
C. S. H. H.  
A new Confederacy of the King of France and other Princes against King Henry.

England and Normandy grievously oppressed with Taxes, and Quartering of Soldiers.

[2.]  
Vid. Monast.  
Ang. Tom. 2.  
p. 89.

[3.]  
Eadm. p. 119, 120.  
The Archbishop of Canterbury goes to Rome.

King, and acquaint him with the antient Customs and Liberties of the Kingdom; and that if the Legate still persisted in these Innovations, the Archbishop should go to *Rome* and procure the Pope to take them off. So the Archbishop in compliance with their desires went over, the King being then at *Roüen*, where he found the Legate waiting for leave to come into *England*: but the King not suffering any prejudice to be done to the antient Customs of this Nation, kept him in *Normandy*, and would not permit him to go any further.

The [1.] King spent all this Year in those Parts by reason of a Confederacy which was now set on foot against him between the King of *France*, and the Earls of *Flanders* and *Anjou*, who all conspired to dispossess him of *Normandy*, and settle *William*, Son to Duke *Robert* therein: And it was carried on so far, that many of the Great Men of that Country quitted their Allegiance, and took part with them; but King *Henry* was so well assisted by the Earl of *Bretaigne*, and Earl *Theobald* his Nephew, that tho' the King of *France*, and Earl of *Flanders* Invaded *Normandy* with a very powerful Army, yet hearing of the approach of King *Henry* with the joynt Forces of *England*, *Normandy* and *Bretaigne*, they stayed only one Night, and so march'd off next day upon the news, without striking a stroke.

I find our Chronicles and Histories so very Barren of matter this Year, that they do not tell us what was done further, either in *England* or *Normandy*, and therefore they are forced to fill it up with Prodigies and strange things done in foreign parts.

Only the *Saxon* Chronicle informs us in general, that notwithstanding the King's late good success against the King of *France*, not only *England* but *Normandy* was grievously oppressed by heavy Taxes, and the quartering of such an Army, as the necessity of his Affairs now forced him to keep on foot.

This Year affords nothing considerable in Ecclesiastical matters in *England*, more than that King *Henry* [2.] founded a rich Abbey for Black Chanons at the Town of *Cirencester* in *Gloucestershire*, which was Dedicated to *St. Mary* and *St. James*, but is now ruined, so that nothing but the Church is left; and that remains at this day, and is the Parish-Church of that antient Town.

Also as to the Ecclesiastical Affairs of foreign parts this Year produced little, [3.] only *Ralph* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who having the Year before undertook his Journey to the Pope concerning Abbot *Anselm's* Legantine Power, was much hindered in his way by a dangerous Indisposition; and tho' at last he with much ado got to *Rome*, yet durst he go no further, because there was War at that time between the Emperour and the Pope; the former having driven his Holiness as far as *Beneventum*; so that the great distance and danger of the Journey being considered, the Pope would not willingly permit the Archbishop to undertake it; therefore all that he could do, was, to send Messengers to him to know his pleasure, yet could obtain nothing more from him but a Bull of Confirmation of all those antient Privileges of the See of *Canterbury* which his Predecessors had ever enjoyed, (yet without specifying what they were) which so soon as the Archbishop had received, he presently returned back to the King, who was still in *Normandy*.



About the same time [4.] the Clergy of the Church of York by their Deputies, made such earnest application to the Pope for the restitution of their Archbishop *Thurstan*, without making any Profession to the See of *Canterbury*, that at last they obtained his restitution by the Pope's Bull, wherein there is a Clause, that it was not his intention to prejudice either of those Churches, yet reserved the farther hearing of all differences between them to his own decision.

This Year [5.] the War between the Kings of *France* and *England* raged more violently than in the last, it being renewed by *Almeric de Montfort*, (Sister's Son to *William* Earl of *Eureux*) who now again demanded that Earldom of King *Henry*, but he refusing to grant it him, he took up Arms against the King, and excited almost all *France* to do the like; whereupon the Governour of *Eureux*, *William Pointel*, delivered the City to him, and the Bishop with his Clerks and Retinue were forced to depart thence. There joyned also with him *Robert de Gournay*, *Stephen* Earl of *Albemarle*, and many others, who rebelled against *Henry*, and endeavoured to establish *William*, Son of Duke *Robert* in his Father's Dutchy. To these also came in *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, who entered that part of *Normandy* called *Tellau*, and burnt I know not how many Towns, the King and his *Normans* being Spectators; he fortified *Bures*, and because he suspected most of the *Normans*, he put a great Garison of Stipendiary *Britains* and *English* into it; when Earl *Baldwin* coming before it, and provoking the Garison to fight, was there dangerously wounded, and returning home sometime after died without issue. These Rebels received likewise assistance from the King of *France*, and Duke of *Anjou*; so on both sides they Plundered the Country, took and burnt several Castles and Towns.

On the [1.] fifth of October, there was a Council Summoned at *Roüen*, where King *Henry* consulted concerning the Peace of the Country with *Ralph* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the other Barons he had there assembled; where likewise *Geoffrey* Archbishop of *Roüen* Treated about the State of the Church, with his four Suffragan Bishops, *Richard* of *Bayeux*, *John* of *Lisieux*, *Turgis* of *Auranches*, and *Roger* of *Constance*, with many Abbots. *Serlo* Bishop of *Seez* was not at this Council, being excused by reason of his great Age and Infirmities; and *Audin* Bishop of *Eureux* excused himself as being employed against the Common Enemies of the Country.

The [2.] War still continued to rage in *Normandy*, and every day almost brought the King News of some considerable *Norman* Nobleman, or *Castellan's* revolting from him, amongst whom *Eustace de Breteuil*, an Illegitimate Son of *William* Earl of that place, was one, who had Married *Juliane* one of King *Henry's* Natural Daughters. He demanded great things of his Father-in-Law, and because the King would not grant them, he Fortified four Castles against him; yet some of these repenting of what they had done, came and submitted themselves, and made their Peace with the King. The first was *Robert* Son of *Ascelin Goell*, whose Example many followed; then the King sent to *Almeric*, offer'd him his Earldom of *Eureux*, and invited him to accept of his favour, but he refused it; However the Noblemen of *England*, who were of *Norman* Extraction, and faithfully adhered to the King, were *Richard* Earl of *Chester*, *Ralph de Conches*, *William de Warenne*, and

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[4.]

Idem.

P. 121.

*Thurstan* Arch-  
bishop of York  
is restor'd by  
the Pope  
without ma-  
king any Pro-  
fession of O-  
bedience to  
him of *Can-  
terbury*.

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MCXVIII.

[5.]

O. V.

P. 843.

*Almeric de  
Montfort* takes  
Arms against  
King *Henry*  
upon being  
denied the  
Earldom of  
*Eureux*.

Many other  
*Norman* Lords  
Rebell with  
Intention to  
set up *Willi-  
am* Son to  
Duke *Robert*.

[1.]

Idem. P. 846.

A great  
Council held  
at *Roüen*.

[2.]

Idem. P. 848.

The War still  
continues in  
*Normandy*,  
where many  
Great Men  
revolt from  
the King.



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MCXVIII.

[3.]  
W. M. p. 164.

H. H.  
Queen Ma-  
tilda dies.

Her Chara-  
cter.

[4.]  
Eadm. ibid.  
The Death of  
the Earl of  
Mellent.

[5.]  
Id. ib.  
The Decease  
of Pope Pas-  
chal.

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[1.]  
C. S.

C.S. Cont. Flor.  
The War still  
continues in  
Normandy.

[2.]  
Suger. in vita  
Lud. Grossi.  
p. 308.

The Castle of  
Andely sur  
Seine taken.

The King is  
defeated by  
the Earl of  
Anjou.

[3.]  
Idem ib.  
Baldwin Earl  
of Flanders  
dies of a  
slight wound.

and the Sons of Robert Earl of Mellent, Waleran and Robert, with divers others too many to be here recited.

Let us now see what was done in the mean time in England [3.], where the King received a very great loss by the death of his Queen Matilda, who Deceased this Year at Westminster on the Thirtieth of April, and was Buried in the Abbey-Church thereof; tho' Thomas Rudborn in his *Historia Major* relates, that she was buried in the Cathedral at Winchester; However Monuments were set up in her Memory in other Churches also.

She was a Princess endued with all the good Qualities requisite to a private Person, as well as a great Queen, being humble, charitable, and devout, neither transported with prosperity, nor cast down by Adversity, as Henry Huntington in the Epitaph he gives of her in Verse describes her to be; her only fault (in William of Malmesbury's opinion) was her being too bountiful to Strangers, especially Monks, who could sing skilfully the Church-Service, by which as well as other needless Liberalities, she often ran in debt, and by her exacting Officers, wrack'd and oppress'd her poor Tenants to pay it.

About the same time also [4.] died Robert Earl of Mellent, the King's Great Councillor and Favourite, an Enemy to the English; by this Nobleman's instigations (as it is supposed) King Henry would never bestow any Ecclesiastical Preferment on an English Man. I have nothing else to remark concerning English Affairs, but that the Kingdom continued to be still cruelly oppress'd by great Taxes to carry on the War abroad.

As for Church-Affairs, there happened nothing worth taking notice of but [5.] the death of Pope Paschal the Second, to whom succeeded John of Cajera, a Monk of Mount Cassine in Italy, by the name of Gelasius; yet he sat but one year, and is reckoned by some as an pope.

All this Year Normandy was harassed with War, [1.] which still continued as fierce as ever, between the two King's, Lewis and Henry, from whom several of his Great Men still continued to revolt and go over to his Enemies, which proved a great mortification to him; but as misfortunes seldom come alone, so also the King about this time met with divers other ill successes: for [2.] Engeram de Chaumont taking with him a small Body of resolute Men took the strong Castle of Andely Sur Seine by surprize, by which means he reduced all the Country from the River of Epte to the Town of Pont St. Pierre; upon the said River Seine, to the Obedience of the King of France; and not long after, when King Henry together with Theobald Earl of Bologne marched to relieve the Castle of Alanfon in Maine, the King being met with in his way thither by the Earl of Anjou, received such a defeat, as he was obliged to retreat, and so the Castle was forced to Surrender.

Not long after this the King's Fortune began to change for the better; for [3.] Baldwin Earl of Flanders, the King's bitter Enemy, invaded Normandy, and Besieged the Castle of Ou, which tho' he took, yet receiving there a slight Wound in the Head, it so inflamed through his own Intemperance, that he not long after deceased, being succeeded by his Nephew Charles, Son to the King of Denmark, who soon made Peace with King Henry.

But



But that which most weakened the *French* King's Interest, was, that *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou* being allured by the great and advantageous offers that King *Henry* made him, began now to hearken to a Treaty of Peace, which was at that time set on Foot, and not long after perfected to the King's great satisfaction; a Marriage being concluded between *William* the King's only Son, and the Earl's younger Daughter.

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The Earl of  
*Anjou* makes  
Peace with  
King *Henry*.

In order to which [4.] *Ordericus Vitalis* informs us, that in *May* following the young Prince came over from *England* into *Normandy*, whereupon his Father sent Ambassadors to the Earl of *Anjou* to conclude the Peace already proposed, inviting him kindly to his Court, and he coming thither a little after, a firm Peace and League was made between them; and in the Month of *June* the Prince was Married at *Lisieux* to the Lady above mentioned, and then the King by the Earl's Mediation received into favour *William Talvace*, the Son of *Robert de Belesme*, and restored to him all his Father's Estate in *Normandy*, tho' not in *England*.

[4.]

O. V.

P. 851.

Prince *William*  
arrives in  
*Normandy*, and  
is Married to  
the Earl of  
*Anjou's*  
Daughter.

This Affair being over, [5.] King *Henry* marched up and down *Normandy* to revenge himself on his Enemies, taking and burning their Castles and Towns; he then also Besieged *Eureux*, and after he had taken and burnt it down with the Cathedral, he reduced all that remained in those parts under his Dominion.

[5.]

Idem. lb.

K. Hen. reduces  
many Towns  
and Castles in  
*Normandy*.

While both Fire and Sword thus raged in the Bowels of *Normandy*, [1.] the King of *France* Invaded it on that side toward *France*, and came as far as *Andely* upon the River *Seine*, saying, he wished he could meet the King of *England* in the open Field; which he hearing of, soon gratified his desire, and marching up towards him, came into the Plain of *Brenville* near the Mountain *Guarclive* with Five Hundred Horse, amongst whom were the King's two Natural Sons, *Robert* and *Richard*, (expert Soldiers for their years) and three Earls, *Henry d'Ou*, *William de Warren*, and *Walter Giffard*, with many others of like Note.

[1.]

Id. lb.

The King of  
*France* In-  
vades that  
Province.

Then [2.] King *Lewis* seeing the War was now likely to come to a decision, drew out Four hundred Horse, commanded by *William*, Duke *Robert's* Son, who was to make the first Onset, after which both Armies joyned Battel, wherein the *French* were routed, and many persons of Quality both *Normans* and *French* taken Prisoners. This is *Ordericus's* account of this Battel; but what *Henry of Huntington* relates seems much more satisfactory, and which being the last great action of this King's life, I shall here give you more at large.

[2.]

Id. lb.

The King of  
*France's* Army  
commanded  
by *William*  
Son to Duke  
*Robert*, is  
routed.

The [3.] King of *France* had appointed *William* Son to Duke *Robert* his Lieutenant-General, ordering him to advance before with a considerable Detachment, whilst he himself in Person with the main Body of his Army brought up the Reer. King *Henry* had divided his Forces into three parts, placing his chief Nobility in the Avant-Guard, he himself lead the second Division, in which were the Troops of the Household; whilst in the third, he placed his base Sons, being all on foot, with the chief power of the *English* Infantry. The Battel being begun, the Avant-Guard of the *French* presently broke, and dispersed that of the *Norman* Nobility; who falling foul upon that part in which King *Henry* himself was, that was also soon broken; but tho' the King's Forces thus fell foul upon each other, yet they soon rallied, and it was sharply fought on both sides, for when their Spears were

[3.]

H. H.

P. 218, 381.  
A more par-  
ticular Ac-  
count of this  
Fight from  
*Henry of Hun-*  
*tington*.



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were broken they fought it out with their Swords; then *William Crispin*, a Norman Baron, assaulting the King struck him twice upon the Head, and his Helmet, tho' too strong to be pierced, yet was so beaten into his Head, that blood followed; but the King so well handled his Adversary, that both Horse and Man came down to the Ground, and he was there taken Prisoner at the King's feet: then the main Body of Foot in which the King's Sons were, and which had not yet struck a stroke, advanced so furiously with their Pikes, that the *French* not daring to venture the Charge, turned their backs and fled. The King having thus gained the day, remained still in the Field, till such time as several *French* Noblemen being taken Prisoners, were presented to him; whereupon he returned to *Rouen*, and here solemnly gave God thanks for his Victory; but yet it was a good while ere the King could recover his late bruise in the Head.

[4.] But tho' [4.] *Ordericus* tells us there were but Nine hundred *Milites*, or Knights, in this Battel, it is to be understood that on both sides these *Milites* there signifie Military Tenants or Feudataries, being all Men of Quality, and of these only three were killed, the rest were so well armed, that they could not run any great hazard in that Age, when the most dangerous Weapons were Swords, with Bows and Arrows. King *Lewis* his Standard was here taken, and King *Henry* bought it of him that took it for Twenty Marks, which he kept as a token of the Victory. His Horse also was taken, but that was sent back next day, with his whole Furniture; and Prince *William* sent likewise his Cousin *William* (the Son of Duke *Robert*) his Horse which he had lost, with many other Presents; so full of Honour and Courtesy were Princes to each other (tho' Enemies) in those Times.

How it came to pass that there were no more *Milites*, and that so few were killed.

King *Lewis*'s Horse and Standard taken.

[5.] When [5.] King *Lewis* returned to *Paris*, by the advice of *Almeric de Montfort* (who was not at this fight) he resolved to send to all the Bishops and Parish Priests of the Kingdom, that they should issue out their *Anathema's* against all their Parishioners who were fit for War, if they failed to attend the King whensoever he should order them to march against the *Normans*. Whereupon there assembled a great Army from divers parts of *France*, which being joyned to the Forces the King had ready before, they marched into the very heart of *Normandy*, committing great Ravages as they passed along. With this Army the King laid Siege to *Breteville*, or *Breteuil*, which is in the Center of that Duchy; the Governour whereof was *Ralph de Guader*, a Lord of *Bretaigne*, who valiantly sallied out and fought with them, commanding also the Gates of the Castle to be set open, but none durst enter, such was the courage of those that defended it; but at three of the Gates there was so sharp and obstinate a Conflict, that many fell on both sides.

[5.] Idem.  
P. 886.

The King of *France* raises a great Army in *France* upon an *Anathema* being pronounced against all that should refuse to attend the King, who again invades *Normandy* afresh.

King *Lewis* is repulled at *Breteuil*.

King *Henry*, so soon as he heard the *French* were returned into *Normandy*, sent his Son *Richard* with a Supply of Two hundred Knights or Horsemen to *Ralph de Guader*, which coming to the knowledge of the Enemy, the Courage of the Assailants began to fail them, and the brave Governour going from Gate to Gate, encouraged his Soldiers, often changing his Armour, that he might not be known.

[1.] Id. Ib.  
The *French* return upon King *Henry*'s approach.

Then [1.] the King follow'd his Son's and those he had sent before, with a numerous Army, and resolved to fight the main Body of the *French*, but they despairing to take the Town, were forced to return into



into *France*, carrying back nothing (besides the Goods they had Plundered) but Ignominy and Blows.

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*William de Chaumont*, Son-in-Law to the King of *France*, being extremely concerned at this bad Success, in his return home with his Soldiers assaulted the Castle of *Tilyers*, where *Gilbert the Castellan* suddenly Sallying out upon them, took *William* Prisoner, with divers others, and put the rest to flight; upon which many of the *Norman Barons*, who had before revolted, now again submitted themselves to the King.

But as to Ecclesiastical Affairs: [2.] In the midst of *October* following, Pope *Gelasius* came to *Rheimes*, having before Summon'd a General Council of all the Archbishops and Bishops of the *Western Church*, to which also went several *English* Bishops, as you will see further by and by.

[2.]  
O. V.  
P. 858.  
Pope Gelasius  
summons  
a Council at  
Rheimes.

At this [3.] Council the King of *France* with his *Barons* appear'd, and made great complaints against King *Henry*, for that being his Vassal he had made War against him, and committed great spoils upon his Subjects: That he had against his consent seized upon *Normandy*, being a Fief of his Kingdom: That he had against all Law and Right taken, and still detain'd Prisoner Duke *Robert*, who was his Liege-Lord, and Elder Brother. And then (the better to raise their compassion) he presented to them the young Prince *William* his Banished Son: And farther complain'd that the King had also incited Earl *Theobald* a Vassal of *France* to rebell against him, and make War upon his Kingdom. Then all the *French* Bishops there present, justified what their King had said; but when *Geoffrey* Archbishop of *Rouen*, with all the *Norman* Bishops and Abbots rose up to make King *Henry's* Defence, they could not be heard; so the Council broke up on the sudden in some confusion.

[3.]  
Idem Ib.  
At which the  
King of France  
with his Bi-  
shops and Ba-  
rons appear'd,  
and make  
great Com-  
plaints a-  
gainst King  
Henry.

Not long after [4.] the Pope came into *Normandy*, and met King *Henry* at *Gisors* to mediate a Peace; where his Holiness told him, that by the Law of God, every man ought to enjoy his own Right, and that it was his desire, and the request of the whole Council, that he should set *Robert his Brother* at Liberty, and restore him and his Son *William* to their Dukedom. To this the King answered, "That he did not take the Dutchy from his Brother, but only secured his Father's Inheritance, which was by him squander'd away on dissolute fellows: That himself had been called into *Normandy* by the Bishops to prevent the desolation of the Church; and that what he did was not out of choice, but by the great Perswasions and Invitations of the *Norman* Clergy and People, to preserve that Country from utter ruin. With this Answer (which was much to the same effect, as the *Norman* Bishops would have given in the Council to the King of *France*) the Pope was well satisfied, and approved of what King *Henry* had done, and farther said, *He had heard enough of the Duke and his Son.*

The Council  
breaks up in  
some confu-  
sion.

[4.]  
Idem Ib.  
The Pope  
comes into  
*Normandy* to  
meet King  
*Henry*, whom  
he perswades  
to Surrender  
that Dutchy.

The King's  
Defence of  
Himself to  
the Pope.

But [5.] *William of Malmesbury* adds, that at this Interview the King was so liberal of his Presents to the Pope and his Cardinals, that they ever after held him for a most Eloquent Orator, and all his actions to be very justifiable: So that leaving these unfortunate Princes to shift for themselves, the Pope made it his business to strike up a Peace between the two Kings, but it not being concluded till the following year, I shall defer the further mention of it till then.

[5.]  
P. 160.  
The King is  
looked upon  
by the Pope  
as an Elo-  
quent Orator.

Yet



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[1.]  
Idem Ib.  
A Disputati-  
on between  
the Earl of  
Mellent's Sons  
and some  
Cardinals.

[2.]  
Eadm. Lib. 5.  
P. 123.  
The death of  
Pope Gelafius.  
Calixtus suc-  
ceeds him ;  
which causes  
a Schism at  
Rome.

The Pope re-  
tires into  
France, and  
holds the  
Council of  
Rheimes.

[2.]  
Idem.  
P. 124.

[4.]  
O. V.  
P. 858.  
The King for-  
bids the En-  
glish Bishops  
to make any  
Appeals at  
this Council.

[5.]  
Eadm. P. 125.  
Thurstan  
Archbishop  
Elect of York  
is Consecra-  
ted by the  
Pope.

Notwithstan-  
ding K. Henry's  
desires to the  
contrary.

[1.]  
Idem Ib.

Yet I cannot here omit a story related by the same [1.] Author to have happened at this meeting, which tho' of no great moment, yet shews us at what a height Learning was then in *England*, (*viz.*) that two Youths, Sons to the late Earl of *Mellent*, disputing Syllogistically with some of the Cardinals, they so gravelled them, that they were forced to confess, there was more learning in these *Western* parts than they had before believed.

And now I shall conclude this Year with a Relation of some Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Pope [2.] *Gelafius* above mentioned (who had succeeded *Paschal*) held the Chair but a short time, for he died this year, at the Abbey of *Clugny*, whereupon the Cardinals, who had followed the late Pope into *France*, chose *Guido* Archbishop of *Vienne* in his stead, who changed his name to *Calixtus*, whilst the Emperour and his party still acknowledged *Burden* Bishop of *Brachara* in *Spain* (whom he had before set up as Lawful Pope by the name of *Gregory*) which Schism so confounded Men's minds in *England*, that some were for the one, and some for the other, whilst divers maintain'd that neither of them were Lawfully Elected.

But this Year this Pope being forced by the Emperour to reside in *France*, he held the Council at *Rheimes*, (as hath been already related) where was a great appearance of Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and Princes of divers Kingdoms and Provinces, with a numerous multitude of Clerks and Plebeians. [3.] To this Council the King sent the *Norman* Bishops and Abbots, and all the *English* Bishops that were then with him in *Normandy*; *viz.* *William* Bishop of *Exeter*, *Ralph* Bishop of *Durham*, *Bernard* of *St. Davids*, and *Urban* of *Landaff*; but the Archbishop of *Canterbury* being Indisposed, and hindered by other business, could not go thither.

But tho' the King gave the Bishops leave to attend this Council, [4.] yet he forbade them making any Appeals thither; declaring the liberty he gave them in these words, *Go, salute the Pope in my name, and only bear his Apostolical Precepts, but bring none of his new Inventions into my Kingdom.* Which shews this King to have been, though an Obedient, yet no Bigotted Son of the Church of *Rome*.

About the same time also [5.] Archbishop *Thurstan* asked leave of the King to go to the General Council, yet could he not obtain it, until he had given his Faith, that he would procure nothing from the Pope prejudicial to the See of *Canterbury*, or receive Episcopal Consecration from him. But when he came thither, being forgetful of his promise, by Bribing the *Roman* Courtiers, he obtained his desire, and was Consecrated Archbishop by the Pope himself, notwithstanding the King by a special Messenger had before given him notice of the difference between the Archbishops *Ralph* and *Thurstan*, and on that account joyn'd with the former in a request to his Holiness not to Consecrate him, nor to command nor suffer any other to do it; for if he did, the King would not admit that Archbishop to come into any part of his Dominions, nor would he alter his Resolution tho' he were Excommunicated for it.

Our [1.] Author being himself a Monk of *Canterbury*, may be pardon'd if he is somewhat partial in this Relation, and when he gives us the reason why the Pope now Consecrated Archbishop *Thurstan*,

*viz.*



*viz.* that when the King had by his Envoy moved his *Holineſſ* not to Consecrate him, nor permit any other, except the Archbishop of Canterbury to perform it: The Pope's Answer was, *Let not the King your Master believe, that I will act otherwise in this Affair, than as right reason requires, for I am not so carried away by my own will, as that I should any ways depress the just Dignity of the See of Canterbury.* On which fair Answer the Envoy too much relied, for the day before the Council met, he found the Pope resolved to Consecrate him, and that the Archbishop Elect was now ready to receive his *Holineſſ*'s Benediction (*i.e.* Consecration at his hands) but then John Archdeacon of Canterbury (on behalf of that Archbishop) again challenged the Consecration of the Archbishop of York to belong to his Master; to this the Pope replied, *We will do no Injustice to the Church of Canterbury, yet (saving its Dignity) shall perform what we have resolved.* And so presently proceeded to the Consecration.

To which [2.] Thomas Stubbs in his Chronicle of the Church of York adds, that Archbishop Thurstan being Summoned to this Council by the Pope, he also sent Letters to King Henry, commanding him to give him leave to go, which he at last (though unwillingly) consented to; whereupon Thurstan went to the Pope and found him at Tours, and staying with him for almost half a year, he so well made his Interest, that at the Council at Rheims he obtain'd Consecration at his hands, many Bishops assisting at it; which was the easier obtain'd, because Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury did not appear there in Person, neither sent any excuse; only when he heard it, he wrote an Epistle to the Pope, complaining of the Injury his See had received by his *Holineſſ*'s late Consecration of Thurstan, with which the Pope not being satisfied, answered the Archbishop's Letter, which you may see at large at the end of Stubbs's Chronicle, but the Pope's answer I do not find there; only this much is certain, that neither this Pope, nor any other, ever thought fit again to renew their Predecessor Pope Alexander's Injunctions, for the Archbishop of York's making the Profession of Canonical Obedience to the See of Canterbury. But we shall now return to Eadmerus's Relation of what followed after this Consecration.

But when the [4.] King had certain notice of what the Pope had done, he was so highly displeased that he forbade the Archbishop of York from coming into any of his Dominions; yet not long after King Henry and the Pope meeting again at Gisors, to confer about this and other matters, the Pope then consented, that the King should enjoy all the Rights and Customs his Father had used in England and Normandy; and particularly that no Person at any time should be sent as his Legate into England, unless the King himself had some special cause or complaint, that could not be decided by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other Bishops of the Kingdom, and should desire the Pope to send a Legate on purpose; but this Agreement was not long observed by his Successors.

Then [5.] the Pope desired the King to be Friends with Archbishop Thurstan for his sake, and to restore him to the Archbishoprick to which he was consecrated. But the King answered, He had engaged his Faith not to do it so long as he lived. The Pope replied, *If he would do what he required, he would absolve him from that Engagement.* The

Anno Dom.  
MCXIX.[2.]  
Decem Scrip-  
tores.  
Coll. 1715.[3.]  
Idem.  
Coll. 1735.[4.]  
Idem Ib.  
The King is  
highly dis-  
pleased with  
what the  
Pope had  
done.The Pope  
grants the  
King the Pri-  
vilege not to  
receive any  
Legate from  
Rome unless  
he desired  
one.[5.]  
Idem Ib.  
Yet the King  
still conti-  
nues to refuse  
the restorati-  
on of A. B.  
Thurstan.



Anno Dom.  
MCXIX.

And declines  
the Pope's  
Absolution  
from his  
Oath.

[1.]  
Idem Ib.  
P. 126.  
Archbishop  
Thurstan refus-  
ed to come  
and receive  
his Archbi-  
shoprick up-  
on the Terms  
the King re-  
quired.

[2.]  
Idem.  
P. 132, 132.  
The King of  
Scots desires  
that Eadmerus  
should be E-  
lected Bishop  
of St. An-  
drews which  
is done ac-  
cordingly.

The King and  
he differ, and  
upon what  
Points.

[3.]  
Idem.  
Pag. 138, 139,  
140.  
Eadmerus re-  
turns to Can-  
terbury with-  
out Consecra-  
tion; yet after  
would have  
submitted to  
the Scotch  
King, but he  
would not  
receive him.

King said, He would consider of it, and acquaint him with his Resolution. Thus they parted, and the King by his Envoy sent him this Answer, *That whereas his Holiness said, that as he was Pope, and could absolve him from the Oath he had made; if contrary thereunto he would receive Thurstan for Archbishop of York, it seemed not agreeable to the justice and Honour of a King to consent to such an Absolution.*

Whence you may observe, that the trick of the Pope's absolving Princes from their Oaths, was not then so easily swallow'd by our King's, as it was afterwards, as you will find by some of his Successors.

But because the Pope so earnestly desired that *Thurstan* might be admitted to his Archbishoprick, the King at last yielded it should be so, provided he would come to *Canterbury*, and profess due Obedience and Subjection in writing to that See, as divers of his Predecessors had done before him; but if he refused it, the King solemnly professed he should not be Archbishop of *York*, so long as he was King of *England*: And this (said the King) *I have promised and pledged my Faith to make good.* Then the Archbishop of *Canterbury* having for this time carried his Point, returned into *England*, and came to his See about the beginning of *January*; but Archbishop *Thurstan* still followed the Pope: so the King kept to his resolution, and would neither admit him for Archbishop of *York*, nor suffer him to come into his Dominions, and *Thurstan* was as stout as he, and refused to return upon those Terms.

Soon [2.] after the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* return into *England*, *Alexander* King of *Scotland* sent him a Letter, desiring him to send *Eadmerus* (then a Monk of *Canterbury*, and the Author of the History from whence we borrow this Relation) that he might be Ordained Bishop of *St. Andrews*; whereupon the Archbishop of *Canterbury* sent him thither, and on the Feast of *St. Peter and Paul* he was Elected to that See by the Clergy and Laity of that Kingdom, the King himself giving his consent, and he was then also invested (or put in possession) of that Bishoprick tho' without receiving the Crosier or Ring from the King's hand, or doing him Homage; but when he was to be Consecrated, he would receive his Consecration from none but the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as Primate of all *Scotland*; and nothing less would satisfy him than his going thither on purpose for it: but the King perceiving that he was of the like rigid temper with his Master *Anselm*, (whole perpetual Companion and Director he had been in his Exile) was very desirous to be rid of him, and make him weary of that Place, which was brought about by the subtle contrivance of some of the *Scotch* Bishops, as you may there see at large, and so *Eadmerus* being only Bishop Elect returned again to *Canterbury* to his Convent: yet afterwards repenting of what he had done, he wrote a very submissive Letter to *K. Alexander*, wherein he seems willing to have ted something of his former stiffness, if he might have been received as Bishop; but the King was so imbibber'd against him, that he would never again admit him, tho' the Archbishop of *Canterbury* wrote also in his behalf.

I have thought fit to insert this, tho' principally relating to a private person, in honour to his memory, to whom we have been so much beholden in this present work for his exact account of the Ecclesiasti-  
cal



cal and Civil Affairs in the Reign of this King, as well as that of his Father and Brother.

The Reader may also observe the manner of the Election of the Bishop of *St. Andrews* in that Age to have been by the Bishops and Nobility, and that the King of *Scotland* was then too jealous of the Rights and Privileges of that Kingdom, to admit of any Primacy or Jurisdiction of the See of *Canterbury* over that of *St. Andrews*, tho' it was not then advanced to be an Archiepiscopal See; for [4.] the Archbishop of *Tork* also claimed the Primacy over that part of *Scotland*, tho' the King would not allow neither of that demand.

The Pope (as you have heard) having inclin'd the minds of the Kings of *England* and *France* to a Peace, they both met on a stated day at *Gisors* to Treat of it, where it was soon concluded, both Parties being equally weary of War. The Articles of this Peace were but few, (*viz.*) That all Castles and strong Holds taken in this War should be mutually restored, and the Prisoners on both sides set at liberty without Ransome; but because King *Henry* thought it a diminution of his Royal Dignity to do Homage in Person to the King of *France* for the Dutchy of *Normandy*, he made *William* his Son to do it, who then received the Investiture of that Dutchy from the hands of that King; and not long after all the chief Men of *Normandy* did Homage and took an Oath of Fealty to Prince *William* (being now about seventeen years old) as Duke of that Province.

Here we may observe an Errour in [1.] Dr. *Brady's* History, which, from a single passage in *Malmesbury* misunderstood, makes this Prince to have done Homage to the King of *France* six years before; but this could not be, for that Prince was not at that time twelve years of Age, and therefore too young to swear Fealty. But if the Doctor had been pleased to read but a line further in this Author, he would have found that this Homage was made at the same time when this young Prince married the Daughter of the Earl of *Anjou*; which yet too is an Errour in *Malmesbury*, for the Kings of *England* and *France* being then at War, the latter would not have received his Homage at that time, tho' it had been offer'd, and therefore it could not be performed until this year.

The War being now ended, and all things quiet in *Normandy*, the King resolved to return into *England*, from whence he had been absent near five years; wherefore he commanded a numerous Fleet to be got ready, and ordered a great many of the Military Men that had served him faithfully in the late War to attend him into *England*, to be rewarded according to their respective Merits. And so soon as the Fleet was ready in the Port of *Barbfleet* (now *Barfleur*) the King with a vast Retinue set sail on the Twenty sixth of *November* in the Evening, and Landed in *England* the next Morning. [3.] But his Son Prince *William*, with *Richard* his Base Brother, *Richard* Earl of *Chester*, and several others of the young Nobility, chose rather to go over by themselves in a new Ship appointed for that purpose, which proved very unfortunate to them; for the Captain and the Seamen being got drunk would needs set Sail in the Night, and so ran the Ship upon a Rock, not far from the Shore, where they were all lost: Yet Prince *William* might have been saved, had it not been for his too great affection for his Natural Sister the Countess of *Perche*; for he

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Y 2

with

Anno Dom.  
MCXIX.[4.]  
Idem.  
P. 132.Anno Dom.  
MCXX.[5.]  
O. V.  
P. 866.The Kings of  
*England* and  
*France* con-  
clude a Peace,  
and on what  
Terms:[1.]  
P. 246.  
A mistake in  
Dr. *Brady's*  
assigning the  
Time of this  
Homage.[2.]  
O. V.  
P. 867.  
The King re-  
solving to re-  
turn into *En-  
land* orders a  
numerous  
Fleet for his  
Transporta-  
tion.[3.]  
W. M.  
P. 93. 4.  
The King ar-  
rives safe in  
*England*, but  
Prince *Willi-  
am* with his  
Base Brother  
and Sister, are  
cast away.



Anno Dom.  
MCXX.

~~~~~

with some others being got into the Long-Boat, and hearing his Sister cry out to him to have pity on her, and take her in, he commanded the Boat to be rowed back, and no sooner were they come up to the Ship, but so many leaped out into the Boat in hopes to save their own lives, that it sunk down to rights with all that were in it, and many of their Bodies were never found afterwards; so that in the Ship and Boat above an hundred and forty Persons were drown'd, most of whom were young Noblemen and other Persons of Quality, who chose to come over in this Vessel to wait upon the Prince; and there only escaped one Man (a Butcher) who saved his life by climbing up to the Main-mast, and being taken up by a Vessel that passed that way, gave a full Relation of all this Tragical Story.

This is looked upon by many of our Historians as a just Judgment of God upon these young Noblemen in this Ship, several of them being polluted with the horrid Sin of *Sodomy*; which I take notice of by the way, that if the Readers observe such Sins to reign in their own times, tho' they may be very sorry for it, yet they may not think Mankind grown much worse than it was six hundred years ago.

[4.] The King being safe arrived in *England*, [4.] did not receive the ill News of the loss of his Children till the third day after, but believed they had Landed in some other Port; and tho' at the first hearing of it he fainted away, yet after a while recovering himself, he very well dissembled his Grief, and bore this misfortune with wonderful patience.

[5.]

Col. 1013.

[1.]

O. V.

P. 871.

The King be-

stows the

Widows and

Daughters of

those who

were drown'd

among his

Courtiers.

[2.]

Vid. Mon. Ang.

Vol. I. p. 182.

The Priory

of *Chiche*

Founded.

Anno Dom.

MCXXI.

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[3.]

C. S.

Edm. Lib. 6.

P. 136.

The King by

the advice of

his Great

Council re-

solves to Mar-

ry the Daugh-

ter of the

D. of *Lovain*.

[4.]

Dr. P's Chro.

P. 184.

The Welsh In-

vade *Chefbire*.

But the loss of this young Prince was not very unhappy for the *English* Nation, if that be true which [5.] *Bromton's Chronicle* relates from *William of Malmesbury*, (tho' we cannot find it in his History) that he had such an aversion to the *English*, that he threatned, *If ever he came to be King, he would make them draw the Plough like Oxen.*

All the advantage that the King gain'd by this sad and fatal accident was, [1.] that having the Persons, Honours and Estates of the Heirs of most of the Great Men cast away now in his power, he distributed them very prudently; for he Married their Widows, Daughters and Sisters to his Courtiers and Military Officers, and bestowed on them their Patrimonies, by which means he very much established his Interest in *England*.

Nothing was done in Ecclesiastical matters worth the noting, except that this year [2.] *Richard Belmeis* Bishop of *London* Founded a Rich Priory for *Black Chanons Regular*, at *Chiche* in *Essex*, to the Honour of *St. Osthie*.

King *Henry* [3.] now kept his *Christmass* at *Bramton*, and presently after, by the advice of a Council of the Bishops and Chief Men of the Kingdom assembled at *London*, at the Feast of *Epiphany*, he resolved to Marry *Adeliza* the Beautiful Daughter of *Geoffrey Duke of Lovain*, in hopes of having Issue Male, but he was deceived in his expectation, for she never proved with Child by him: This Mariage was Consummated at *Windsor* presently after *Candlemass*, and she was Crowned Queen by *Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury* the day following.

But tho' all things were now quiet in *England*, [4.] yet the *Welshmen* would not be long at rest, for *Griffyn Prince of North-Wales*, being encouraged by the death of *Richard Earl of Chester*, (one of them who lately perished



perished with the young Prince) sent his Son into *Cheshire*, where they burnt two Castles, killed I know not how many Men, and made great Spoils: whereupon the King raising a Potent Army marched into *Wales*, but when he came as far as *Snowdon*, the Prince of *North-Wales* submitted himself, and by giving large Presents, with a Thousand Head of Cattel and Hostages, appeas'd the King's displeasure; and so the Army return'd home without any considerable damage on either side.

But I cannot omit here taking notice of an Accident that chiefly procured this Peace: [5.] King *Henry* going with a small Body through a narrow Lane between two Mountains, whilst the main Body of his Army marched a further and plainer way about, the *Welshmen* who kept this narrow way where the King was to pass, having the Advantage the Ground, fell furiously upon his Men, killed some, and wounded divers more, and King *Henry* Himself was hit upon the Breast with an Arrow, but tho' it was repell'd by his Breast-Plate, yet he was therewith so discouraged, that he immediately sent to the Enemy for a Parley, which at last ended in a Peace.

As for Ecclesiastical Affairs, there happened little considerable [1.] only *Thurstan* Archbishop of *York* having the year before obtain'd a Bull from the Pope to King *Henry* and *Ralph* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, wherein he threatned within one Month to put the whole Kingdom under an *Interdict*, and to *Excommunicate* the King himself, unless the Archbishop of *York* were restored to his See without any Exaction of Obedience from him. This matter came to be Treated of in a Council or Convention of some of the Great Men of the Kingdom who went to receive the new Queen at *Dover*, where after a full discussion of the Priviledges of the Church of *Canterbury*, tho' it was very well understood (says my Author) how little the Pope's late Decrees suited with God's Honour, yet lest the punishment threaten'd in the Pope's Letter, might affect the King or the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Thurstan* was at last permitted to return into *England*, and to reside at *York*, on this condition, That he should not Celebrate Mass out of his own Diocess, until he had made satisfaction to the See of *Canterbury*, which this Archbishop would never perform; so that by his constancy in this Affair, back'd by the Pope's Bull, he freed his Church from that Subjection to the See of *Canterbury*, which had been impos'd upon it by Archbishop *Laustanc* during the times of the three last Bishops.

Pope [2.] *Calixtus* by the help of an Army having taken his Anti-Pope *Gregory*, and thrust him into a Monastery, being now secure of the Papacy, sent his Legates over all *Europe* with notice of his success, and gave to one *Peter*, a Monk of the Order of *Clugny* (of a Noble Roman Family) a Legantine Power over *France*, *Britain*, *Ireland* and the *Orcades*; whereupon King *Henry* sent the Bishop of *St. David's* to conduct him into *England*; but when he arrived, the King told him, That the Authority of his Legateship could not be confirm'd without the consent of the Bishops, Abbots and Chief Men in a General Assembly of the whole Kingdom: and further, That he could not part with the Antient Customs of *England*, granted by the Pope, of which one of the chiefest was, That *England* was free, and not subject to any Legantine Power. With which Information, and some rich Pre-

sents

Anno Dom.  
MCXXI.

Whereupon the King enters *Wales*, and Prince *Griffyn* submits, and makes his Peace.

[5.] DM

W. M.

Pag. 89b.

An Accident the chief cause of this Peace.

[1.]

The death of

Ralph

[1.]

Exam. Lib.

P. 136.

*Thurstan* Arch-

bishop of *York*

is, by the

Pope's threats

restored to

his See.



Anno Dom.  
MCXXI.

[3.]  
C. S.

The Widow  
of the late  
Prince William  
is sent over  
to her  
Father.

Anno Dom.  
MCXXII.

[4.]  
Eadm. A.

The death  
of this  
Prince.

[5.]  
Eadm. p. 140.

The death  
of Ralph A.B.  
of Canterbury,  
and his Character.

[6.]  
Eadm. p. 205.

The death  
of the  
King's  
Sister.

How this  
Archbishop  
took the  
Crown off  
the King's  
Head and put  
it on again.

[7.]  
Eadm. p. 210.

The death  
of the  
King's  
Sister.

Anno Dom.  
MCXXIII.

[2.]  
C. S. S. D.

The Earl of  
Anj. demands  
restitution of  
his Daugh-  
ter's Portion  
without ef-  
fect.

sents he departed, not offering to Execute his Commission in this Kingdom.

As for Foreign Affairs I find little considerable, only that [3.] Fulk Earl of Anjou being now return'd from Jerusalem, sent to the King to demand his Daughter the Widow of the late Prince William, and she was sent over to him accordingly.

King Henry now kept his Christmas at Norwich, the rest of the year produced little worth noting, [4.] only the King taking his Progress after Michaelmas into the North parts of England, went from York as far as the Antient City of Caerliffe, (called in Latin Luguballia) and liking its Situation, ordered a Wall with Towers to be built about it, Fortifying it with a Castle, and from thence he returned to York; and after hearing and deciding several Differences between the Citizens and the People of the Adjacent Country, he return'd back again into the Southern Parts.

Nor was there any great change in Ecclesiastical Affairs this year, only [5] Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury died about the end of October; he was a Prelate of great affability and good nature, yet censured as a Man not grave enough in his Conversation (being more given to jesting than became a Person of his high Character) yet for all this he knew very well how to insist upon the Privileges of his See, of which our Author [6] gives this remarkable Instance (tho' it happened the year before) that when he was about to Crown the new Queen, whilst he stood before the Altar ready to begin Mass, he saw the King sitting on his Throne, with his Crown on his Head, and knowing he had not put it on, and that no other ought to have done it whilst he was near the place, he went immediately to him, and asked him, Who it was had put the Crown upon his Head? At which the King being a little startled, answered, That it being a matter of no great concern, he had not minded it. Then reply'd the Archbishop, Who ever put it on, he had no right to do it, and as long as it continues thus upon your Head, I shall not perform the present Ceremony. Then replied the King, If (as you say) it was not rightly put on, do what you think good; I shall not at all contradict you. Upon which the Archbishop took the Crown off (he himself untying the Stays wherewith it was fastened under his Chin) which those that stood by beholding, they desired him to desist, and to place the Crown again upon the King's Head, which he at last consented to; and so having sung Mass he performed the Ceremony of the Queen's Coronation. I have given you this Relation, that the Reader may observe in what Subjection the Kings of England were in those days to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who could thus presume to take the Crown from off the King's Head, only because he had put it on without his leave and assistance.

[2.] This Year the King kept his Christmas at Dunstable, whither came to him Ambassadors from the Earl of Anjou, demanding the repayment of his Daughter's Portion, because Prince William her Husband deceased before the Mariage was Consummated; but the Earl not receiving the satisfaction he expected, not long after, to be revenged on the King, Married her Elder Sister to William, Son to Duke Robert, on whom he also bestowed the Earldom of Mans, promising him his assistance to obtain his Father's Inheritance.

Then



Then [3.] King Henry went to *Woodstock*, where he had newly built a Palace, and inclosed a Park (the first of that kind in *England*) in which as he rode between *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury*, and *Robert Bloet* Bishop of *Lincoln*, the latter sunk down from his Horse in a Swoon, but the King alighting took him up in his Arms, and made him to be carried home, where he shortly after died. He was a Prelate of a loose life, and of no very good Character for any thing.

The King to prevent the Attempts of his Enemies, immediately dispatched his Base Son *Robert*, and *Ranulph* Earl of *Chester* into *Normandy* with great Forces to secure all places of Strength, till he himself could be there; [4.] after which He went to *Portsmouth*, and staid there till *Whitsunday* was over, waiting for a Wind to carry him into *Normandy*, to prevent the ill designs of his Nephew *William* who had now underhand brought divers of the [5.] King's greatest Friends over to his Party; for some Months after *Walleran* Earl of *Mellent*, with *Robert* his Brother, Earl of *Leicester*, who had been both bred up in the King's Court, and used like his own Children, rebelled against him, (but the reason is not told us, tho' perhaps it was) in hopes to better their condition by setting up *William* Son to Duke *Robert*; with these joyned *Almeric de Montfort* Earl of *Eureux*, and *William de Romare*, with several *Norman* Barons, who all conspired to drive the King out of that Dutchy.

But [1.] so soon as he arrived at *Rouën*, he muster'd his Army, and took and burnt a Town of the Earl of *Mellent*'s called *Bryon*, all except the Castle, which was too strong to be taken; from thence they marched to another Town of his called *Pontodomer*, which he also burnt with all the Country for twenty Miles round; but the King was not able at first to take the Castle of that place, it being very well Fortified, yet after he had Besieged it for about seven Weeks, he took it by the means of a high Tower of Wood, which he built before it. Some other of the Castles which Earl *Walleran* and *Hugh de Montfort* and other Barons had Fortified against him, he likewise took; others he was forced to leave untaken, because of the frequent Invasions made by his Nephew *William*, who chiefly relied upon the Assistance of *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou* his Father-in-Law; but the King much more feared the Treachery of his own Subjects, than the Invasion of Strangers; by reason of which Foreign disturbances, *England* was this year cruelly oppressed with Taxes, which were now imposed upon all sorts of People, for the carrying on the King's Wars abroad.

The only considerable Ecclesiastical Affair that happen'd this year, was, [2.] that the King before his going beyond Sea, Summoned a Great Council of his Nobility at *Gloucester* on *Candlemass-day*, where appeared all the Bishops, Abbots and Barons of *England*, at which he commanded them to chuse whom they pleased for Archbishop of *Canterbury*, promising that he would confirm their Election; whereupon the Bishops consulting together resolved among themselves, that they would never more have a Monk to be Archbishop, (I suppose for some Inconveniencies they had observed to have follow'd it) but the Prior and Monks of *Canterbury* did all they could to oppose their Election of an Archbishop, tho' to no purpose, for the Bishop of *Salisbury* (who Governed at that time all *England* under the King) was too hard for them; so four of the Secular Clergy being proposed, the

Anno Dom.  
MCXXXIII.

[3.]  
Idem Ib.  
The sudden  
death of Ro-  
bert Bishop of  
*Lincoln*.

[4.]  
Idem.  
C. S.

[5.]  
Idem Ib.  
O. V.  
P. 875.  
The Earls of  
*Mellent* and  
*Leicester* Re-  
bell against  
the King.

[1.]  
S.D. Col. 249.  
The King  
takes several  
Towns and  
Castles in  
*Normandy*  
from the Re-  
bells.

[2.]  
C. S.  
A great Con-  
test between  
the Bishops  
and the  
Monks of  
*Canterbury* a-  
bout the  
Choice of a  
New Arch-  
bishop.

Choice



Anno Dom.  
MCXXIII.

William Carboil a Regular Chanon is chosen Archbishop, notwithstanding the opposition of the Monks.

Choice fell upon a certain Chanon Regular, called *William Carboil*, Prior of *St. Osthes* at *Chiche*, (a late built Abbey) then the King confirmed the said Election (as he had promised) and all the Bishops of *England* acknowledged him for their Archbishop, but most of the Earls and Barons with the Monks rejected him: Upon this *Henry* the Pope's Legate (who was lately come over about the *Peter-pence*) interposed, and said, That tho' it was unjust, for One who was no Monk to be set over those that were, yet since the King by reason of the great Power the Bishop of *Salisbury* had with him, would not alter the Choice, it was better for them to comply. Then *Thurstan* Archbishop of *Tork* offer'd to Consecrate him, but the Archbishop would not consent to it, unless he would own him for Primate of all *England*, which the other refusing, the Archbishop was Consecrated by the Bishop of *London*, and five other Bishops at *Canterbury*.

[3.]  
*Idem Ib.*

Not [3.] long after which the new Archbishop went to *Rome* to obtain his Pall, being accompanied by *Bernard* Bishop of *St. David's*, and several Abbots. About the same time also *Thurstan* Archbishop of *Tork* arrived there to maintain his Cause against the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who now renewed the Old Claim of Canonical Obedience; but the Pope at first refused to give Audience to the new Elected Archbishop, because he had been chosen against the consent of the Monks; tho' shortly after That prevail'd there which commonly does elsewhere, *viz.* good store of Gold and Silver: So the Pope being pacified, bestowed upon him the Pall: than he took an Oath of Subjection to the Pope upon the Heads of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and so he return'd home with his Holiness's Benediction, tho' without prevailing in the main business he went about, (*viz.*) the Superiority over the Archbishop of *Tork*, which was not dispatched; for the Bulls or Priviledges of former Popes being now demanded to be produced, by which the Archbishops of *Canterbury* claim'd it, those that came with him could only say that they had been burnt in the great fire that had lately consumed their Church; so they produced only Transcripts of them, which not being looked upon as Authentick, and the Archbishop of *Tork* producing certain Original Bulls of Priviledge granted to his See, which were better accepted; so the Cause being like to go for him, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* went away without staying to receive the Pope's final Determination.

Anno Dom.  
MCXXIV.

C. S. H. H.  
[4.]

All this Year [4.] King *Henry* spent in *Normandy*, by reason of the great Quarrels which were then on foot between him and the King of *France*, and the Earl of *Anjou*, as also those Earls and Barons who had lately revolted from him, against whom he had this year extraordinary good success, which happen'd thus:

On the Twenty fifth of *March* *Walleran* Earl of *Mellent* had occasion to go from his Castle of *Belmount* to another called *Watteville*, being accompanied by *Almeric*, the King of *France's* Steward, the Earl of *Eureux*, *Hugh Fitz-Gervase*, and *Hugh de Montfort*, with many other Noblemen and Knights; of which *William de Tankerville* King *Henry's* Chamberlain having notice, and getting together all the Forces he could out of Adjacent Castles, he marched forth and engaging with them drew them into an Ambush, whereby their whole Forces were routed, and all the said Earls together with *Hugh de Montfort*, and many other *Norman* Barons, with above Eighty Knights



Knights were taken Prisoners; and being all brought to the King, he committed the Earl of *Mellent* Prisoner to the Castle of *Rouen*, but afterwards he was brought over into *England*, (as you will find the next year but one :) Then the King went and took in all the Castles and Strong Places which either the said Earl or his Confederates had held out against him; but some of them who had escaped came in, and obtained their Pardons of the King.

[5.] But if we look into *England* we find nothing here but troubles and complaints, for about the beginning of *December*, the King's Justiciary *Ralph Basset*, and many Barons held a Council at a place called *Hundehoge* in *Leicestershire*, (but where it was I know not) and there they caused above Forty four Thieves to be hanged, besides six others, who lost their Eyes and Privy Members; tho', as some Persons of credit reported, many innocent Persons suffered amongst them; which is not unlikely, if what our Author relates be true, that the poor people were now against all right miserably oppress'd, being first robbed of their Estates, and afterwards of their Lives; for those that had any thing to lose, were deprived of it by great Taxes, and those that had not, were ready to die with hunger; there being this year a very great Famine in *England*, partly from the unseasonableness of the Weather, which produced a scarcity of all sorts of Grain, and partly by reason of the bad Money which was now become so common, that a Man who had a Pound of it, could not therewith buy twelve Penniworth of Commodities.

[1.] As for Foreign Affairs, *Alexander* King of *Scots*, after Eighteen year's Reign in great Domestick Troubles, died this year, being succeeded by his Brother *David*, Earl of *Northampton*, who held that Kingdom in as great quiet as the other had met with disturbance.

[2.] In Ecclesiastical Affairs there happen'd nothing considerable, only that Pope *Calixtus* the II. deceasing about the beginning of the Year, he was succeeded by *Honorius* the Second, who sat in the Popedom but a short time.

[3.] King *Henry* continuing still in *Normandy*, and the corruption of Coin increasing in *England*, the King sent over strict Commands, that the Penalty of the Law should be severely inflicted upon all that were found Guilty thereof; whereupon *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury* (then the King's Justiciary) commanded all that were Convicted of that Crime (who were a great many) to be brought to *Winchester* at *Christmas*, where every one of them had their Right-hand and Testicles cut off; which Punishment did for the future more deter Men from committing that Crime, than the fear of death it self would have done.

[4.] But the same year produced a very remarkable Accident in Ecclesiastical Affairs, for Pope *Honorius* now sent over *John de Creme* Presbyter Cardinal, as his Legate *de Latere* into *England*; who, coming to *Normandy*, and there obtaining the King's leave to pass over hither, not long after his arrival held a General Synod at *London*, where he severely inveighed against the Mariage of Priests, saying, *That it was an horrid Sin for a Priest to rise from the side of an Harlot, and then to make the Body of Christ*; yet the next Night after (having said Mass that very day) he himself was taken in Bed with a *Whore*. *Henry* of *Huntington*, who was himself a Secular Priest, and the Son of a Priest,

Anno Dom.  
MCXXIV[5.]  
C. S.[1.]  
C. S. C. M.[2.]  
Chron. Thom.  
Wikes.Anno Dom.  
MCXXV.[3.]  
C. S.[4.]  
H. H.



Anno Dom.  
MCXXV.

\* Aff. Pontif.  
Cam. Col.  
1663.

Anno Dom.  
MCXXVI

[5.]  
C. S. H. H.  
The King re-  
turns into  
England, and  
brings over  
his Daughter  
the Empress  
along with  
him.

[1.]  
Idem Ib.  
David King  
of Scots visits  
the King.  
Duke Robert  
is committed  
to the Custody  
of Earl  
Robert, the  
King's Son.

Anno Dom.  
MCXXVII.

[2.]  
C. S. W. M.  
The King  
takes all the  
Bishops, Earls  
and Barons of  
England to the  
Succession of the  
Empress Ma-  
thilda.  
\* Saxon Chr.  
Thanes.

A Dispute  
between Ro-  
bert and Earl  
Stephen who  
should first  
take the Oath.

and living at this very time, (after having made an Apology for being so bold with the Fathers of the Church) is the first Author that gives us this Story at large; and concludes, *That the thing was too notorious to be denied, neither ought to be concealed.* In which he is also followed by *Roger Hoveden, Matt. Paris, and Ranulph Higden;* and the two last were Monks themselves; so this Hypocritical Cardinal was forced to return with much more shame, than he came hither with honour, tho' he had before by his Legantine Power (with the consent of the Synod) made divers Canons for the Reformation of the Clergy, (of which this concerning Priest's Mariages was one) but they being most of them the same with those that had been before Ordained in Archbishop Anselm's time, need not be repeated; only I shall remark that \* *Gervase of Canterbury* adds concerning this Legate's extraordinary Power here, that it was a thing never heard of since the first coming of *Augustine*, till this present *William*, that the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, who were look'd upon as *Patriarchs*, should be made subject to the Authority of a Legate from *Rome*.

King Henry spent the greatest part of this year in *Normandy*, but what he did there all the Summer our [5] Historians do not tell us, only that about *Michaelmas* he returned into *England*, bringing over along with him the Empress *Mathilda* his Daughter, whom, being now become a Widow by the late death of the Emperour *Henry the Fifth* her Husband (who deceased in the flower of his Age) the King was resolved to Marry to some Foreign Prince, the better to strengthen his Interest abroad.

The King also brought over with him Prisoners, *Waleran* Earl of *Meulan*, and *Hugh* Earl of *Montfort*, the former of whom he committed to *Wallingford* Castle, and the latter to that of *Windsor*. Then *Almeric de Montfort* with divers others of the King's Enemies finding it in vain any longer to oppose him, made their Peace, and thereupon were restored to their Estates.

[1.] Almost so soon as the King return'd, *David* King of *Scots* came to make him a Visit, whom the King received very Honourably, and spent all this year in *England*; and by his advice, together with that of the Empress, he took his Brother *Duke Robert* out of the Custody of *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury*, and committed him to *Earl Robert* his Base Son, who kept him close Prisoner first in the Castle of *Bristol*, and afterwards in that of *Caerdiff*, till his death; which is all I can find considerable that was done this year.

The [2.] King now kept his *Christmas* at *Windsor*, where, besides *David* King of *Scots*, there appeared, all the Chief Men of both Clergy and Laity in *England*; but fearing he should have no Issue by his new Queen, and being desirous to secure the Crown in his own Line, he caused all the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and \* *Barons* to swear, That if he should die without Issue Male, they would receive his Daughter *Maud* the Empress for their Queen: the first that swore to the Succession was *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, next were the Bishops, and then the Abbots; the first of the Lay-men was *David* King of *Scots*, and then *Stephen* Earl of *Montaign* and *Bo-leign*, King *Henry's* Nephew by his Sister *Adela*; then *Robert* Duke of *Gloucester*, between whom and *Stephen* there was great Emulation, who should swear first; the former claiming the Precedence as being the King's



King's Son, the other as his Nephew lawfully begotten all the Clergy and Nobility being thus bound by Oath, the Council was dissolved.

Then [3.] the King past his *Lent* and *Easter* at *Woodstock*, where he received the ill News of the death of *Charles* Earl of *Flanders*, who was murdered by some of his Nobles, as he was at his Devotions in the great Church of *Bruges*; and (which was worse) that *Lewis* King of *France* had conferred that Earldom upon *William* Son to *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, in right of his Grand-mother *Maud* Queen of *England*; and that in consideration thereof he had restored to the *French* King all those Territories which he had formerly bestowed upon him, (*viz.*) *Pontois*, *Chaumont* and *Mante*, and all the Country now called *Kauxin Francois*; and besides what else the King had given him with *Jane* half-Sister to his Queen in Marriage; At which News, [4.] the King was so much disturbed, that he thereupon Summon'd a Council at *Westminster* towards the end of *May*, to consider what was best to be done in this Affair; and *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury* held a Synod of the Clergy at the same place.

After the [5.] King had kept his *Whitsontide* at *Winchester*, he sent his Daughter into *Normandy*, attended by *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester*, in order to be Married to *Fulk* Son to the Earl of *Anjou*, where she was not long after Betrothed to him by the Archbishop of *Rouen*, and in *August* following the King went over himself to be present at the Consummation of the Marriage; which being done without the advice and consent of the Bishops and Nobility, (none being privy to it but *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester*, *Brian* Son to *Alan* Earl of *Richmond*, and the Bishop of *Lisieux*) caused great discontent as well among the *English* as *Norman* Nobility, and gave just occasion for some to Prognosticate, that after the King's death they would fall off from the Oath they had sworn to her; but the King did it Politickly, to secure his Interest with the Earl of *Anjou*, against his Nephew *William* now made Earl of *Flanders*.

In Ecclesiastical [1.] Affairs this was the most considerable, that *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as Legate to the Pope, Summon'd a General Synod of all the Bishops, Abbots and Religious Persons throughout *England*, besides a great multitude of inferior Clergy and Laymen \* of all sorts, who met at *London*, so that there was a very full Assembly; *Thurstan* Archbishop of *Tork* was to have been there, but excused himself for some reasons he gave in his Letters; and *Randolph* Bishop of *Durham* was taken Sick by the way. This Council was held on the Thirteenth of *May*, wherein, by the Common consent of the Bishops, there were divers Canons made, the Principal of which were these:

1. That no Ecclesiastical Benefices or Dignities should be Bought or Sold.
2. That none should be made a Dean or Arch-deacon, unless he were a Presbyter.

From whence it appears, that before this Decree it was usual for Lay-men to enjoy those Dignities. There were also divers other Canons made in this Council, but since they are only to enforce those of former Synods concerning the Celebacy of the Clergy, or some other Duties enjoyn'd them, or else about the Habits of Abbesses and Nuns, I

Anno Dom.  
MCXXVII.

[3.]  
H. H.  
Charles Earl  
of Flanders  
murder'd in  
the Church at  
Bruges.

[4.]  
H. H.  
The King  
thereupon  
Summons a  
Great Council.

[5.]  
C. S. W. M.  
P. 995. b.  
The King  
sends over his  
Daughter to  
be Married to  
Fulk Son to  
the Earl of  
Anjou.

Which causes  
great Discon-  
tent among  
the Nobility.

[1.]  
C. F. W. M.  
A General  
Synod held  
at London.

\* Ten divisions  
quam multos  
m.



Anno Dom.  
MCXXVII.

The King  
confirms its  
Decrees.

Anno Dom.  
MCXXVIII.

[2.]  
H. H. R. H.  
King Henry  
Invades H  
France, and  
Quarters in  
it without  
any molesta  
tion.

[3.]  
Idem ib.  
William Earl  
of Flanders  
nudes his  
jects very  
hardly, who  
thereupon re  
volt to the  
Landgrave.

The Earl dies  
of a flight  
Wound in his  
Wrist.

[4.]  
C. S.

[5.]  
Upon the  
death of this  
Prince the  
King of France  
desires from  
troubling  
King Henry.

Anno Dom.  
MCXXIX.

[5.]  
G. S.  
The King  
sends for the  
Earls Waleran  
and Hugh, and  
gives them  
their Liberty,  
and is also re  
conciled to  
the former.

will pass them by, only I cannot omit taking notice that it was now Ordain'd, That no Person whatsoever should give or receive Tythes without the consent of the Bishop of the Diocess.

Now before this Canon it was usual for Lay-Patrons to annex their Tythes to what Churches they pleased, tho' out of their own Parishes, which was forbid by this Decree, without the consent of their Diocesans.

This Council having sat three days, was dissolved, after its Decrees had been confirm'd by the King's Assent.

King [2.] Henry continued all this year in Normandy to watch the motions of Earl William his Nephew, whom the King of France supported to the utmost of his Power; wherefore to be even with him, King Henry marched with a great Army into France, and that King not having Forces sufficient ready to assist him, he stayed at a place called Esparne for the space of eight days with no more disturbance, than if he had been in his own Kingdom, and then returned into Normandy; so that at last the French King was compell'd not to send any more Succours unto Earl William.

This Prince [3.] now growing insupportably cruel and harsh to his new Subjects, they set up Theodoric Landgrave of Alsacia against him, (who also pretended a Title to that Earldom) to whom many Towns revolted, and amongst them Alost (now Alost in Flanders) which William beleagued, and having routed the Forces of the Landgrave, who came to relieve it, and that the Castle of that Place was just ready to be surrendered to him, he was with a Lance wounded under the Ball of the Thumb near the Wrist, which, presently turning to a Gangrene, [4.] killed him within five days at the Abbey of St. Bertin, near St. Omer. He was a Man of Great Courage, but too Parsimonious for a Prince; so that to avoid his Father's Vice, Prodigality, he seems to have run into the contrary Extreme; he is therefore in the Belgick Histories, surnamed Miser; in him expired all the Legitimate Issue of Duke Robert; but he had two Base Sons, Richard who was long since killed Hunting in New Forest, and William who was afterwards slain in the Holy Land.

This Prince being suddenly taken off in the very flower of his Age, it so far disappointed the King of France's designs, that he left off farther troubling the King, by whom we find nothing more done this year, only that he continued still in Normandy, for which I rather follow the authority of the Saxon Chronicle, and Henry of Huntington, than that of William of Malmesbury, who is not often so exact in point of time.

The [5.] King thus continuing in Normandy, sent over for the Earls, Waleran and Hugh above mentioned, who were kept close Prisoners in England, and some time after having taken Pledges of them for their future quiet Behaviour, he permitted the latter to return into France, and to Waleran the King was shortly afterwards thoroughly reconciled, and for the sake of his Father, the late Earl of Meffent, not only restored him to all his Lands (except one Castle) but also to his Favour; which shews that the King was not so implacable but that he could forgive injuries; This Nobleman having been one of the chiefest of those who had rebelled against him some years before.

And



And now [1.] the King having settled his Affairs in *Normandy* much to his own satisfaction, returned into *England* about Harvest, where I find little or no alteration in Civil Affairs; and therefore [2.] *William* of *Malmesbury* having scarce any thing else to write, is fain to give us a strange Relation, how long Hair came again to be left off in *England*, which notwithstanding the strict Prohibitions formerly made, was now come in fashion again; And because it shews us, that there is nothing new that has not been in use heretofore, I shall here give you the Story of in Brief. A certain Knight who was very proud of his fine long Head of Hair, dream'd one Night, that something had strangled him with it, with which Dream he awaking very much disturbed, had the next day his Hair cut short, in which Mode he was presently followed by most of the Nobility and Gentry of *England*; yet notwithstanding about a year after the same excess so far prevailed, that all who looked upon themselves as *Well Bred Gentlemen*, did now vie with the Women in the length of their Hair, † which when it fail'd, they helped it out with borrowed Locks or Borders; so that it seems even the King's own Fashion of short Hair did not long continue.

But tho' this [3.] year affords little of Civil, yet it gives us somewhat of Ecclesiastical Affairs; for the King not long after his return gave order to *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to Summon a General Synod of all the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Deans, Arch-Deacons, and other Clergy-men, to be assembled at *Michaelmas* to Treat about Religious Matters; and being met at *Westminster*, it was there decreed, That all Arch-Deacons and Priests should quit their Wives before *St. Andrew's* day, or else be absolutely deprived of their Offices and Livings; but through the too great easiness of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and other Bishops this Constitution came to nothing; for the Execution of this Law being left wholly to the King, he taking Money of most of those Arch-Deacons and Priests permitted them to go home again, and keep their Wives as they did before.

As for other Ecclesiastical Matters of less moment, [4.] this year *Robert D'oyley*, the Second of that Name, a Baron of *Norman* Extraction, built a Rich and stately Monastery at *Osney* near *Oxford*, for Chanoins of the Order of *St. Augustine*; this Church is now quite ruin'd, but upon the Desolation of Abbeys it was intended by King *Henry* the Eighth for the Cathedral of the new Bishoprick of *Oxon* he then Founded, but it was afterwards removed to *Christ-Church*, then Dedicated to *St. Frideswide*.

Also about this Time (tho' I cannot find the exact year) [5.] *William Warelwast* Bishop of *Exeter* having caused the antient Colledge, consisting of a Dean and four Prebendaries at *Plimpton* in *Devonshire*, to be dissolved for their loose Lives, he (to make the Church amends) not long after Founded at the same Place, and richly endow'd a Priory of Chanoins of *St. Augustine's* Order.

As for Foreign Affairs this year, *Lewis* surnamed the *Gross*, King of *France*, caused his Son *Philip* to be Crowned King, and to reign with himself; for now growing in years, and being also very unweildy by reason of his great Corpulency, he was resolved by degrees to discharge himself of the Burthen of Government, and place it in his Son's hands.

Anno Dom.  
MCXXIX.

[1.]  
Id. Ib.

The King returns into  
*England*.

[2.]  
P. 99. b.  
A Relation how long  
Hair came to grow out of  
Fashion.

\* Curiales.

† Ubi crines  
deficiunt involu-  
cra quaedam innodant.

[3.]  
C. S. H. H.  
Another General Synod  
Summon'd where Priests  
are forbid to keep their  
Wives.

But it comes to nothing,  
and the reason of it.

[4.]  
Vid. *Annal. de*  
*Osney in Bib.*  
*Cotton. & M.*  
*A. T. 2. p. 136.*  
*Osney Abbey*  
Founded.

[5.]  
Vid. *M. A. T. 3.*  
P. 6.  
As also a rich  
Priory at  
*Plimpton*.

[1.]  
O. V.  
The King of  
*France* causes  
his Son *Philip*  
to be Crown'd  
King.

This



Anno Dom.  
MCXXX.

[2.]  
C. S. H. H.  
The King goes  
over again in-  
to Normandy.

[3.]  
W. M.  
P. 99. b.  
A great  
Schism at  
Rome, by rea-  
son of two  
Popes being  
chosen at  
once.

[4.]  
Pope Innocent  
owned in  
France and  
England.

[5.]  
W. M. p. 100. a.  
C. F. W.  
The King re-  
turns again  
into England  
with his  
Daughter, be-  
ing then par-  
ted from her  
Husband, but  
she is soon  
sent back to  
him.

[6.]  
W. M. p. 100.  
Suger. in vita  
Lud. p. 318.  
Philip the  
young King  
of France kill-  
ed by the fall  
off his Horse.

[7.]  
Anno Dom.  
MCXXXII.

[8.]  
H. H.  
A Great  
Council held  
at London.

[9.]  
A Chronolo-  
gical mistake  
in William of  
Malmesbury,  
and Florence's  
Continua-  
tor.

[10.]  
The King kept his Christmas at Dunstable, after which was a great Council held at London, where divers matters were Treated on, but not of any moment; yet before I proceed further, I cannot omit taking notice of a great mistake of William of Malmesbury, and the Continuator of Florence of Worcester, in supposing King Henry to have gone this year into Normandy, and as a confirmation of it, they tell us of a great Eclipse of the Sun which then happened; and this indeed shews us the Error of their Account, for it falling out upon the third

[11.]  
This year produced little worth the noting in Civil Affairs, only King Henry kept his Christmas at Worcester, and his Easter at Woodstock; where Geoffrey de Clynton a Baron was accused of Treason. Then the King went over into Normandy about Michaelmas, and there stayed till that time Twelve-month, and in the mean while all things remain'd quiet at home, for we do not read of any Wars or Disturbances that then happened, or any thing considerable in Civil or Ecclesiastical Matters in England.

[12.]  
Therefore we shall now take some notice of Affairs abroad. [3.] This year at Rome began a greater Schism than ever had been yet known, for Pope Honorius lying at the point of death, before the breath was quite out of his Body, one Faction of the Cardinals chose Geoffrey Cardinal Deacon of St. Angelo, whom they called Innocent II. and presently after the Pope's Interrment, another party of them chose Peter a Presbyter Cardinal, which was done by the means of his Brothers, who were the Richest and most Powerful Noblemen in all Rome: these having Elected and Consecrated him, called him Anacletus, who thereupon presently drove Innocent out of Italy into France, where he was owned for Pope by the Kings of France and England, whilst the other was supported by the Romans, and also by the King of Sicily; so that [5.] as William of Malmesbury (who lived at that time) tells the Story, it was a very difficult matter for the Laity to discern which of these two was rightly Elected.

[13.]  
This year in June the King return'd into England, bringing over with him the Empress his Daughter, who was lately parted from her Husband by reason of some private Quarrels that had happened between them. Not long after her return a great Council of all the Clergy and Nobility was held at Northampton, where they all renewed the Oath of Fealty which they had already taken to her, and then by their advice, she was sent back to her Husband, who now desired her Company, and being joyfully received by him, she within less than two years bore him a Son called Henry, who was afterwards King of England, as you will find in due time.

[14.]  
Nothing else happened this year considerable abroad, only [1.] Philip the young King of France, who had been Crowned by his Father, (as you have already heard) riding out through the Suburbs of Paris, was killed by a fall from his Horse, by occasion of a Hog that ran between his Legs, which causing him to stumble, he flung the young Prince, and so bruised him with his Heels that he died that night. Not long after which the King his Father, to comfort himself for so great a loss, caused his Second Son of the same name with himself, to be Anointed and Crown'd at Reims by the hands of Pope Innocent the Second, who then held a Council there against Peter Leon the Anti-pope.

[15.]  
The King kept his Christmas at Dunstable, after which was a great Council held at London, where divers matters were Treated on, but not of any moment; yet before I proceed further, I cannot omit taking notice of a great mistake of William of Malmesbury, and the Continuator of Florence of Worcester, in supposing King Henry to have gone this year into Normandy, and as a confirmation of it, they tell us of a great Eclipse of the Sun which then happened; and this indeed shews us the Error of their Account, for it falling out upon the third

[16.]

[17.]

[18.]

[19.]

[20.]

[21.]

[22.]

[23.]

[24.]

[25.]

[26.]

[27.]

[28.]

[29.]

[30.]

[31.]

[32.]



third of *August*, could not (as may appear by an *Astronomical Calculation*) have happen'd this year on that day, and therefore we must place it under the next.

But it is certain that this very year [3.] the greatest part of the City of *London* was again burnt, so that a Man may admire not so much how often it hath been burnt, being (till of late) almost all of Wood, but how soon it was again rebuilt, which may make the last great Fire in our Times as well as the speedy rebuilding of this City the less wonderful.

Nothing happened observable in Ecclesiastical Affairs, only the [4.] King Founded a Church and Episcopal See at *Caerliffe*, to which he layed the Countries of *Cumberland*, *Westmorland*, and part of *Northumberland*, and appointed *Athulf* his Confessor, then Abbot of *St. Oswald's* Abbey, the first Bishop thereof.

Also this year [5.] *Thurstan* Archbishop of *York* Founded a Rich Abbey for the *Cistercian* Order in *Yorkshire*, and Dedicated it to the Blessed *Virgin*. The Place was at first a meer Desert, and was upon the Foundation of the Monastery called *Fountains*, from divers Springs of Fountains there arising.

King [1.] *Henry* being now much indisposed, kept his *Christmas* at *Windsor*, but sometime after recovered his Health. I cannot omit here taking notice of what [2.] *Radi de Dicetis* mentions under this year, tho' I find it in no other Author, and therefore somewhat doubt the truth of it, but it is that K. *Henry* hearing in March of the Birth of his Grandson *Henry*, Son to his Daughter the Empress, he was so well pleas'd with it, that Summoning together the Chief Men of his Kingdom, he appointed his said Daughter and her Heirs to be his Successors and obliged them all to take an Oath to observe this Ordinance, which if it were so, the People of *England* were twice sworn to the Succession; but I shall submit the belief of this to the Reader's Discretion.

But this is more certain [3.] that the King having passed his *Easter* in his New Palace at *Oxford*, and having some time after bestowed the Bishoprick of *Ely* upon *Nigel*, Nephew to *Roger* Bishop of *Bath*, and that of *Durham* on *Geoffrey* his Chancellor, about the end of Summer he resolved to pass over into *Normandy*, and [4.] in the beginning of *August* went on Ship-board, on which very day, being the third of *August* (or the fourth of the *Nones*) as most of our Authors place it) there happened so great an Eclipse of the Sun, that *William* of *Malmesbury* (tho' he be mistaken in the day in placing it on the first of the *Nones*; yet could not be so in the Observation he made of it, when he tells us he saw the Stars that appeared about, or near the \* Sun, which must needs be very terrible to those who were not wont to observe such unusual Events; and the next day but one early in the Morning happened so great an Earth-quake (which began with a horrid noise under Ground, that (as our Author relates) the House in which he then was seemed to be thrice lifted up, and as often sink down again into its place. I thought these things worth the observing, since the former of them is rarely seen to so high a Degree, and the latter so seldom happens, if at all, in *England*).

Yet the King was not to be discouraged by these seeming Prodigies from passing into *Normandy*, from whence he never again return'd, tho'

Anno Dom.  
MCXXXII.

[3.]  
C. F. M. P.  
The greatest part of *London* burnt.

[4.]  
Vid. Monast. Angl. Vol. 1.  
The Church and See of *Caerliffe* Founded.  
F. I. P. 733.  
The Abbey of *Fountains* Founded.

Anno Dom.  
MCXXXIII.

[1.]  
H. H.  
[2.]  
Abbr. Chron.  
The King makes all the Chief of the Kingdom again swear to the Succession of his Daughter and her Heirs.

[3.]  
C. S.  
The King bestows several Bishopricks, and then goes for *Normandy*.

[4.]  
W. M.  
p. 100. b.  
A strange Eclipse happens whilst he is on Ship-board.

\* Circa Solem.  
Which is follow'd by a great Earth-quake.



Anno Dom.  
MCXXXIII.

The reason of  
the King's  
long stay in  
Normandy.

tho' he often intended it, but was still hinder'd by some cross Accident or other; after the King's arrival there, for above three years following, we find little worth the noting to have happened either in *England* or *Normandy*, nor any War to detain him there, (especially since he often resolved to return) and we should be much to seek for the causes of his long stay, did not *Henry* of *Huntington* assure us, that he was still kept against his will by divers unnatural Quarrels, which happened between him and his Son-in-Law, the Earl of *Anjou*, which were chiefly raised by the unquiet humour and Intrigues of his Wife, the King's Daughter.

Anno Dom.  
MCXXXIV.

M. P.  
The Death of  
Robert Duke  
of Normandy,  
The Story of  
his Eyes be-  
ing put out,  
an untruth.

The next year produced nothing remarkable in *England*, except the Death of Duke *Robert*, the King's Elder Brother, (Surnamed *Curt-hose*, from the short Boots or Hose he used to wear) who deceased in the Castle of *Caerdiff* in *Glamorganshire*, and was Buried at *Gloucester*, having lived Twenty six years a Prisoner. I shall not mention the lossof his Eyes by the means of a Red hot Bason, supposed to have been drawn over them, upon his endeavouring to escape, when he was at first committed to a freer Custody, because I do not find it in any Author before the Manuscript Annals of *Richard* of the *Devizes*, from whom perhaps *Roger* of *Wendover*, and out of him *Matt. Paris* Transcribed this Story; nor is it likely that *Ordericus Vitalis* would have omitted so remarkable and aggravating a Circumstance, out of the Speech which he relates the King of *France* made against King *Henry*, in the Council of *Reimes*, or that *Henry* *Huntington* in his Treatise *de Contemptu Mundi*, (lately Published by Mr. *Wharton* at the End of his Second Volume of *Anglia Sacra*) tho' he mentions several Cruelties of this King, would say no more of this, than that he kept his Brother close Prisoner as long as he lived; and therefore I only look upon it as a malicious Lye, raised by the Monks of after-times, to move compassion towards this unfortunate Prince; and out of hatred to King *Henry's* memory, who had dealt hardly with him, and had also shewn himself no great Bigot to their Church: and indeed it seems as improbable, as that of the same Author of this Prince's now dying with discontent, because the King his Brother had sent him a Scarlet Robe, whose Capuce or Hood being too little for himself had been torn in the putting on, which being again sewed up, the Duke tho' blind perceiv'd it by his feeling, which made him fall into so great a Melancholy, that he starved himself to death, for being made to wear his Brother's cast Clothes. A likely Story! as if the King was so frugal as to defraud his Servants of his Clothes, and should think it worth while to send his Brother a torn Coat out of *Normandy* into *England*, to save the Charges of buying him a new one here.

A Character  
of this Prince.

But leaving such trifling Stories, let us come to something more useful, and give a Character of this Prince, who was but of a middle stature, yet certainly of great courage, which was one of his best Qualities, and for which (as our Historian relates) he was to have been made King of *Jerusalem*, as you have already heard; yet had he also great faults, for he was very unkind and unjust to his Brother *Henry*, before he was King, defrauding him of the Money which his Father had left him, and not permitting him to enjoy so much as those Territories which he himself had Mortgaged to him: He was also very inconsistent, and easily altered from Love to Hatred, not being able to distinguish



distinguish Flatterers from Friends, so that he bestowed great part of his Lands and Revenues upon Base and unworthy Fellows, and had almost made away all the Demefnes of his Dukedom; therefore it is no wonder if he were forsaken by most of the Nobility of his own Country, being neither feared by his Enemies, nor beloved by his Friends; so that if King Henry had not interposed, that Dutchy would have been a prey to any that would have seiz'd it. I have no more to say concerning this unfortunate Prince but that by his Dutcheſs Sybilla, Daughter to the Earl of *Corversana* in *Italy*, he had one Son called *William*, of whom we have already treated sufficiently.

This year also whilst [1.] King Henry stayed in *Normandy*, his Daughter the Empreſs was brought to Bed of a Son, whereupon the King made the Archbishop of *Rouen*, with the Earls and Barons of *Normandy* to swear Allegiance to his Daughter *Matilda*, and her Son *Henry*, for so was the young Prince called, after the name of his Grandfather.

This was the last year of this King's Reign, and he being still in *Normandy*, all things remain'd quiet in *England*. [2.] But the *Welshmen* made a fresh Invasion on the *English* Territories, for this Summer *Cadwallader* and *Owen Guyneth* the Sons of *Griffyth ap Conan* Prince of *North-Wales*, (being young Princes of great courage) resolved to expell the *Normans* and *Flemings* out of their Country, and entering *Ceredigion*, they destroyed and burnt the whole Country, taking many Castles belonging to *Norman* Noblemen, some of which they razed to the Ground, and so return'd home Victoriously; after which, towards the end of this year, they made another Invasion with Six thousand Foot, and Two thousand Horse, well armed, and *Griffyth ap Rees* Prince of *South-Wales*, and *Howel ap Meredith* Lord of *Brecknock*, and his Sons, with other *Welsh* Noblemen, came in to them and subdued that whole Country to *Aberteivi*, driving out the Foreigners, and placing the old Inhabitants in their rooms. Against these *Stephen* Constable of *Aberteivi*, *Robert Fitz-Martyn*, with the Sons of *Gerald*, and *William Fitz-John* advanced with all the Forces of the *Normans*, *Flemings* and *Englishmen* that were then in *Wales*, or the Marches thereof: But after a cruel and bloody Fight near the Castle of *Aberteivi*, the latter were put to flight, and the *Welshmen* persued them so close, that besides Three thousand slain upon the spot, a great many more were drown'd in the River *Tewy*, or else taken Prisoners; after which Victory the Princes *Owen* and *Cadwalladar* return'd home with a very rich Boory in Horses, Armour, and other things.

I find nothing worth noting that happen'd this year in *England*, but only from an Antient \* Manuscript Chronicle of the City of *London*, I shall add what is omitted in our Printed Historians, that a Fire beginning near the Bridge was so violent, that it not only consumed *St. Paul's Church*, but burnt as far as that of *St. Clement Danes*; how much it extended in breadth our Author does not tell us; but it is certain, that as to its Length it much exceeded that horrid Conflagration in the year 1666.

But to return to the Affairs of *Wales*, from whence we have a little digress'd.

[3.] The King having now received the ill News of the late Insurrections of the *Welsh*, he thrice endeavoured with a select number of Bow-

Anno Domini  
MCXXXIV.[1.]  
Idem lb.  
The Empreſs  
Matilda de-  
liver'd of a  
Son.Anno Domini  
MCXXXV.[2.]  
Dr. Powel's  
Chron.  
The Welsh  
Princes In-  
vade the En-  
glish Territo-  
ries.The English  
driven out of  
great part of  
Wales.\* Lib. de  
Antiquis Legi-  
bus.[3.]  
O. V.  
P. 900.  
H. H.King Henry re-  
solves to re-  
turn into En-  
gland, but is  
diverted by  
several Dis-  
putes with his  
Son-in-Law  
the Earl of  
Anjou.



Anno Dom.  
MCCXXXV.

men and other Soldiers to come for *England*, but was still diverted by his Son-in-Law, *Geoffrey Duke of Anjou*, who coveted the great Treasures of his Father-in-Law, and demanded *Normandy* in present; affirming, That it was part of the agreement he had made with him, when he Married his Daughter; he also despised the King's Admonitions and Advice, and so far provoked him, that he had thoughts of taking his Daughter from him, and carrying her into *England*, for the Duke had then shut up *Roscelin*, Viscount of *Beaumont* in the City of *Mans*, tho' he was Son-in-Law to King *Henry*.

[4.]

*Idem.*

The King  
takes a Surfeit  
of Lampreys,  
and falls Sick.

[5.]  
H. H. O. V.

p. 901.  
W. M. p. 100. b.

His Last Will  
and Testa-  
ment.

[4.] Wherefore he spent all the rest of this Summer in quieting several petty disturbances in *Normandy*, that were raised by those of that Prince's Faction, (needless to be here recited) which when he had done, he came about the end of *November* to a Place called the Castle of *Lyons*, near *Roien*: But not long after his arrival, [5.] going a Hunting in the adjacent Forest, and coming home with a good Stomach, he took a Surfeit of *Lampreys*, which tho' he always loved, yet never agreed with him.

The next day he fell very Sick, and when he found himself to grow worse and worse, he sent for *Hugh Archbishop of Roien* to come to him; being also attended by his Natural Son *Robert Earl of Gloucester*, *William Earl of Warren*, and divers other Noblemen and Great Commanders, who asking him concerning his Successor, He made answer, That he left all his Territories (as well on that as this side the Sea) to his Daughter, by a lawful and perpetual Succession, tho' without making any mention of her Husband, having been lately so highly disoblige'd by divers Affronts he had received from him.

Before he died, he commanded his Debts, and all Servants Wages to be paid. All Forfeitures and Mulcts to be forgiven; All Exiles restored to their Country; And that all whose Estates had been unjustly seized, should peaceably enjoy them again. [1.] He also directed his Son *Robert*, who had the Custody of his Treasure at *Falais*, that he should distribute Sixty Thousand Pounds amongst his Servants, and Stipendiary Knights and Horsemen.

[2.]

W. M. *Ibid.*  
The King De-  
ceases.

[2.] The King having thus made his Will, and done all things that were necessary for a Christian Prince, Deceased on the first of *December* at Midnight, (the seventh day of his Sicknes:) immediately after, his Body was removed to *Roien*, whither many of the Nobility carried it on their Shoulders by turns, and there being Imbowel'd, and the Entrails Buried in the Church of *St. Mary du Pres*, it lay for some time till it could be thence conveyed to *Caen*, to remain there till the Season would permit it to be Transported and Buried in *England*, as He himself had appointed it.

The rude  
manner of  
preserving  
this King's  
Body, and the  
strange Infe-  
ction that  
proceeded  
from it.

I cannot here omit some remarkable Circumstances related by *Gerwase of Canterbury*, concerning the manner of Imbalming this King's Body, which seem very Barbarous; for he relates that they cut great Gashes in his flesh with Knives, and then Powdering it well with Salt, they wraped it up in divers Tann'd Ox-hides, to avoid the intolerable stench of it, which was so infectious, that a Man who was hired to open his Head (which was done with no better a Tool than a Hatchet) died presently after; so that our Author wittily observes, that this was the last Man of many that this Prince destroyed.

It



It may not now be amiss to give you from [3.] *William of Malmesbury* a short view of this Prince's Reign, and in what posture Affairs than stood in relation to Foreign Princes. In the beginning of his Reign, he was on ill Terms with *Robert Earl of Flanders*, upon the account of a Pension of three hundred Marks *per Annum*, which had been paid by King *William* and his Son of the same name, to this Prince's Father and Grand-father, in consideration of the Assistance which the latter of these had given towards the Conquest of *England*; but the present Earl being return'd from *Jerusalem*, imperiously demanded that Pension as a Due; However the King wisely return'd this Answer, *That it was not usual for the Kings of England to pay Tribute to the Earls of Flanders*; yet if he would leave it to him, he would bestow it on him as a Friend and Kinsman when opportunity served; but not if he exacted it as his Due. With which Answer the Earl was forced to be content, and lived in Amity with the King ever after; but Earl *Baldwin* his Son, when he would not observe the same measures, but endeavoured to put *William* Son to Duke *Robert* in Possession of *Normandy*, he there received a Wound, whereof he not long after died: And as for his Successor *Charles of Denmark*, the King and he lived in very good Correspondence.

[3.]  
P. 99, 100.  
A short view  
of this King's  
Reign; and in  
what terms  
he was with  
his Neighboring  
Princes;  
and particularly  
with the  
E. of *Flanders*.

to be a  
great  
loss to  
the  
King

If we consider [4.] the State of *France* during his time, we shall find King *Philip* (being much addicted to his Pleasures) to have given King *Henry* very little or no disturbance; but his Son *Lewis* (Surnamed the *Gross*) carried himself more variously, and express'd a more uncertain Conduct, acting at first like a Friend, but afterwards as an inveterate Enemy on the account of *Theobald Earl of Blois* the King's Nephew, whom he maintain'd against King *Lewis*, which ended in a cruel and violent War, in which King *Henry* at last got the better, as has been already related.

[4.]  
Id. 16.  
How the  
French Kings  
carried themselves  
towards him.

But to come nearer home, [5.] as for the *Welsh* Princes King *Henry* had commonly much better Success in his Expeditions against them than his Brother *William*; and in the last he made, concluded an honourable Peace with the Prince of *North Wales*.

[5.]  
Idem.  
P. 89. b.  
His Success  
against the  
*Welsh*.

As for [1.] *Murchade* King of *Ireland*, and some of his Successors of less note, they were wholly devoted to King *Henry*'s Service; and when *Murchade* did for some time carry himself unkind toward the *English*, he was soon brought to terms only by the King's forbidding their Trading thither; for indeed (says my Author) what could *Ireland* do without the Commodities of *England*? Since the People living lazily, and without Foreign Trade, must without the help of this Kingdom be in want of many Necessaries.

[1.]  
Idem.  
P. 91. a.  
The great Respect  
that was shew'd him  
by *Murchade*  
K. of *Ireland*.

This was the state of *Ireland* in those times, as well as for many ages after.

And farther to shew what great [2.] respect and honour Foreign Princes had for King *Henry*, our Author relates, that *Paul* Earl of the *Orchades*, (who held those Islands as a Feudatory to the King of *Norway*) so much Courted King *Henry*'s Friendship, that he sent him several Presents of Exotick Animals, which the King put into his Park at *Woodstock*, where he kept such Creatures.

[2.]  
Idem 16.  
The great  
Honour that  
was paid him  
by other Foreign  
Princes.

Also *Siward* King of *Norway* in his Passage to the *Holy Land* passed his Winter in *England*, and shewed the King very great respect. And (which is very remarkable,) though he were sometimes obliged



to be absent out of *England* for three or four years together, by reason of his Wars in *Normandy*, yet the King of *Scots* being his Relation and Confederate, *England* did not feel any Foreign Invasion, or Domestick Rebellion or Insurrection during his whole Reign, except some petty Incursions made by the *Welsh*, which were not much to be valued: by which long Peace not only during his own but also in his Father's and Brother's Reigns, it made *England* become a place of refuge to the distressed and afflicted of Foreign Nations, who made it their Sanctuary. These were the Felicities of this King's times; and as for his Misfortunes, they need not be repeated, since you may observe them from the History of his Reign; nor had I related these passages, but that they are not noted by our Author under any particular years, and are such things as he did not think fit to place in the Body of the History, but only as an Epilogue to it.

A Character  
of King Henry  
the First.

Having now concluded the Life and Reign of this great Prince, I must not leave him without giving you his Character from *William of Malmesbury* and Others who lived in his time: He was in the first place a Prince of vast Natural Parts and Eloquence, and had also a great deal of Courage, yet such as might consist with Prudence; being cautious to undertake, but firm and resolute in going through the most dangerous Enterprizes, whereby he avoided unnecessary Wars: He was a severe Revenger if very much provoked, and constant as well in his Hatred as Friendship: As he humbled his Enemies to the lowest degree, so he advanced his Friends and Favourites even to Envy; witness *Roger Bishop of Salisbury*, whom from an ordinary Parish Priest, or Curate, at a Town in *Normandy*, he first made his Chancellor, then a Bishop, and last of all his Chief Justice over *England*, as well whilst he was present as absent: He was also a rigid Exacter of Justice, severely punishing Thieves, and Counterfeiters of Money, whom he diligently sought out, and never pardon'd when discover'd; and it was one of the Glories of his Reign, that he commanded all Counterfeit Money, and all that was broken or defaced, tho' of good Silver, (yet which would not be received in Payment) to be melted down: He also corrected the false Ell or measure used by Tradesmen, ordaining the length of his own Arm as a Standard over all *England*. Nor was He neglectful of other matters, appointing his Courtiers, where ever he stayed, how much they should take from the Country-People *Gratis*, and what Prices they were to pay for all Provisions, punishing Transgressors with grievous Mulets, nay sometimes with loss of Life. In the beginning of his Reign, that he might deter the guilty by the terror of Examples, he was more prone to detraction of Members; but afterwards to Pecuniary Mulets to increase his Revenues; which severe Justice made him both feared by the Nobles, and beloved by the Common People: So that in all his Reign, there was but one Conspiracy against his Life, and that was by one of his Bed-Chamber, who was also the Keeper of his Privy-Purse, and he being Convicted and Executed, deter'd others for the future from the like Treasons. But that which is yet more strange, tho' He pass'd the greatest part of his Reign in *Normandy*, there was never but one Rebellion raised against him here, and that in the beginning of his Reign, which was soon quelled.



As for his Person he was of a middle Stature, his Hair Black and thick toward his Forehead, his Eyes clear and sweet, Broad Chested and pretty full of Flesh : As to his Humour, he was Affable, and when free from Business, he was of a very pleasant Conversation ; so that certainly he was one of the bravest Kings that ever Reigned in England, whither one considers him in War or Peace : But not being without faults, he is noted to have been much addicted to Women, and by them he had several Natural Children, of whom I shall give you an account by and by ; tho' most of them were begotten before he was Married to his Queen : He was also too severe in his Punishments (especially towards those that killed his Deer) which he made worse than Death it self, by putting out of Eyes and Amputation of Members ; yet he Executed no Nobleman for Treason against him, tho' he imprison'd divers during life, and also put out the Eyes of Robert Earl of Mortaign his Kinsman for having rebelled against him ; but as for doing the like to his Brother Robert, I have said enough of that already ; and if the same Authors that tell us of the blinding the former Earl, had also known that he had done as much to his own Brother, we need not doubt but we should have heard enough of it ; but as for his keeping him in perpetual Prison, it was no more than what reason of State and self-preservation prompted him to, after he had deprived him of his Dukedom.

A Description  
tion of his  
Person.

But that for which he is most blamed, is, the severity of his Taxes, which ruined many Families, and his too great Partiality towards the Normans, and unkindness to his Native English Subjects ; preferring the former only for their Country, and despising and neglecting the latter, merely because they were Englishmen.

To the first of these Charges it may be offer'd in his excuse, that it must be considered, he was almost perpetually in War, either with the King of France, or some other Foreign Princes, and it required great Sums of Money to make a constant Defensive War against such powerful Neighbours ; and perhaps it was likewise made much worse, by the Knavery and corruption of his Inferior Officers.

As for his preferring Strangers before Natural Englishmen, tho' it must be confessed, he had done better if he had been less partial, yet we must also remember, that tho' he was himself an Englishman by Birth, yet was he a Norman by Descent, Acquaintance and Education, and having from his Youth been conversant with few or none but Normans, it is no great wonder if those near about him (as Robert Earl of Mellent in particular) would never advise him to advance Englishmen to any considerable Employments either Ecclesiastical or Civil, how well qualified soever they might be for them. And now having given you this King's Character, I shall also give you a short account of his Children.

He had by his Queen Matilda, only one Son named William, who was drown'd as you have already heard, without Issue, and one Daughter, commonly called in old French, as well as old English \* Maud Empress, because she was first Married to the Emperor Henry the Fifth ; and then her Second Husband was Geoffrey Plantagenet Earl of Anjou, by whom she had Henry the Second, afterwards King of England ; and two other Sons Geoffrey and William, who both died without Issue.

I have given  
her the Latin  
Name of Ma-  
tilda because  
this does not  
sound so well.

He



He had also several Natural Sons, the chiefest of whom were these, *Robert* (created Earl of *Gloucester* in the ninth year of his Father's Reign) by *Nesta*, Daughter of *Rees ap Theodor* Prince of *South-Wales*; *Richard* begotten of the Widdow of one *Anskil*, a Nobleman of *Oxfordshire*, who was drown'd with Prince *William*; *Reginald* created Earl of *Cornwall* in the Fifth year of King *Stephen*, was begotten of *Sybil* Daughter of Sir *Robert Corbet* of *Alcester* in *Gloucestershire*. He had besides these three other Natural Sons, who either lived but a little while, or else did nothing remarkable, and therefore seem not worth the naming: He had also Four Natural Daughters, who were Married to several Earls, and other Noblemen of *France* and *Normandy*, but the most famous were *Maud*, Married to *Conan* Earl of *Bretaigne*; and *Elizabeth* Married to *Alexander* King of *Scots*. But if the Reader has a mind to know the Names of the rest, I refer him to *William Gemeticensis* for his further satisfaction.

Lib. 8. c. 29.

I have no more worth noting concerning this Prince's Reign, but to give some account of his Taxations, as also of the Laws made in his Reign; but to begin with the former.

The Taxes raised in this King's Reign, were as follow:

The Extraordinary Taxations of this King are not particularly noted, nor is it said how they were imposed; but in the Fourth year of his Reign, *Florence of Worcester* relates it was not easie to declare what misery *England* suffer'd by reason of the King's excessive Exactions; the same we find also in the *Saxon Chronicle*.

In the Sixth year of his Reign his Impositions were General and Cruel, according to *Eadmerus's* report; and besides other Rigorous Exactions from the Clergy, he set a particular Sum upon every Parish Church, and forced the Incumbent to pay it; or, according to the Historian, to redeem the Church.

In the Eighth year of his Reign, he had for the Marriage of his Daughter *Matilda* to the Emperor *Henry the Fifth*, three Shillings of every Hyde of Land in *England*, which upon a just value at this day would be equal to Eight hundred twenty four thousand, Eight hundred and fifty Pound, (according to Dr. *Brady's* Computation.

In the Sixteenth year, by reason of the King's Necessities *England* was oppress'd with frequent and various Payments and Exactions: But I find no *Scutage* paid unless it were comprehended under other Gelds and Exactions.

Besides these his Taxes, it appears by the Laws attributed to this King, that he had a constant Annual Land-Tax, (which is there call'd *Danegeld*) of Twelve-pence upon every Hyde to be paid at certain times, a Forfeiture being set upon such as did not duly pay it.

I shall now proceed to the Laws made or confirm'd in his time. I need not here repeat the *Great Charter* of Liberties which he granted at his Coronation to the Clergy, Nobility and People of *England*, having given it you at large in the beginning of his Reign, nor do I find any other Laws of his besides that Collection which Mr. *Lambert* hath given us in his *Archæionomia*, and are also Printed at the end of Mr. *Wheelock's* Edition of *Bede*; And since they contain a Digest or Body of the *English* Laws and manner of Proceedings in Criminal as well as Civil matters, I have here Translated the most considerable of them, which concern either the King's Prerogative, or the Liberties of



of the Church, Nobility and People; or the manner of Tryal in Civil as well as Criminal Causes; and for the rest I refer the curious Reader to the *Latin* Original, which he will find in the Authors last mentioned; but those that may be most worth your Perusal are these that follow, which have been extracted out of the *Red Book* of the *Exchequer* compared with Mr. *Selden*, and Mr. *Lambert*.

Passing therefore over the four Chapters which contain little considerable, except the manner of Tryal, and dispatching of Civil Causes: As also the Fifth Chapter which gives Rules for Pleadings, and Judgments as well in Ecclesiastical as Civil Courts.

I proceed to the Sixth, which Treats of the Division of the Kingdom of *England* into the Provinces of *Britain* or *Wales*, into *West Saxony*, and into the Provinces of the *Mercians* and *Danes*, according to which there is also declar'd a threefold Partition of the Law of *England*, there being formerly one Law in *West Saxony*, another in *Mercia*, and a third called *Danelage*, in all which tho' they acknowledge one Supreme Empire in the Royal Majesty, yet in many things they differ, as in other they agree.

The Seventh Chapter Treats of the General Pleas of Courts, when and how they ought to be made.

In which it is Ordained, That the General Pleas of Counties ought to be held in certain Places, and at certain Times, and not to be delayed or put off, unless the King's own urgent occasions, or the common profit of the Kingdom may require it, where ought to be present the Bishops, Earls, *Vice-domini*, (*i. e.* Judges under the Earls) *Vicarii*, (*i. e.* Sheriffs;) *Centenarii*, (*i. e.* Hundreders) Aldermen; *Præfetti*, (*i. e.* Magistrates) *Præpositi*, (*i. e.* Head-Borough Barons, *Vassals*, *Tungreves*, (*i. e.* Officers of Towns) and all other Owners of Lands ought to be present, to prevent the Impunity of evil Men, and the Subversion of Justice: But the *Scyremotes* and *Burghmotes*, ought to be assembled in the Hundred, or *Wapentac* twelve times a year, with other Particulars, belonging to these Courts too long here to be recited.

The Eighth is, That all Freemen, as well Householders as their Followers or Dependants shall meet twice a year at the Hundred-Court; to see if their *Decenaries* or *Tythings* be full or not; or in what manner they increase, or decrease, and requires that there should be over every nine Men a tenth, and over the whole Hundred one of the better sort, called the *Alderman*, who ought to study to promote the Laws of God and Man.

In Mr. *Selden's* Copy here follows this Clause: [Because nothing ought to be taken, or exacted from any one, unless by Right; and by the Law of the Land, and by the Justice and Judgment of the Court, without deceit; as it is Ordained by the prudent consideration of our good Predecessors, and the Nobles of the whole Kingdom, and approved of by the General Assembly of the \* Servants of God, and of the holy † Elders and *Wise-men* of the whole Monarchy.]

The other Copy proceeds: [For it is Ordained by the Provident Order for the Common Good, that every one who desires to be counted worthy of the right of a Freeman, shall from the twelfth year of his Age be entered in some Hundred, Tything, or Franc-pledge; but Mercenaries, or Hirelings shall be obliged by a double Pledge;

That

\* *i. e.* the Clergy.

† *i. e.* the Bishops.



That every Lord only retain such, who may be lyable to Justice, so that if they offend he may make them answer for it, or may himself render an account of them.]

The rest concerning such Strangers, who might visit their Friends, yet were to be brought to Justice, if they offended, as also against receiving Strangers beyond three Nights without giving security for them, or receiving another Man's Servant without a Testimony of the Neighbours; I do slightly touch upon, because already mentioned in the Laws of King Edward.

The Ninth Chapter is of the quality or nature of Causes, some of which are redeemable by Fine, and others not, which belong only to the Royal Prerogative; then follows a division of Causes into simple or mixt; so that all Causes ought to have suitable methods of Process, according to the different Times and Persons, and that every Cause should be determined in the *Hundred*, *County*, or \* *Halimote*, or *Court* of those Lords, that have *Socam Curia*, (i. e. Suit of Court).

The rest concerning the differences of Causes according to the different nature of offences, I omit, only the conclusion of this Law is remarkably, that no \* *Weak*, or wicked Person ought to be a Judge, but some of the † *Chief Men* according to their ability, who shall not Judge a Man's Person but his Deeds, according to the Law of the Country.

The Tenth is concerning the King's Right, or Prerogative, which is thus expressed; These are the Rights which the King of England alone hath above all Men in his own Kingdom, whilst the good Institution of Peace and Security is retain'd, (viz.) the Breach of the King's Peace, given either by his \* *Hand*, or *Writ*, *Danegeld*, the *Plea*, or Process concerning contempt of his Writs, or Precepts, as also concerning his Servants, whosoever killed or injured; also Treachery and Treason, with all sorts of Contempts, as speaking evil of him, *Castellatio trium stannorum*, (which I know not how to Translate) also the Pleas of *Outlawry* and Theft (then not punishable by death) Murder, falsifying of his Money, Burning [Houses] *Ham Sacna* [i. e. Assault made on a Man in his own House.] *Forestal*, [i. e. Lying in wait in the High-way.] *Fyredering*, [I suppose finding of Goods.] *Fleminferm*, [perhaps the aiding of Out-law'd Persons.] *Premeditate Assault*, Robbery, *Strethbrech*, [that is, trespass upon the King's High-way.] Seising on the King's Land, on Money, Treasure-Trove, Shipwracks, *Maris Algarum*, (i. e. of Sea-weeds, or Plants.) Rapes, Trespases in Forests. Also the relief of his Barons; Whosoever shall fight in the King's House, or whosoever *Hostia*, (i. e. in the King's Host or Army.) Breaks the Peace, whosoever shall omit to maintain *Burgbote*, *Brigbote*, and *Firdsard*, [i. e. the repairing of Castles and Bridges, and appearing at a Muster.] Whosoever keeps or maintains an Excommunicated or Out-law'd Person. Also *Burghbreche*, [i. e. he who violates the King's Pledge or Surety.] Whosoever shall run away in a Land or Sea-fight, unjust Judgment, defect of Justice, and Wrestling of the King's Laws. All *Herefrets*, [perhaps the King's High-ways are here meant.] And all *Gwalstows*, (i. e. Places of publick Execution,) are wholly the King's. Moreover the King in his *Saca* or *Court*, ought to be to all Men, \* that are Summon'd to appear as well towards all Strangers,

\* i. e. Court-Baron.

\* *Stultus*.

† *Optimates*.

\* In those Times our Kings gave Men Protection by giving their Hand before Witnesses.

\* *Omnibus Ordinarius*.



Strangers, as poor and abject persons, instead of a Kinsman and Advocate, if they have no other.

These are the Royal Pleas of the King, nor can belong to Sheriffs, Apparitors, or other Officers, unless they are Farm'd out by expresse Grants.

The Eleventh is of the Pleas of the Church, belonging to the King, which since they relate only to what part of the Fines the King was to have together with the Bishop for certain Ecclesiastical offences, such as Man-slaughter in a Church, withholding of Tythes, *Peter-pence*, and *First-fruits*, Adulteries, Perjuries, false Testimonies, Killing of Men in Holy Orders, Working on Holy Days, Man-slaughters, Marriages of Widdows within Twelve Months after the death of their Husbands; Harboursing Out-lawed and Excommunicated Persons, I but slightly mention, as being tedious, and also in great part already repeated among the Laws of King Edward.

The Twelfth declares what Pleas or Process against any Man may be satisfied by paying of the *Were*, [That is, the ranome of his Life, and what by payment of a *Wite*, that is, a bare Fine or Mulct.] Some of which cannot be satisfied at all by Money, such as are *House-breach*, and Burning of Houses, notorious Theft, *Eberemorth*, [i.e. down-right Murther.] And *Lawfordwic*, [i.e. betraying of the Lord.] And breach of the Peace, or of the Church, or that given by the King's hand. But these that follow may be satisfied by a Hundred Shillings, (*viz.*) *Grith-breach*, [i.e. Simple-breach of the Peace.] *Stret-breach*, *Forestale*, *Burg-breach*, *Hamsokne*, *Flēmen-fatme*; all these may be satisfied by a *Were*: these are the chief heads of this Law, the rest I pass by.

The Thirteenth is, what Pleas put Men in the King's *mercy*, which are these, breach of his Peace, given by his Hand, Contempt of his Writs, and whatsoever tends to the contumely or contempt of his Person or Commands; as also concerning his Servants slain in any City or Castle, or any where else: Also Treachery and Treason, making of Castles without Licence, Outlawry, &c. those that do thus are in the King's mercy, and forfeit their *Free Land* if they have any. Then follow Thefts and Murthers if the Party come not in within seven days: Also *Counterfeiters* of Money shall lose their Hand, without any Redemption. Whosoever shall give unjust Judgment shall pay an Hundred and twenty Shillings, and shall lose the Office of a Judge, unless he redeem it of the King; also the concealment of Goods or *Chattels* belonging to the King, was to be counted as Theft; also Violence offer'd to a Virgin or Widdow, fighting in the King's House: He that breaks the Peace in the King's Host shall lose his Life, or compound for it: Also he that fails to perform *Burghbote*, or *Brighote*, or *Fridfare*, shall forfeit an Hundred Shillings, which he incur'd, unless Eleven out of Twelve found for him. The rest of the Forfeitures is against those who keep or maintain Out-law'd or Excommunicated Persons, and whosoever shall forsake his Lord or fellow Souldier in a Land or Sea-fight, all whom shall lose their Lives, and the Lord shall seize upon their Money and the Land which he gave them; but if they have *Bockland*, [i.e. Freeland] it shall fall to the King.

The Fourteenth is concerning Reliefs; which begin with those of an Earl, and thence descend to the King's Thanes, and then to that

\* i.e. To be Fined, or Amended.

\* Bockland.

\* Falsarii.

\* Capitalis.



of the middle Thane, which having been already repeated in the Laws of King Cnut, and being much the same with that in the former Volume, I shall not repeat, but refer the Reader to it.

The Fifteenth is concerning *Danegeld*, (*viz.*) Twelve-pence for every Hyde *per Annum*; this if it be not paid at the times appointed, shall be punished by a *Wite*.

The Sixteenth is concerning the Peace of the King's Court, which ought to be observed for the distance of four Miles, three Quarters in Length, and nine Acres and odd Feet, from the Gate of his Palace, where he resides.

The Seventeenth is concerning Pleas of Forests, (*viz.*) those concerning Entlosures made in the Forest, or of *Effarts* and cutting, or burning of Woods, also concerning Hunting, carrying of Bows and Arrows in Forests, of the expedition of Dogs (that is cutting out the Balls of their Feet that they should not run) not appearance at the Forest Courts, the letting in Cattle into Forests, slighting of Summons, the coming with Dogs, the finding the Skin or Carcass of a Deer.

The Eighteenth is *de Lada*, or the Purgation of Crimes. A *Frenchman* being appealed, may swear himself off by a Sixfold Purgation (*viz.* by Six Witnesses) but an *English Freeman* by a threefold *Lada*, (*viz.* by Ordeal of a hot Iron weighing three Pounds).

The Nineteenth declares that there are several things, the Judgment of which belongs to the King's Court, and not to the Sheriff or his Officers without particular Writ.

The Twentieth is concerning *Socna*, *Thol*, and *Theam*; of which the King has partly the Judgment of Causes in his own *Socna*, or County, or else had granted it to others; which Jurisdiction is distinguished into what was under the Heads of Mannors, and of Hundreds and Burroughs, under the Sheriffs of Counties; and he declares that Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, and all others of inferior Dignity, had within their own Mannors or jurisdictions, *Soc*, (*i.e.* tryals of Pleas) concerning Transgressions within the Mannor and *Soc* (*i.e.* Suit of Court of the Tenants within the Mannor) and also *Thol* (that is, liberty of Buying and Selling) and *Theam*, (that is, power over their own Villains) and *Infangtheof*, that is, the privilege of Trying and Judging of a Thief taken within the Mannor or Royalty. What follows being tedious and obscure, I shall not take upon me to Translate, only it here appears, that all these great Privileges and Royalties whatsoever were derived from the King, tho' afterwards they might descend by Succession, or be alienated by Purchase or Exchange.

The One and twentieth is concerning several kinds of Causes, of whose Forfeitures the King has a share, *viz.* in all Causes as well Ecclesiastical as Civil; as also in those concerning the King's Servants, as Ecclesiasticks and the Tenants of Barons, as over poor and *incon- siderable* Men, whether the King has wholly or only in part the *Socna*, or Suit of Court; among which are Adultery and Homicide committed in the Church, Breach of the Peace, or of Holy Orders, or of Christianity, or Legality, where it is punishable by the Secular Power.

The Two and twentieth is of *Grithbrech*, and *Ham Socna*. Which having nothing very material, I wholly pass by.

\* *Accefatoc.*

The



The Three and twentieth is concerning Offences in Forests, for which a Man is punishable in the Court of his Lord, unless he be taken within the Forest.

The Twenty fourth is concerning *Fiscal* Judges; the *Fiscal* Judge, (who was I suppose the same with the chief Baron of the *Exchequer*) had the observance or over-sight of Legal Justice over all the *Barons*, who had particular Franchises, and whatsoever was done against their Persons: for no Man could claim a Forfeiture to himself, but only to his Lord: The rest I omit, as not to the purpose, or else obscure.

The Twenty fifth is concerning the Priviledges of the Noblemen of *England*: If there arise a Plea between the Tenants of any of the *Barons*, that have *Socna* (that is Suit of Court) let the Plea be handled in the Court of his own Lord, of common right; if it be between the Tenants of two Lords, having such a *Socna*, let the party accused answer in the Court of his own Lord, as of common right.

The Six and twentieth is of the Plea of Theft: Which since it is obscure and of no great moment, I pass by.

The Seven and twentieth is of the Liberty of a *Vavasour*, (or *mesne* Tenant.)

Also *Vavasours* who have Free-land may hold Pleas, which belong to *Wite* or *Were*, over their own Tenants in their own Lordships, and so likewise over the Tenants of others, if they are there detain'd, or charg'd in the Fact.

The Eighth and twentieth is concerning giving right Judgment, where 'tis declared that in all Actions the Judgment of the Judges ought to be unbiassed; for poor Men are worse oppressed by wicked Judges, than by the most cruel Enemies: the rest containing the qualification of Witnesses, and how they are to be Examined, since it contains nothing material, I omit.

The Twenty ninth is who ought to be the King's Judges.

The King's Judges, or the \* *Barons* (i.e. Free-men) of the County, who have Free-lands in it, are those by whom the Causes of particular Persons ought to be tryed by an alternate Prosecution or Tryal; but *Villani* [i.e. meer Villagers or Country-men] or *Cocseti* [or rather *Cocsetti* [i.e. next Cottagers] or *Perdigni*, [i.e. Vile and Indigent Persons] are not to be numbered among the Judges of the Laws; whence it is that they neither can forfeit their own or their Lord's Money in the Hundred or County-Court. The rest concerning their Appearance, and the Forms of Process in those Courts, I omit; only this is remarkable, that by this Law no *Namium*, or Distress, for any Cause arising in the Hundred-Court, was to be carried out of that Hundred.

The Thirtieth is of the Liberty of Noblemen or Gentlemen, in Pleas of Counties, [i.e. County-Courts] by which it is declar'd that if a Baron of a County have a Cause against the Sheriff, those that held of the Baron were not to be tried in the County-Court unless for Theft.

The One and thirtieth is of Capital Pleas.

In Supreme and Capital Pleas, one Hundred or County-Court may be Judged of two, but one alone may not Judge two Counties; if between Judges there are divers Opinions, and some affirm it to be one way, and some another; let the Sentence of the better side prevail, and according to that which is most agreeable to Justice. All



Bishops, Earls and other Magistrates ought to be present at the County-Court, who may there determine the Laws of God, and Secular Matters by due consideration, where none ought to deny the Records of the King's Court; in other Cases a Man might deny the matter by Men who were *Cognisant* of it, and no body was to be found Guilty by a single Testimony.

\* *Advocat aut  
contradictat.*  
† *Ejusdem  
Provincia.*

If any Man suspects his Judges, he may appeal, or \* deny the Fact: every Man is to be Judged by his Peers of the † *same County*; all Foreign Judgments were to be abrogated, whatsoever is done against Persons absent in any place or matter, or what is not done by proper Judges, shall be wholly void, and no Witnesses were to be received, against which any Objection lay. And it farther declares that in *West Saxony* those that were chosen for Witnesses, and not named Judges, were Advocates; which is a plain division of the Freeholders into Judges and Jury.

The Two and thirtieth is, That no Man may Judge his own Lord.

\* *Judicium  
celebrare.*

No Man may presume alone, or can be compell'd by any other to \* give Judgment, nor shall any of the Chief Men suffer by the Judgment of the less; no Man may Judge his own Lord, or give Judgment upon him whose Liege he is: the rest being obscure, I pass by.

The Thirty third is of handling a Plea.

If any Man in his own Court, or in any other place of Judging Causes, have a Plea to be dispatched, let him call together his Equals and Neighbours, that he may give them such a *Gratuitous* Justice, by an unforced Judgment, as cannot be gain-said; for the defect of Justice, and the violent forsaking of right, are those things which bring Causes into the King's Court, or the Jurisdiction of other Superior Lords; the rest being obscure and of no great moment, I let alone.

The Thirty fourth is of handling a Plea in a just Judgment: If any Man for anger, hatred, fear, love, or covetousness, or for any respect to the King, shall Judge unjustly, or ordain that which is not Law, let him pay an hundred Shillings, and be deprived of all honour of being a Judge, unless he so redeem himself to the King, as that he shall be in his mercy: the rest concerning the *Lash-lites* or Mulcts appointed by *Danelage*, for this, or that Crime, and also for those who shall Impeach, [*i.e.* question or deny] a Judgment rightly given, I designedly omit.

The Thirty fifth is concerning *Overseeness* to the King, (that is, the contumacy or contempt of the King's Command) which offence is rated at several Sums, according to the quality of the Person, and greatness of the offence.

The Thirty sixth is concerning those who have not, or else may lose their *Overseeness* [or right of Fines] which since it is obscure, and not material, I also pass by.

The Thirty seventh is concerning the unlawful cutting down of a Wood, which (omitting the rest that goes before) is here called *Wud-beth*, that is the cutting of Wood in the King's Park or Forest, which shall be satisfied by Twenty *Manses*, (that is, about Fifty Shillings of our Money) unless an express Prohibition should require more; but out of a Forest or Park, it was but Five *Mansæ*.

The



The Thirty eighth is of *Scheld-wite*, of which since Sir *Henry Spelman* hath not given us any signification, I will not take upon me to determine what this offence was.

The Thirty ninth is concerning the Forfeiture for shedding of blood, which in some places was only incurr'd by them that were Actors in it, but in others by Accessories. It also relates to the breach of a Park, or Pound, here called *Pundbreach*, which if done in the King's Court, the Penalty was a full *Wite* or Mulct, if elsewhere, Five Marks; but lays it down as a general Rule, that in all Causes there ought to be consider'd the difference of Place, Time, Person and Event.

The One and fortieth is, That every one ought to have his own *Overseueness*, or Forfeitures upon contempts.

The meaning of which is, That every Lord hath the full *Overseueness* or Forfeitures from his Tenants, according to the place of his Residence and manner of the Offence: the rest chiefly relates to *Essoins*, the Particulars of which I need not here mention; only this is remarkable, that the Law still continued, that every Lord should keep such Servants as may be lyable to Justice, and also his whole Family under his own Pledge, that if he were accused of any matter, he might answer it in his own Hundred, where he should be compell'd to answer according to Law: If he also be accused and flie, let his Lord render to the King the *Were* of that Man; and if the Lord be accused that he fled with his consent, he shall *Justifie* himself by the Oath of Five *Thanes*, and he himself must be the Sixth.

The Forty second is concerning Summons.

And contains the Penalty of him, who shall omit or neglect to deliver the King's, or any other Lord's Summons to another, either on purpose, or through forgetfulness, &c.

The Forty third is that none being Impleaded by the King may first answer to another.

The meaning of which is, that no Body being impleaded by the King is compellable by Law to answer another, until he had first satisfied him who is the Chief Lord. The rest being tedious and obscure, I omit: The Sum of it being no more than that a Man shall first answer that Lord of whom he holds in chief, or under whom he resides.

The Forty fourth is of the Pledges for their Lords; which provides, that Tenants shall not answer their Lords in any Suit till they have satisfied them what they have lost by being Pledges for their Lords, unless it be in Cases of Contumely towards them.

The Forty fifth contains many things concerning *Inculpations* or Cases wherein Men may be excused from Appearance, and shews many Causes in which it is necessary to answer according to Law, upon a single Summons, and where not, needless to be recited.

The Forty sixth is of those that are Impleaded by their Lords. If any Man shall be Impleaded by his Lord either by his own or another Man's suggestion, let him be Summon'd to appear at seven days notice, in the same County, to answer all sorts of Pleas, &c. needless to be recited at large.

The Forty seventh is concerning Criminal or Capital Causes, as concerning Theft, Murther, and betraying a Man's Lord; as also Robbery and Outlawry, or *House-breach*, and burning of Houses, and falsifying Coyn as also that in all Criminal and Capital Causes, no Man



Man must look for Council, but being Impleaded must presently deny it without any seeking for Council, of whatever Nation or condition he is, &c.

From whence we may observe the Antiquity of that Law of denying Council in all Tryals of Life and Death.

The Forty eighth is, when Persons may make use of Council.

\* *Ad Inculpationem.*

In all other Causes every Man may and ought to make use of Council; for if any one being Impleaded by the King's Justice, and shall go to Council, and does not plead in \* discharge of the offence, he shall Pay twenty Marks. The rest I omit as needless to be inserted.

The Forty ninth, fiftieth, fifty first and fifty second, containing only divers rules concerning Pleadings and Summons to the hundred, and other Courts, and not appearing there; as also concerning Distresses, giving Security or Pledges to answer Justice, being only matters of Form, and now quite absolete, I pass by.

The Fifty third is concerning superseding or delaying to appear at the County-Court, and the Forfeitures due thereupon, as also concerning Pleas there brought.

The Fifty fourth is of the Dividend among Partners of a Sum of Money in Trade.

\* *Justitia Amicitia.*

If several Men shall become Partners, so as that they have put their Money into a Common Stock, and they will depart from that Society, and Community, let them bring before Witness whatsoever they have in Common to be equally divided, that if need be, they may swear upon the *Holy Evangelists*, that they have no more; as for what is already acquired, they may divide it among them, according to right, and that \* Arbitrements shall be as firm as Judgments themselves.

† *In hominem suum.*

The Fifty fifth is concerning the Privilege of a Lord over his † Tenant.

It is lawful for every Lord to Summon his Tenant to do him right in his own Court, and if he be Resident at some remote Mannour of the same Honour, he shall answer there, if the Lord shall so Summon him.

The Fifty sixth is much to the same purpose, *viz.*

In what Court a Controversie shall be determined between any one and his Farmer, who is not his Leige-Man, especially in such things as belong to the Farm, all which shall be determined in the Court of that Lord of which the Land is holden; the like concerning Shepherds, Stewards and other Servants, either of the Lord or his Tenants.

The Fifty seventh is concerning the Complaints of Neighbours against each other.

And if they are made between those that are Equals, they may meet at the division of their Lands, and he who first complained shall first have right done him; or if it must go further, let them go to the Court of their own Lord, if they have one and the same, and that Jurisdiction be his, but if otherwise they may go to the Hundred-Court if there be need; the rest being tedious I pass over, as I do also.

The Fifty eighth concerning a Vagrant, who was to be brought before the Justice or Judge of that place, &c.

The



The Fifty ninth and Sixtieth being concerning the Countermanding of Pleas once begun, how much time was to be given for it, and in what Cases, and by whom it was to be done, since they are only matters of Form, and are now obsolete, I omit, as I do also

The Sixty first, concerning the Plea of any Lord against his Officer or Bayliff, and those that are subject to him for the same reason, as being long, obscure, and now out of use.

The Sixty second is concerning the observation of the times for suspending the execution of Laws, viz. from the *Advent* of our Lord to the *Octaves* of *Epiphany*, and from *Septuagesima Sunday* till fifteen days after *Easter*, and on all *Holy-days*, and on the four Seasons (or *Ember-Weeks*) and days of *Lent*, and other lawful Fasts on *Fridays*, and the Vigils of the Apostles: all these are no times of executing Laws, i.e. either of Swearing Fealty to the Lord, Agreements in Suits, Tryal by Battel, Hot-Iron, or Water, &c.

The Sixty third is concerning the Impleading by a Fiscal Judge, that is, (I suppose) the Steward of a Mannor.

That is in what Causes the \* Fiscal Judge may Implead any one concerning *Socage* or Suit of Court, without any Accuser, and how the accused may purge himself by the Oath of his Neighbours; all which since it is obsolete and not material, I omit. As I do also the Sixty fourth concerning in what places and in what cases a Man may purge himself by his own Oath, and that of others; and when he must do it by a threefold Ordeal, (that is, by a Hot-Iron of three Pounds weight) from which according to the Law of *West-Saxony* all *Thanes* and *Presbyters* were excepted: But all these being now out of date, I omit; only those in Holy Orders were to purge themselves by Oath of Five Priests besides themselves, &c.

Supposed to be the Sheriff of the County, who then managed the King's Revenues arising there.

The Sixty sixth is of letting a Thief escape.

If any shall let a Thief go *Gratis*, let him make satisfaction according to the Thief's *Were*, or let him deny it by a full Purgation, that he knew him to be so: and if any one did not follow the Hue and Cry, he was to pay a Fine to the King, unless he could clearly acquit himself.

The Sixty sixth is concerning the Killing of a \* Minister of the Altar.

\* i.e. A Priest or Deacon.

If any shall Kill a Minister of the Altar, let him be Out-law'd from God and Man, unless he repent by a due satisfaction, and make agreement with his Kindred, or purge himself by his *Werelade* (that is, by thirty Compurgators) and that within thirty days, &c. If a Minister of the Altar shall kill another Man, or be accused for any enormous evil action, let him be deprived both of his Orders and Dignity, and let him go on Pilgrimage, as the Pope shall enjoin him. But if he will purge himself, let him do it by a treble Purgation, and unless he perform this within thirty days, let him be Out-law'd, &c. If a Man shall abuse one in Holy Orders either by Blows, Bonds or otherwise, let him make amends to him, according to right, and make satisfaction to the Bishop according to the Dignity of his Function, and pay a full *Munbreath* (that is, a Fine for the Breach of the Peace) or he may deny it by a full Purgation: If any Man being condemned to die desire to be professed (i.e. a Monk) let it never be denied him; but if any one shall deny him, let him make satisfaction to the King with One hundred



hundred and twenty Shillings; or if he deny it, he shall purge himself by Oath with Six Witnesſes, that he did not do it, the reſt being tedious I omit. But this may be enough to ſatisfie the Reader of the great Priviledges that Church-men had in thoſe days above Lay-men, if they committed Homicide, as well in the Tryal, as manner of the Purgation.

The reſt of the Penalties for beating or imprifoning one in Holy Orders, I let alone, as not much to our purpoſe.

The Remainder of theſe Laws I paſs by, and ſhall only take notice of the time and manner then uſed of Purgation by *Ordeal*. If any one ſhall be lawfully accuſed by the Sheriff, or the King's Juſtice, of Theft, Burning, Robbery, or the like, and is to have a threefold *Lada* or Purgation, then ought he on a convenient day to have thirty Compurgators ready, whereof none ſhall be culpable in any matter, and with fifteen of thoſe whom the Juſtice ſhall chuſe, the party himſelf (being the Sixteenth) ſhall ſwear as the Judge ſhall direct. By the *Mercian* Law there were to be thirty five Compurgators, and by the *Dane* Law forty eight.

The Sixty ſeventh is concerning the *Lada* or Purgation of a Man not infamous, with other things not much to our purpoſe, which I omit.

The Sixty eighth is concerning the *Were*, or ſatisfaction for a Freeman ſlain, which I alſo paſs by, becauſe ſo often repeated; only ſhall take notice, that altho' every Priſt, however born, was to be accounted of equal Dignity with a *Thane*, yet if he were killed, and ſatisfaction to be made for it, it was to be done only according to his Birth, that is, if he were born of a *Thane*, a *Thane's Were* ſhould be rendered for him, and ſo if he were deſcended of a Villain: the like *Were* was to be obſerved in Clergy-men as well as Laicks, that the Line of deſcent was ſtill to follow the Father, and not the Mother's ſide. The reſt concerning the *Weres* to be paid for Clerks according to their different Orders, and the ſeveral Penances that were to be perform'd for the killing of a Monk or Clerk, tho' by chance, or againſt a Man's will, or his own Father or Mother by the like accident, I ſhall let alone: As I do alſo the Sixty ninth and Seventieth, which are

Concerning the different *Weres*, *Wites* and *Manbotes* that were to be paid by the Law of *Weſt-Saxony*, to the Kindred, or Lord of the party ſlain, according to their different Qualities, becauſe repeated in former Laws, which were not then alter'd.

The Seventy firſt is concerning Homicide. If any one by Poyſon, Charms, Looks, Actions, or any ſort of *Witchcraft*, ſhall commit Homicide, whither it were prepared or intended for that party, or any other, if it prove mortal it ſhall by no means be redeemed, but ſuch a one ſhall be delivered to the Friends of the Party ſlain, that he may be left to their mercy and judgment; but if the caſe would admit of mercy, it was to be left to the Judgment of the Biſhop, and if he were admitted to mercy, he was to answer for the *Were*, the *Wite*, and the *Manbote* of the dead perſon, and then was to find Sureties for his own good Behaviour, &c.

From the Seventy ſecond, concerning the ſeveral kinds of Homicides; As likewiſe from the Seventy third, concerning the Punishment and Penances of a Biſhop, Preſbyter, Monk, or any other in Holy Orders, as alſo of a Laick who ſhall kill another, I ſhall only obſerve that

thoſe



those Laws, tho' of an Ecclesiastick nature, were yet Ordained by the same Civil Authority as the rest of this King's Laws.

The Seventy fourth is concerning the Purgation of those who were slain unjustly, and without Judgment, whom their Kindred might purge or clear according to antient Law by a *Werelade*, (that is) by a full Purgation, according to the rate of the Estate to which he was born, needles here to be repeated.

The Seventy fifth is concerning Mens murthering of their Lords: If any one shall kill his Lord, if he be taken, he shall no ways redeem himself. The *Latin* Original being here either obscure or tedious, I shall not undertake Literally to Translate, it amounting to no more than this, that the Guilty party was to expiate his crime by cruel torments ending in death self. The rest concerning the punishment of a Lord or Master that shall kill his Servant, I omit, and pass to what is most considerable in this Chapter, *viz.*

If a *Frenchman* who has no Kindred, shall be murdered privately, the King shall have as the price of his murther, Forty Marks of Silver from the *Hund-ed* where the Body is found, unless the Malefactor be rendered to the King's Justice, or that some Body shall prove the party slain to be an *Englishman*, by the Judgment of the Hot-Iron, or else that it shall appear otherwise by other pregnant Circumstances.

From whence the Reader may observe, that this Law concerning *Englescherie* was not made by King *William* the Conquerour (as some would have it) but was the same Law revived, which you will find among those of King *Cnut*, concerning a *Dane* found murdered, and where the murtherer could not be found; which was now in King *William's* Reign changed to a *Frenchman*, and such a one who being unknown had no Friends to prosecute his Death: You will also find a Law to the same purpose among those of the same King, tho' not so fully as is here express'd.

The Seventy sixth concerning the different *Weregilds*, that were to be paid according to Men's Estates or Qualities, I omit, lest I should prove too tedious; and so I do (for the same reason).

The Seventy seventh, concerning the satisfaction that was to be made for the Life of a Freeman, or Servant, which was always to be reckon'd according to the Quality of the Father, and not of the Mother.

The Seventy eighth is concerning the manner of Manumission of a Servant or Slave; but since it is already set down in the Laws of King *William*, it is needles to be repeated here.

Only this is remarkable, that if any will make himself a Servant, he shall do it before Witnesses in the *Halemote*, or Hundred-Court, that so the Party may not afterwards deny it, and that it may be distinctly known of all what condition Men are of, whither free or servile; because many powerful Men, will (if they can) defend their Servants sometimes as free, sometimes as servile, according as it may be most for their advantage.

The Seventy ninth is concerning the Ransome that was to be paid for one slain whose Father was alive: If any one shall slay his Godson, whose Father is alive, he shall be doubly guilty, and the amends shall encrease according to his *Were*, and as his *Manbote* does in re-



\* i.e. How to  
be punish'd.

spect to the Lord : But if he were the King's Godson, satisfaction shall be made by his *Were* to the King, as well as to the Kindred, &c. But if any Man shall slay the King's Messenger, who carries his *Writ*, he shall be in his *Mercy* : but if any one shall commit Homicide in the Church, that cannot be satisfied, for every Man may prosecute him, unless the King shall please to grant him his Life, and it must be on these conditions, that he make satisfaction to God, and afterwards pay the *Were* to his Kindred, and a *Manbote* to his Lord, and a *Wite* to him to whom it belongs, viz. the King. Which plainly sets forth the reasons of *Mortals* that were to be paid upon all Homicides, tho' without any malice premeditated.

The Eightieth is concerning Homicide in the King's Court, Army, Town or Castle.

Whoever shall kill a Man in any of these, shall be in the King's Mercy, both for Estate and Members; if an assault be made upon any Man in the King's High-way, he shall make the King a hundred Shillings satisfaction; the rest upon this Subject, as also the Penalties of *Synodicals*, (i.e. Trespases by shutting up, or turning the King's High-way) I purposely omit.

The Eighty first is concerning keeping the Peace in Drinking, Giving, or Buying, all which being obscure and not material, I pass by; as I do also the Eighty second, concerning those who are sworn Enemies, how and when they may assault each other, for the same reasons.

By which Law it seems that Family Quarrels and Feuds were still permitted in some Cases, as they were in the Saxon times.

The Eighty third is, That it is lawful for every one to defend himself against him that assails him in any place or business, except against his own Lord; who is to be born with, and not to be killed, &c.

But as for those Cases in which a Man may demand satisfaction of his Enemy, which are mentioned in this as well as the former Law, I pass them by, as I do divers other things of no great moment.

The Eighty fourth is concerning Beating, by which Law he may in some Cases be guilty who is beaten, as well as he that strikes, so that neither the Malefactor may pride himself in his Impunity, nor the Person affronted should grow insolent by too great an amends; for where one will not, two can never fight.

The Eighty fifth is, That every one ought to free him, whom he has brought into danger.

Whoever shall bring another into any danger or inconvenience, ought to free him by defending him, or by making amends for him, only by participation of the danger; but all Men cannot assist others by their Intercession, yet what cannot be so done, is easy to be discovered either from the cause or the person, For all Capital and Criminal matters are so absolutely forbid both to Superiors and Inferiors, as that not only the Author of the Crime himself is to be punished, but whoever was conscious of, or advising or consenting to it, in any wise, by giving, receiving, or returning any thing, shall be subject to the like punishments; and no body can warrant another in any of these things; if a Servant shall commit Homicide with three other men, it shall be wholly imputed to those that are free, and it shall

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be the same where a Freeman commits Theft with Servants or Slaves.  
 The Eighty sixth is that no Man shall revenge himself without Law.

It may be lawful for every Lord to complain to his Tenants and Friends, if any one do him injury, but not to take revenge without Law; nor ought it to be required of the Lord if his Servant shall offend without his assistance or command, especially if he be gone from him, the rest I omit.

The Eighty seventh is concerning the offence of lending of Arms.

Whoever shall lend his Arms to another to slay any one, ought to pay a share of the *Weregild* for the party slain; he who shall lend his Sword shall give a third part; he who shall lend his Lance shall pay half; but he who shall lend his Horse, shall pay the whole *Weregild*. Yet nevertheless it may be lawful for one to lend his Arms to another, if he do it without any suspicion, or intension of ill. The rest containing several Cases of the same nature being tedious, I omit, as I do also the *Weregilds* that were to be payed, where a Man was killed by a *Lathe*, (that is, by any Company above seven) as I also do these Causes which occur, where a man was kill'd by a Company under Seven.

The Eighty eighth is concerning *Chance-medley*, in what Cases men may be killed by the Arms or Weapons of another without his intension: But because it is long, and contains a great many particular Cases, in some of which the Slayer was to pay the whole *Weregild* of the party slain, and in others not, I refer the Reader to the Law it self.

The Eighty ninth is concerning one who kills any of his Kindred.

Which, since it only mentions how this offence was to be punish'd by the *Saxons* Law, I likewise omit.

The Nintieth is concerning one who is killed by Chance, going about to part those who are fighting.

He that thus slays him shall render his *Weregild*, altho' he did not begin the Quarrel; the rest concerning *Chance-medleys*, whereby any man is killed by a Cross-bow set to shoot wild Beasts, or by falling into a Well, or Pit dug by another, and where the Persons that layed the Weapon, or dug the Pit were to pay a *Weregild*, I designedly omit, referring the Reader to the Original, where he will find divers curious Cases of this kind, some of which are Law at this day, and others not.

The Ninety first is concerning the Payment for Murther.

If any *Frenchman* or *Norman*, or other Foreigner shall be killed, and the Fact appear Murther, and the Murtherer be unknown, and shall flee, and be not rendered to the King's Justice within seven days, to undergo the Law, then Forty six Marks of Silver shall be paid for him, of which Forty belong to the King, and Six to the Kindred of the party slain.

Note, These Forty six Marks (as appears by this Law) were to be raised out of the whole Hundred in case it were done in the open Fields, and the Alderman of the Hundred was to stand engaged for it, till it could be raised upon each Inhabitant: But if it were done in a private House, Mannor or Enclosure, then those Forty six Marks were to be raised by the Sale of the living and dead Stock found upon the Ground, as far as it would go.



The Ninety second is much of the same Subject.

That if any one being wounded, go into another Hundred and shall there die, and it prove Murther, his *Weregild* shall be paid where he died: The rest being intricate, and not very material, I omit; only it is there specified, that antiently a Man was said to be murdered where the Man-slayer was unknown, but now the Title is given, where ever or howsoever the party is found, altho' it may be known who did the Murther: nor shall any thing be paid for such private Murther of an *Englishman*, but only of a *Frenchman*, and if there want evidence to prove him an *Englishman*, he shall be accounted a *Frenchman*: And altho' the Malefactor implores the King's Mercy, nevertheless the Fine for the Murther shall be paid, as we have already noted.

From whence you may observe the Partiality and Severity of this Law concerning *Englescherie*, which was not abrogated till the Fourteenth of King *Edward the Third*: if the Reader would see more concerning this Law, he may consult *Bracton, Lib. 3. Tract. 1. pag. 15.*

The Ninety third is concerning the Amends that are to be made for all Wounds and Maims, in which Law are expressed the particular Payments that were to be paid for all Wounds, or Maimes whatsoever from Head to Foot, which are much to the same effect with those in King *Alfred's* Laws in the former Volume.

The Ninety fourth is concerning the Fines that are to be paid for Blows or Bruises without effusion of Blood, which being not material I omit, as I do the rest of this Law concerning Wounds, with which these Laws of King *Henry* conclude.

And I have been the more particular in the recital of these, because the Reader may thereby see the chief Heads both of the Criminal Law and forms of pleading in those times, as also to convince those of the contrary who believe that the Laws of *England* were considerably changed by *William the Conquerour*, or his Sons, from what they had been under the *English Saxon Kings*: nor were they more severe to the *English Natives*, and more favourable to Strangers, after, than they were before that time.

This Body of Laws above mention'd, seem to be reduced into this Form by some Lawyer or Monk of that Time, as the Common Law then in use, for I do not find them to have been formally Enacted by any Great Council, nor yet Granted by any Charter: For as to this King's Charter of Liberties I have omitted it here, because it is recited at large in the beginning of this Reign, and is also to be found in *Latin* in the *Appendix* No. 2.

\* Pag. 270.

† This was first given to repell the Danes.

But before I leave this King's Reign, I cannot omit a remarkable Mistake of Dr. *Brady*, who in his \* *History* Treating of this King's Taxations, and citing these Laws, says, *He had a constant Annual Land-Tax called † Danegeld of Twelve-pence upon every Hyde, to be paid*







THE  
General History  
OF  
ENGLAND  
BOTH  
Ecclesiastical and Civil.

VOL. II. Book IV.

King STEPHEN.

[1.]  
O. V.  
P. 573.  
The Honours  
which Earl  
Stephen had  
obtain'd by  
the favour of  
King Henry.

Anno Dom.  
MCXXXV.

[2.]  
W. M.  
Hist. Nov. L. i.  
P. 108.

H. H.  
Earl Stephen  
goes private-  
ly into En-  
gland, and is  
there by the  
Favour of the  
Bishops and  
Great Men  
chosen, and  
afterwards  
Crowned  
King at  
Westminster.



STEPHEN Earl [1.] of *Boloign*, Nephew to the late King *Henry* by *Adela* his Fourth Sister, was the Third Son of *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, and by the Favour of the King his Uncle, was advanced to be Earl of *Mortaign* in *Normandy*; besides, he had many Lands and Honours bestowed upon him in *England*, where his Interest was very considerable, not only on the Account of his own Personal merit, but also by his long acquaintance with the Bishops and Nobility, all which he thought were encouragements enough for him to try for the Crown of *England*, before ever the Empress *Matilda*, or the Earl of *Anjou* her Husband could be aware of his design, [2.] who were at this time detain'd from going over, by reason of some urgent affairs at Home; Whereupon Earl *Stephen* a bold and popular Man, being highly beloved for the Gentleness of his Temper, and great Affability, laying hold on this opportunity, privately took a light Ship at *Witlands*, and soon Landing, made what speed he could to *London*, where being joyfully received by the Citizens, who had a great value for him, he managed his Interest so well with those Bishops and Great Men who were then in *England*, that he procured a Great Council to be forthwith assembled, in which chiefly by the Interest of his Brother *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester* (who brought over the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as also the Bishop of *Salisbury* to his Party) he got himself to be Elected on the Second of *December*, and Solemnly Crowned King at *Westminster* on the Twenty sixth of the same Month, Being St. Stephen's



Stephen's day, by William Archbishop of Canterbury, who, as he first of all took the Oath of Fidelity to the Empress, so he likewise was the first that swore to King Stephen, all the Bishops, Earls and Barons there present following his Example, notwithstanding their former Oaths to the Daughter of the late King, doing him Homage at the same time: yet (if [3.] William of Malmesbury may be credited) there were not very many of them present at his Coronation, there being besides the Archbishop only the Bishops of Winchester and Salisbury, no Abbots, and but a few of the Lay Nobility; so that there was never seen a smaller appearance at such a Solemnity.

An [4.] Anonymous Author of this King's Life (who lived Contemporary with him) makes his Election to proceed his Coronation some Weeks and that in the mean while he suppressed several Lawless men, who took the opportunity of an Interregnum, to spoil and lay waste the Country; after which the Archbishop of Canterbury being moved to Crown him King, made some Objections against his performing it, repenting (it seems) of what he had already done, because the Empress, to whose Succession the whole Kingdom had sworn, was alive; But at last K. Stephen's Agents over-persuaded him, by setting forth that the former Oath of Fealty to the Empress was violently extorted from the Barons of England by King Henry, who was insensible of this, that he repented of it, when he was at the point of death; and that the Archbishop ought not to refuse to Crown a Person whom London the Head of the whole Nation had willingly received, and was besides so well capacitated for the Crown by his own Personal merit, and by the Right of being so nearly Related to it; and who if he were once Crowned, being a Man Warlike and Valiant, would soon reform and settle the Kingdom at that time much disturbed and out of order.

This, if true, as we have no reason to distrust it, being written by an Author who lived in those days, lets us see that all those of King Stephen's side, supposed they had still a Right to make any Prince of the Blood Royal (whom they should think most fitting) their King.

But this is certain, [5.] that before he was Crowned, he made large promises of reforming whatever was amiss in his Uncle's Reign, his Brother the Bishop of Winchester engaging his Faith on his behalf, besides which at his Coronation, he took a much stricter Oath than what had been formerly taken by his Predecessors, which chiefly consisted in these three Articles.

First, That after the death of any Bishop he would never keep a Bishoprick void for his own advantage, but presently consent to a Canonical Election, and Invest the new Bishop in it.

Secondly, That he would not retain the Woods of any Clerk or Layman in his hands, as King Henry had done, who every year impleaded, or vexed them, if either they hunted in their own Woods, or if for their own occasions they stubbed them up, or diminished them; for there had been (says our Author) such a wicked sort of Process set on foot of late, that if the King's Officers saw any Rich Man's Wood that lay near the King's Forests, they would return it as wasted or cut up, whither it were so or not, that so they might make him fine soundly for it, tho' without any reason or Justice.

Thirdly,

Anno Dom.  
MCCXXXVI

The Bishops  
Earls and Ba-  
rons swear  
Fidelity to  
him, of great  
use. [3.]

P. 101. 4. pp

[4.]

[5.]

[6.]

[7.]

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[12.]

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[62.]

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[66.]

[67.]



Anno Dom.  
MCXXXVI.

[1.]

Idem.

Whatsoever

the King

swore to,

he

did not long

observe.

[2.]

P. 101, 102.

The Reasons

that induced

the Bishops,

and Nobility

to agree to

his Election.

[3.]

Col. 1348.

\* Pag. 13.

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Thirdly, That he would for ever release *Danegelt*, which his Predecessors were wont to raise upon Occasion.

[1.] There were also some other things which this King swore to observe, tho' these are the chief; yet whatsoever they were (*Will. of [2.] Malmesbury* relates) he kept few or none of them.

But since perhaps it may at first seem very strange if not unaccountable to the Reader, that these Bishops and Lay-Nobility, who agreed to this King's Election, should so notoriously violate the Oaths they had before most solemnly made to the Empress *Matilda*, by placing another in the Throne; it will doubtless appear less wonderful, if you consider, that the Person they had before sworn to, was a Woman, and Married to a Foreign Prince, who was utterly a stranger to the Laws and Customs of this Kingdom; nor was she herself much better, having lived most of her time abroad; whereas *Stephen* was an Active and a Valiant Prince, very affable, and long conversant in *England*, and there by well known to the Bishops, Nobility and People; besides, (if *Rad. [3.] de Dicet*, and *Gervase of Cant.* may be credited) *Hugh Bigot*, the late King's Steward, coming now into *England*, deposed upon Oath before the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that King *Henry* lying upon his Death-bed, by reason of the late unkindness between him and the Empress his Daughter, disinherited her, and appointed his Nephew *Stephen* Earl of *Bolign* his Heir; which Deposition (whither true or false I shall not take upon me to determine) so wrought upon the too credulous Archbishop and the rest of the Bishops and Lords then present, that they All agreed to swear Fealty to him.

Yet that there were also other cogent Reasons which mov'd them to act thus at this time, we find in the above cited [4.] Anonymous Author, that most of the Nobility did not only find it necessary, immediately to Elect a Valiant and worthy King for the common benefit and peace of the Kingdom, but that they supposed it to be their Right, and special priviledge, that upon the Death of their King, they might provide another of the Royal blood to succeed him: Though that which prevail'd with them most of all, was the large promises that Earl *Stephen* made to reform all those Abuses which had been practised in his Uncle's Life-time; besides all which (as [5.] *William of Malmesbury* tells us) he had often heard *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury* (who was a chief promoter of this Election) declare, that he had never taken his Oath to the Empress, but on this condition, That the King should not bestow her again in Marriage out of the Kingdom, without his and the rest of the Nobility's consent; whereas none were made privy to her late match, but *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester*, *Bryon Fitz-Court*, and the Bishop of *Lisieux*; this our Author says, he relates, not that he believed what the Bishop then said, but only that he accommodated himself to the present times.

However, whither he believed it or not, it is very reasonable to suppose, that she lost very much of her Interest by being Married to a Foreigner out of the Kingdom, and that without its consent; nor do I mention this, to excuse the perjury of those who agreed to this Election, which was made without any necessity; since Women, were never by any Law of this Kingdom excluded from the Crown: and as for Earl *Stephen*, he was as much a Foreigner by Birth, as the Earl of *Anjou*, and therefore it may be supposed, that it was the particular

Interest



Interest of the Bishops, veiled under the specious Title of the Good of the Church, rather than any consideration of the publick Good, that now moved them to slight the Oath they had so solemnly taken; but to return again to our History.

The first thing [1.] the new King did after his coming to the Crown, was to perform the Obsequies of the late King, whose Corps he met at *Reading*, where it was solemnly Interr'd in the Abbey-Church, which King *Henry* had Founded; *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and many of the Bishops and Lay-Nobility attending his Funeral.

Sometime [2.] before or after, this King *Stephen* seized upon the vast Treasure his Uncle had amass'd together in the Castle of *Winchester*; which was soon delivered him by one *William*, King *Henry's* Treasurer, and amounted to more than 100000 Marks, an incredible Sum in those days. [3.] From whence the King presently went to *Oxford*, where he again by Oath confirmed those Covenants, which he had already Sworn to God's Holy Church, and to the People at his Coronation, being the same with those I have already recited. Thus King *Stephen's* Entrance on the Throne proved very easy and peaceable; but as the discord between him and the Bishops, and some of the Lay Nobility began to increase, so his Reign still proved every year more unquiet and turbulent, and at last it ended in a cruel Civil War, which never ceased till a little before the Death of this Valiant, and but too Ambitious, Prince.

Whilst [4.] the King continued at *Oxford*, there came a Messenger to him with the News, that the King of *Scots* upon a pretence of coming peaceably to make a Visit in his Journey to *Carlisle*, and from thence to *Newcastle*, had treacherously seized upon both those strong places; upon which Intelligence the King not at all concerned, only said, *Very well, then what he has thus Treacherously taken, I will Manfully recover*; so making what speed he could, he raised a great Army, and marched against the *Scots*; but upon the two Kings approaching near each other, a Treaty was proposed, and they meeting together at *Durham*, on the 5th of *February* a Peace was concluded upon these Conditions: That since King *David* would not take an Oath of Fealty himself to King *Stephen*, because of that which he had formerly taken to the Empress his Neice, yet that he should command *Henry* his Son to take the Oath, and do the King Homage for the Territories he held of him: Then the King of *Scots* also surrendered *Northumberland* and *Newcastle*, but *Stephen* gave him leave to retain *Carlisle* and *Doncaster*, and farther granted to Prince *Henry* the Town and Honour of *Huntington*, as an Augmentation of his Dignity and Revenue.

Then [5.] the King returning from the *North*, by the end of *Lent* kept his Court the *Easter* following at *Westminster*, with greater splendour and magnificence than had been usually seen in his Uncle's Reign; but in *Rogation* week it was generally reported that he was Dead, upon which Rumour *Hugh Bigot* seized the Castle of *Norwich*, and would restore it to none, unless to the King himself, who soon after recovering, went down thither on purpose to receive it.

Sometime [1.] after *Easter*, *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester* came into *England*, whose Prudence King *Stephen* chiefly feared: The Earl whilst he remained in *Normandy* had various thoughts what was best

Anno Dom.  
MCXXXVI.

[1.]  
W. M. Ib.  
H. H.  
The Corps of  
the late King  
Henry is Bur-  
ied at Read-  
ing.

[2.]  
W. M. Ib.  
King Stephen  
Seizes on the  
Treasures of  
late King his  
Uncle.

[3.]  
H. H. R. H.  
The new King  
goes to Oxford,  
and there by  
his Charter  
confirms  
those Cove-  
nants he had  
before  
Sworn to.

[4.]  
H. H. 2. 222. 4.  
Newsbrought  
of the King of  
Scots Invading  
England, and  
how the King  
received it.

Upon the  
King's ap-  
proach a  
Peace is con-  
cluded with  
the Scottish  
King.  
Jo. Hag. Col.  
312.  
Ric. Hag.  
Col. 258.  
And upon  
what Condi-  
tions.

[5.]  
Idem.  
The King up-  
on his return  
from the  
North falls  
dangerously  
ill.

[1.]  
W. M. Ib.  
Robert Earl of  
Gloucester  
comes over  
into England,  
being before  
in suspense  
whether he  
should take  
the Oath to  
King Stephen.



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to be done in so nice and difficult an Affair; for if he owned King Stephen, he should act contrary to the Oath he had formerly taken to his Sister; and if he stood out, he should neither do her nor his Nephews any good, but rather a prejudice: King Stephen not being as yet to be opposed, all the Noblemen of England having sworn Fealty and Recognized him, and he having also possessed himself of the late King's vast Treasure in Money, besides a great quantity of Gold and Silver plate; with all which he could raise what Mercenary Souldiers he pleased out of Flanders and Bretaigne, not to mention those he found ready to fight for him in England.

[2.] These [2.] considerations made Earl Robert not only come presently over into England, but also to do Homage, and swear Fidelity to the new King, yet under a certain condition, viz. *So long as he should preserve his Dignity entire, and observe the Covenants made with him.* For (it seems) he knowing already the King's fickle Disposition, thought good to provide against the Instability of his Nature, and therefore the Earl for some time dissembled the secrets of his heart; That is, in plain English, though our Author minces the matter for his Patron's Credit, to break his Oath, so soon as he had a fit opportunity for it, as you will find by the event.

[3.] Not [3.] long after the Earl's arrival, all the Bishops again Swore Fealty to the King in a Council, or Synod, held at Oxford, on this Condition, viz. *so long as he preserved the Liberty of the Church, and the Power of its Discipline;* and the King himself also Swore again to them, according to the Tenure of a Charter which he then gave them under his Seal, and which our Author has there given us in these Words.

[4.] **STEPHEN**, by [4.] the Grace of God, and by the Assent of the Clergy and People, Elected King of England, and Consecrated by the Lord William, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Legate of the Holy Roman Church, and being also confirmed by Innocent Bishop of the Holy Roman See, do hereby Grant, for the respect and love of God, that Holy Church shall be free, and I do yield all Reverence due to it. I promise to act nothing in the Church, or in Ecclesiastical Affairs Simoniacally, nor will I permit it to be done: I also Grant and Confirm the Right and Power of Ecclesiastical Persons, and all Clerks, over their Estates, and that the distributions of the goods of all Ecclesiasticks shall be in the hands of the Bishops: I also Grant and Ordain, that the Dignities of Churches confirmed by their Privileges, and their Customs held by antient Right, shall remain inviolable; as also that all Possessions and Tenures of Churches, which they held the day that King William my Grandfather was Alive and Dead, I Grant shall be free and absolute to them, without any recovery of those that may claim them; but if the Church shall hereafter challenge any of those things, that were possessed, or enjoyed before the King's Death, and which it now may want, I reserve that to my Indulgence and Liberality, either to be further discussed, or restored; but whatsoever hath been bestowed upon it, either since the King's death by the Liberality and gift of Great Men, or by the Oblation, Purchase, or any Exchange of Faithful Christians, I Confirm,



" Confirm ; and further Promise , That I will keep and preserve  
 " Peace and Justice in all things to the utmost of my power ; the  
 " Forests which King *William* my Grandfather, and \* *William* my  
 " Uncle, have made and held, I reserve to my self, but all the rest,  
 " which King *Henry* hath superadded , I restore and grant quit  
 " and discharged, to the Churches and Kingdom ; if any Bishop ,  
 " Abbot, or other Ecclesiastical Person, shall reasonably distribute his  
 " Goods before his Death, or shall appoint them to be so distributed, I  
 " Grant that it shall remain firm ; but if he were prevented by Death,  
 " distribution shall be made of them by the consent of his Church for  
 " the good of his Soul ; whilst Episcopal Sees shall remain vacant of  
 " Pastors, both they and all their Possessions shall be committed to  
 " the power and keeping of Clerks, or other honest men of the  
 " same Church, until a Pastor can be Canonically Instituted : All  
 " Exactions, † Miscarriages, and Injustice wickedly introduced ei-  
 " ther by Sheriffs, or any other, I totally Abolish ; the Good and  
 " Antient Laws , and just Customs in Murthers, Pleas and other  
 " Causes, I will observe, and do hereby Command and Ordain to be  
 " observed. *Given at Oxford in the Year of the Incarnation of our*  
 " *Lord, 1136, and in the First Year of my Reign.*

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\* i. e. *William*  
*Rufus.*

† Meschenin-  
gas.

In *Richard Hagulstad's* Chronicle follow also the Names of the  
 Witnesses, viz. *William*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and all the rest of  
 the Bishops of *England*, together with the Chief Earls and Barons,  
 whose names are needless to be here repeated. And [s.] *William* of  
*Malmesbury* here tells us, that it would be tedious to set down their  
 Names, not only because the Witnesses were many, but also because  
 the King so violated almost all things that he had there granted, as if  
 he had done it on purpose to shew the Kingdom, that he had Sworn on-  
 ly to break his Oath. But this Author, though a great Enemy to King  
*Stephen*, (as may appear by his instancing in many particulars, in which  
 he transgressed his Oath to the Bishops and Clergy) yet ingenuously  
 confesses, That those things were not to be so much imputed to him-  
 self, as to his Evil Counsellors, who gave him to understand, That  
 he never need want Money, so long as the Monasteries abounded with such  
 great Riches.

[s.] *th.*  
King *Stephen*  
afterwards  
broke all the  
Articles of  
this Charter,  
and on what  
Inducements.

I shall only observe from this Charter, that this King being sensible  
 of his want of any other Title, places his whole Right to the Crown  
 in his Election by the Clergy and People, his Coronation by the  
 Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Confirmation of the Pope ; and  
 indeed he was the first King of *England*, who ever craved the aid of  
 the Pope's Bull to give strength to his Title.

The Reader may likewise here observe, how many Articles of this  
 Charter concerned the Priviledges of Ecclesiasticks, and for how  
 few of them the Laiety were at all the better ; by which you will find,  
 not only who had the greatest hand in making this, as well as the  
 former Charter, but also in setting up and putting down Princes, as  
 often as they pleas'd in those times ; yet notwithstanding all those  
 fair Concessions, many of the Noblemen of *England*, of *Norman*  
 Extraction, soon after repenting of the Oath they had taken,  
 perfidiously Rebelled against him.



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[1.]  
G.R.S. p. 933.  
Divers Noble-  
men Rebel a-  
gainst the  
King, and Ro-  
bert de Bathen-  
ron first of all  
Fortifies his  
Castle against  
him.

[2.]  
Id. p. 934.  
Earl Baldwin  
de Redvers,  
also Rebels,  
and Fortifies  
Exeter Castle,  
which is ta-  
ken.

[3.]  
Id. p. 935.  
Id. H. H.  
Earl Baldwin  
flies into the  
Isle of Wight,  
and being  
there Subditi-  
is forced to  
leave the  
Kingdom.

[4.] Id. Ib.  
The first  
breach of the  
King's Oath  
in the renew-  
ing the Pleas  
of Forests.

[5.]  
Dr. P's Chron.  
The Welsh  
take Arms,  
and Invade  
the Borders.

For [1.] about this time *Robert de Bathenton*, a debauch'd *Norman* Baron, having Revolted, Fortified his Castle of the same Name, and being Summoned to the King's Court, he at first made a shew as if he had repented of his rashness, and that he would deliver it up; upon this the King sent to receive it from his hands; but instead of that, he deceived the Messengers, and making them drunk by the way, slept from them betimes in the Morning, and getting back to his Castle, new Fortified it; whereupon the King Marched against it with his Army, and Besieged it. And now *Robert* finding himself unable to hold out, endeavoured to make his escape over the Wall, but being taken by the Centinels, he was by the King's Orders there Hanged up in sight of those within the Castle; who, for fear of undergoing the like fate, immediately surrender'd it.

But [2.] he who gave the King one of the first and greatest Disturbances, was *Baldwin de Redvers*, Earl of *Devonshire*, and Lord of the Isle of *Wight*, who had now Fortified and Victualled his Castle of *Exeter* against him, to the great Terror and Oppression of the Citizens, who sending to the King for Aid he speedily Marched to their Relief, and sitting down before the Castle, it was after Three Months Siege surrender'd to him for want of Victuals, or rather (as our Author relates) for want of Water, the Well in the Castle being strangely dried up on the sudden, so that the Besieged were forced to deliver it upon this condition, that they might go away with their Baggage whither they pleased.

But [3.] as for *Earl Baldwin* himself (being not then in the Castle, but somewhere in the Country adjacent) he retired into the Isle of *Wight*, with design to keep it against the King; but he pursued him so close, that he Besieged him in his Castle there, and quickly driving him from thence, not only took that Island from him, but also all his other Lands and Estate, and expelled him the Kingdom; who presently thereupon went over to the Duke of *Anjou*, and was by him kindly received. But as for all other Offenders, in this, as well as in the former Rebellion, they were by the Advice of some treacherous Counsellors then about the King, not only pardoned, but also left to enjoy their Estates; which too great Lenity, not long after gave fresh encouragement to the same Persons, as well as many others, to raise fresh Rebellions.

The [4.] King puff'd up with this Success, went to Hunt at *Brompton* near *Huntington*, and held fresh Pleas concerning the Woods of his Noblemen, that is, concerning their Hunting in them; and so first broke that Oath he had lately made to God and the People, which Action very much Alienated their Affections from him.

Nor [5.] did any thing else considerable happen this year, but an Insurrection of the *Welsh*, who taking the advantage of an unsettled Government, under the Conduct of *Cadwallader*, and *Owen Gwyneth*, Sons of *Griffith ap Conan*, Prince of *North-Wales*, Mustered up the Forces of their whole Country, and Marched against the *Normans* and *Flemmings* of *Cardigan*, destroying and burning the whole Country, with the Castle of *Walter Espec* (or rather *de Bec* as it is in the Manuscript *Welsh* Chronicle in the Exchequer) as also the Castle of *Aberistwyth*, which was very strong and well Mann'd; where came also to their Assistance *Howel ap Meredyth*, and *Rees ap Madoc*



of Brecknock, and the Princes above mention'd. Towards the end of the same year they returned again into the *English* Borders with Six thousand Foot, and Two thousand Horse well Armed, and were again joyn'd by the two *Welsh* Lords last mention'd, who with many others subdued the whole Country to *Abertervi*, placing again the old *British* Inhabitants therein, and driving out the Foreigners; which Actions the *Norman* Noblemen in those parts not being able longer to endure, there joyn'd against the *Welshmen* Stephen, Constable of *Abertervi* Castle, Robert Fitz-Martyn, and the Sons of Gerald, and William Fitz-John with all the power of the *Normans*, *Flemings* and *English*, that were in *Wales*, or the Marches thereabouts: there was a cruel and Bloody Fight near *Cardigan*, but at last the *English* and *Normans* were forced to quit the Field, above three thousand of them being slain on the spot, with two of the King's Barons, Robert Fitz-Roger, and Pain Fitz-John, besides a great number drowned by the fall of a Bridge over the River *Tend*, and all the rest were taken and carried away Prisoners. After this great Victory, the Princes Owen and Cadwallader over-ran the whole *English* Territories, and return'd home with a great deal of rich Booty: nor do we find that this part of the Country was ever again recovered to the *English* Dominion all this King's Reign.

We [1.] shall now look back upon the Affairs of *Normandy*, where almost so soon as King Stephen was gone over into *England*, the *Norman* Barons being not privy to his designs, sent for Theobald Earl of *Boloign*, his Elder Brother, to come immediately into *Normandy*, who meeting them at a place called *Newburgh*, they at first offered to receive him for their Duke; but before matters could be concluded between him and them, they received an Account by a certain Monk, who came to them as an Envoy from King Stephen, that the *English* had received him: and made him King: whereupon the *Norman* Barons presently changed their minds, for having Estates in both Countries, they were resolved to have but one Prince; at which the Earl was very angry, that he, being the Elder Brother, should not only be defeated of the Kingdom of *England*, but also of this Dutchy, and therefore left *Normandy* to shift for it self, and returned into *France*, whither his own Affairs then called him.

Whilst [2.] the Country remain'd in this unsettled condition, Geoffrey Earl of *Anjou*, as soon as he heard of the death of his Father-in-law King Henry, sent away the Empress his Wife into *Normandy* in the beginning of December the last year, where she was joyfully received by one Guiganahys, a Man of mean Birth, but of great Power, who looked upon her as his Lawful Lady and Mistress, and having had the command in those Parts in the late Reign, quickly reduced *Argentune*, *Damfront*, and several other strong Places to her Obedience.

Then [3.] the Earl her Husband following her not long after, together with Talvate Earl of *Pontieu*, and a Great Army of *Anjouins*, was received into *Seez*, and other Places, but whilst they spoiled the Country, and robbed the Churches, the *Normans* rising upon them on the sudden, put them to the rout, and killed Seven hundred of them; then Earl Geoffrey, receiving Intelligence that the Nobility of *Anjou* had rebelled against him, was forced to return home, where being detain'd by Domestick Tumults he went not then into *Normandy*; but whither he left the Empress his Wife there behind him, or not,

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And gaining several Advantages over the *English* and *Normans*, drove them out of great part of South-Wales.

[1.]  
O. V. p. 961.  
What was done in the mean while in *Normandy*.

Theobald Earl of *Boloign* endeavours to obtain that Dutchy.

[2.]  
Id. p. 903.  
The Earl of *Anjou* sends the Empress his Wife into *Normandy*, where she is received by some of the Nobility.

[3.]  
Id. ib.  
The Earl her Husband follows her with a great Army, but is diverted by a Domestick Insurrection.

I do



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[4.]  
O.V. p. 905.  
The Earl of  
Anjou again  
Invades Nor-  
mandy, but be-  
ing Wound-  
ed is forced  
to return  
home.

28972 to 28973  
28973 to 28974

[5.]  
W.M. H.H.

\* Xpodigma  
Newstria.

[1.]  
G.R.S. p. 929.  
William A.B.  
of Canterbury  
dies, and his  
Character.

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King Stephen  
goes into Nor-  
mandy with  
divers of the  
Nobility.

[2.]  
W. M. 1b.  
P. 101. b.  
Robert Earl of  
Gloucester be-  
ing like to be  
Surprized,  
comes no  
more to  
Court.

I do not find, only they kept the Places they were already possess of.

[4.] Normandy continued undisturbed all the rest of this Winter, and the Summer following from any Foreign Invasion; but in September the Earl of Anjou return'd into that Province with a great Army, being also accompanied by William Earl of Poitou, and other French Noblemen, who then took divers Castles and Towns, as Manstrat, Lisieux, and other Places; but sometime after Earl Geoffrey being Wounded in the Foot at the Siege of a small Castle, and receiving also a Defeat from those Noblemen that took King Stephen's part, the Earl was forced to return home to be Cured of that Hurt: the rest of the year passed in Burning of Towns, and divers Skirmishes between Roger de Conchis a Norman Baron, who acted for Earl Geoffrey, and Gualleran Earl of Mellent, who sustain'd the King's party in that Country, in which Bickerings sometimes the one, and sometimes the other had the better.

[5.] Also our English Historians relate what the Norman omit, viz. that Earl Baldwin de Redvers upon his expulsion out of England on the account of his late Rebellion, went over to the Earl of Anjou, and highly stirr'd him up to this last Invasion of Normandy, for which also he wanted not the Entreaties of his Wife the Empress; but as for what \* William of Walsingham relates, that Robert Earl of Gloucester then Surrendered to him the County of Falaise, that could not be, for that Earl was now in England, and went not into Normandy till the next year, as you will find anon.

King Stephen being all this while detain'd in England by the Scottish Invasion, as well as Domestick Insurrections, it was no wonder if Normandy in the mean time suffer'd very much, not only by a Foreign Invasion, but by home-bred dissentions.

As [1.] for Ecclesiastical affairs nothing happened here, only William Archbishop of Canterbury dying about the end of December, that See continued Vacant above two years: this Archbishop was a Prelate of great outward strictness of Life, but very covetous, having hoarded up vast Sums of Money, and dying without any Will, the King seized it all to his own use, as was the Custom of those Times, tho' indeed it was contrary to the King's late Charter.

King Stephen being highly concern'd for the Success of his Enemies in Normandy, had long resolv'd to go over thither as soon as he could, that he might reduce it under his Dominion by force; and to that end [2.] pass'd over thither in March, a little before Easter, Alexander Bishop of Lincoln, and many others of the Nobility accompanying him; then Earl Robert having privately sounded some of their minds, whom he knew to be most tenacious of the former Oath they had taken to the Empress, and having resolv'd on what he afterwards put in Execution, went to Sea on Easter-day, and Landed in Normandy; where, by the contrivance of William de Ipre, the King endeavoured to seize Earl Robert by a Wile; but he having notice of the design from one that was privy to it, escaped, and came not again to Court (tho' often invited.) For several days after, the King was very much concerned that his design had miss'd of its effect, and he thought to put off, or at least to extenuate the fault, by confessing it, making Oath according to a form prescribed by the Earl



Earl, that he would never for the future, consent to any such wicked contrivance: however the King would not bestow his Friendship upon one whose Power he always suspected; and therefore tho' he still treated him civilly to his face, yet behind his back he used very sharp expressions against him, and \* fleeced him of his Possessions as much as he could, whilst Earl Robert also eluding one artifice with another, dissembled his mind, suffering the King peaceably to return into England, tho' whilst he remained in Normandy he did not neglect his own advantage.

This is William of Malmesbury's account of Earl Robert's Transactions with the New King, which whither it be not too much in his Patron's favour we will not determine at this distance of time, yet we may observe from all the Earl's crafty proceedings, that all along neither he himself, nor the rest of his party ever took an Oath of Allegiance to King Stephen, but with a resolution to break it, so soon as they had an opportunity. Such brittle things are Oaths, when either Interests or pretence of Conscience, shall prompt Men of different Principles, to take, and then break them as soon as they are able: But notwithstanding all the cunning contrivance of this Politick Earl (who as yet thought fit to continue Neuter), King Stephen carried on the War so successfully in Normandy, that he frustrated the designs of his Enemies, and took several Castles, and had the better of them where ever he came.

But since our English Historians have left but a short and Summary account of this year's Transactions in Normandy, we will from [3.] Ordericus Vitalis give you a fuller Relation of what then happened. About the end of March King Stephen arrived there, at which the People, who were then very much oppressed, were extremely pleased; yet not long after some of the Noblemen of that Province presumed to rebell against him, to subdue whom he was fain to hire some Flemish and French Mercenaries, by whose Assistance he put his Affairs into so good a posture, that in May he had a Conference with Lewis King of France, which ended so much to the King's Advantage, that he received the Investiture of the Duchy of Normandy from the French King's hands, and made a League with him upon the same Terms as King Henry had done before.

After [4.] this King Stephen being now more secure marched against the Lord of Rabelle (a Norman Nobleman who was then in Arms) and not only took several Towns from him, but also reduced several Castles to his own Obedience.

Not [5.] long after the Earl of Anjou being now recovered of his late hurt, again Invaded Normandy with four hundred Knights (that is, Feudatary Tenants) who with their Followers made a considerable Body of Horse, besides Foot; with which Army the Earl did great mischief to the Country, taking some Towns, and burning others; in the mean time the King did all he could to oppose him, and having mustered together a sufficient Army, marched to Besiege the Town of Argentune, hoping to find Earl Geoffrey there; but as soon as the King came before it, there happened so great a Quarrel between the Normans and Piccards (being then both in the King's Service) that they fell to Blows among themselves, and many were kill'd on both sides, which so disturbed the whole Army, that many Officers with their Troops de-

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\* Felicitate.

Some Observations upon this Earl's crafty Proceedings.

[3.]  
P. 909.  
A Fuller Account of this Year's Transactions in Normandy.

King Stephen is Invested in that Duchy by the King of France.

[4.]  
Id. Ib.  
After which he reduces several Rebels.

[5.]  
Id. Ib.  
The Earl of Anjou again Invades Normandy.



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The King is  
forced to  
make a Truce  
with the Earl.

[1.]

Id. p. 911.  
The King is  
still disturbed  
with fresh  
Rebellions  
there.

serted the King without taking any leave; and this so broke his measures, that finding there was nothing else to be done, he made a Truce with the Earl for two years, each side being to keep what they had got: But this Agreement did not hold out the time prefixt. For,

[1.] Norwithstanding this Truce the King was still disturbed by some petty Rebellions of the Norman Nobility, who from their respective Castles Plundered the Country round about, against whom the King marching with his Forces, soon reduced those Places to his Obedience. Having thus settled *Normandy*, as well as he could, and appointed *William de Romer*, and *Roger le Viscount* Governours of it in his absence, he set Sail for *England*, whither he was called by fresh Troubles, being inform'd of a Plot, that was privately carried on by some of the *English*, to murder all the *Normans* upon a day agreed on, and then to deliver the Kingdom to the King of *Scots*: this being discovered to the Bishop of *Ely*, was by him communicated to the rest of the Bishops and Noblemen to whom the King had committed the care of the Realm in his absence, and many suffer'd, or else fled out of the Kingdom upon that Account.

[2.]

David King of  
Scots Invades  
England, yet a  
Truce is made  
between him  
and K. Stephen.

We shall now look back upon what has been Transacted in *England* during the King's absence abroad, where in [2] the mean time *David* King of *Scots*, unmindful of the Treaty He had so lately made, and still insisting on the Oath He had formerly taken to the Empress his Niece, raised a great Army, and prepared to fall upon *Northumberland*; but the greatest part of the Earls and Barons of *England* were in a readiness upon the King's Command at *Newcastle* to assist him with all their Forces, in case He should invade the Kingdom; wherefore a Truce was proposed by *Thurstan* Archbishop of *Tork*, who waited on the King of *Scots* as far as *Roxburgh* for that purpose, which being accepted of by him till the *Christmas* following, after forty days stay, the King and his Army returned home: Yet this Truce did not last long, because King *Stephen* refused to bestow *Northumberland* on Prince *Henry*, Eldest Son to the *Scottish* King, as he demanded.

[3.]

Id. Ib.  
Eustace the  
King's Eldest  
Son does Ho-  
mage for Nor-  
mandy.

Soon after the late Peace with the King of *France*, and *Eustace*, the King's Eldest Son did Homage for *Normandy*, and by this means He prevented the Designs of his Enemies. *Theobald* Earl of *Blais* perceiving himself defeated in his Pretences to *England* and *Normandy*, (which as the King's Elder Brother he then laid claim to) was at last prevailed with to desist from his Pretensions, upon the payment of Two thousand Marks yearly Pension; which the Earl of *Anjou*, Husband to the Empress of *Mathilda*, observing, thought it best for him to make a Truce with King *Stephen*; for He saw at present that there was no resisting him, as well by reason of his great numbers of Men as the vast quantities of Monies which still remain'd of the Treasures left by King *Henry*: So that (as some Authors relate) being forced to yield to necessity, for the Annual payment of Five thousand Marks, he agreed that King *Stephen* should quietly enjoy the Crown; but yet if he ever made such an Agreement, it did not continue long, as you will find hereafter.

[4.]

Dr. P's Chron.  
Gryffith Princ.  
of South-  
Wales dies.

But now to give some Account of the Affairs of *Wales*; there died this year [4.] Prince *Gryffith ap Rees ap Theodor*, the Pillar of *South-Wales*, being



being made away by the treacherous practices of his Wife *Guenhian*, Daughter to *Griffith ap Conan*, Prince of *North-Wales*, who also himself deceased about the end of this Year, after he had Reigned Worthily for Fifty Years, and escaped many great dangers both in *Ireland* and *Wales*: He had several Children by divers other Women besides his Wife; but *Owen*, surnamed *Gwyneth*, his Eldest Legitimate Son, Succeeded in the Head-Principality, though the rest of his Territories were distributed among all his Sons, according to the Custom of *Wales*. Prince *Owen* in the very beginning of his Reign Invaded the *English* Territories in *South-Wales*, and took and razed the Castles of *Ebfrade*, *Mersey*, with several others, and burnt the Town of *Caermarthyn*, there being small Resistance made either by the *English* or *Normans*, by reason of the King's absence in *Normandy*.

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As also *Griffith* Prince of *North-Wales*, who is Succeeded by *Owen* his Son.

The [5.] King being returned into *England* a little before *Christmas*, kept that Feast at *Dunstable*, and after that a Court, or Great Council, at the same place; and presently after he was wellcom'd with a fresh Rebellion, *Bedford-Castle* being held against him by *Milo de Beauchamp*, for the King of *Scots*, because King *Stephen* would have taken the Government of that place out of his hands, and given it to another; whereupon the King Marched down, and Besieged it on *Christmas* Eve, nay, even on *Christmas* day itself, notwithstanding its Holiness, and he press'd it so hard, that he took it in a short time, the Besieged not being able to hold out long against him.

[5.]

Con. Flor.  
G. R. S. 2. 937.  
938.

H. R.

But [1.] so soon as he had done there, a much greater Business called him into the *North* parts, where a dangerous War was now commenced; for *William* Son of *Duncan*, Nephew to *David* King of *Scots*, with part of that King's Army, then Besieged the Castle of *Weark* in *Northumberland*; but not being able to make it Surrender, the King himself, and his Son *Henry*, went thither with the main Body of his Army, and endeavoured to take it by divers Engines and Various Assaults, yet all to little purpose; for those that were within defended themselves so bravely, that the King, though he had Besieged it Three Weeks, and lost many Men before it, was at last forced to raise the Siege: [2.] and so leaving the Town marched further into *Northumberland*, which he laid waste with Fire and Sword (not sparing the very Churches) and also destroyed the Inhabitants without any distinction of either Age or Sex; for (as all our Historians relate) he slew the Infants hanging at their Mother's Breasts, and the Priests before the very Altars.

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[1.]

Ail. de Rieval.  
de Bello Standardi.  
Ric. de Hag.  
de eodem.

The King of *Scots* begins a fresh War, and Besieges the Castle of *Weark*.

[2.]

H. H. F. W.

About [3.] *Candlemas*, King *Stephen*, attended by a great Number of Earls and Barons, and a powerful Army of Horse and Foot, arrived in those parts; but as soon as the King of *Scots* heard of it, he made what haste he could to return home.

[3.]

R. de Hag.  
Col. 317. 001  
King *Stephen* Marches against the *Scots*, who Retreat.

[4.]

Id. ib.  
The King passes the River *Tine*.

Then [4.] the King of *England* passing the River *Tweed* (to be even with him) laid waste most of the Borders of *Scotland*; but the King of *Scots* having now retreated into his own Dominions, Encamped his Army within a certain Bog, not far from *Roxburgh*, which had but one passage into it, and there lay watching for some advantage to fall upon King *Stephen*'s Army by Night, if he entered that Town, in which the *Scottish* King had privately left a strong force, and cunningly commanded the Townsmen to open their Gates to King *Stephen* if he should come that way; but the King being forewarned of the design, as



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King Stephen  
being hindered  
by Domestick  
Rebellions re-  
turns into the  
South.

also of the Treachery of some of his Nobility, who Conspired upon the first Engagement to Betray him; and likewise considering that a great part of his Men were unwilling to bear Arms any longer, and that Provisions began to fail, he declined going to *Roxburgh*, and thought best to return with his Army into the *Southern* parts; but another more urgent reason than all these was, because he had heard, that many Noblemen of *England* taking hold of this Opportunity had Rebelled, and Fortified their Castles against him, alledging (for a pretence) that he had broken his Coronation Oath touching the Forests, and other Liberties granted them by his late Charter; but indeed it was because the King had refused to grant them such Castles and Lordships as they had desired of him, as you will hear more at large, when I have related the next Invasion which the *Scotish* King not long after made upon *England*, in this manner.

[5.]  
The King of  
of Scots again  
Invades Nor-  
thumberland.

No [5.] sooner was King Stephen gone into the South, and the Feast of *Easter* over, but the King of *Scotland* again Invaded and laid waste the Sea-Coast of *Northumberland*, and did the like also in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, all along between that Town and the Sea; but a report being raised, that great Forces were coming against him from the South parts of *England*, the *Scotish* Army presently quitted their Quarters, and their King Retreated to *Norham*, which he Besieged, and endeavoured to take by all means possible; and whilst he was employed in this Siege, he sent part of his Army under the Command of *William Son of Duncan* (his Nephew above mentioned) into *Yorkshire*, where he carried all before him, and Rousing a great Party of *English* at a place called *Glitherton*, Killed many, and took more Prisoners, after which without any resistance he destroyed the County, sparing neither Age nor Sex; only some, whom they thought most fit for Service, were carried away Captives.

And Rouses a  
great Party  
of English.

[1.]  
King David  
takes the  
Town of  
Norham.

In [1.] the mean time King David took the Town and Castle of *Norham*, those within being bluffed, and expecting no assistance from their Lord the Bishop of *Durham*, to whom King David sent this Offer, That if he would quit King Stephen, and take an Oath of Fidelity to his Neice the Empress, he would restore him his Castle, but the Bishop refusing to do it, the King ordered the Town to be burnt down.

[2.]  
Id. Ib.  
\* Called by a  
nother Au-  
thor Carrum.

That King  
looses many  
Waggons, and  
his Son Henry  
is Routed.

While [2.] these things were acting in the Bishoprick, about Rogation Week some Soldiers Sallying out of the Town of *Weark*, took many Waggons laden with the Victuals and Baggage belonging to the King of Scots, and also falling upon his Son Henry, and a Party that were with him, routed them, and either Wounded, or took Prisoners a great many of them; at which bold Actions the King being highly provoked, again marched to *Weark*, and laid Siege to it the second time, but with no better Success than before, the Place being very strong; [3.] therefore quitting that Enterprize, he increased his Army and went towards *Yorkshire*, being assisted by *Eustace Fitz-John*, a Baron of the North of *England*, and Lord of the Castle of *Alnwick*, who now declared for him, because King Stephen not long before had taken from him the Government of *Bamborough* Castle; upon which King David leaving the Siege of *Weark* to be continued by Two of his Thanes or Barons, marched to *Bamborough* Castle, but not being able to take it, he surprised and Killed about a Hundred

[3.]  
Id. Ib.  
King David  
increasing his  
Army Marches  
towards  
York.



Men near that place; and having destroyed all the Country round about, and also the Town of *Melford*, he repassed the *Tine*, and entered the Bishoprick, and there stayed for some time, expecting the coming up of the rest of his Army, which, when it was altogether, was very strong, consisting of above 20000 Men; on which the King grew so confident, that he threatened to lay waste the greatest part of *England*; and so leaving *Durham*, and destroying all the Country where-ever he went, he passed over the River *Tey*, and began to do the like in that part of *Torkshire* adjoining to it.

Then [4.] Archbishop *Thurstan* (the King's Lieutenant in those parts) with *William* Earl of *Albemarle*, *Walter de Gaunt*, *Walter Espec*, and many other Barons and Chief Men of that Country (whose Names we need not particularly mention) Assembling together at *Tork*, consulted what was best to be done in this Exigency; for King *Stephen*, being now taken up with several Rebellions in the Southern parts, could not come to their Assistance; therefore these Noblemen's hearts had certainly failed them, and they had never dared to make resistance with so few Men as they had, if the Archbishop had not encouraged them as well by his persuasions as advice; for he having made them a long speech with great exhortations to reconcile themselves to God by a true Repentance, and promising to accompany them himself in this Expedition if his health would permit, sent them home to raise what Forces they could; who returning with their Men within a short time to *Tork*, were also further encouraged by the arrival of *Bernard de Baliol*, whom King *Stephen* had sent with a strong Party of Horse to their Assistance; Hereupon the Archbishop Ordained a Three days solemn Fast, during which time they made earnest Supplications to God for a happy Success; after this the Archbishop himself being carried in a Litter because of his great Age and infirmities, led the Army till they came to a Town called *Trese*, from whence they sent *Robert de Bruce*, and *Bernard de Baliol* to the King of *Scots*, who was then wasting the Bishoprick, to desire him to cease from his Barbarity, and if he would do so, they promised to obtain from the King their Master the Country of *Northumberland* for his Son *Henry*; but the *Scottish* King, with his Nobles, instead of complying, despised their Entreaties, and defied them; therefore *Robert Bruce* renouncing the Homage which he had formerly done the King, and *Bernard* the Fealty which he had Sworn to him when he was his Vassal, they returned to their Companions; so that all the Noblemen of that Province, with some others of *Nottingham* and *Derbyshire*, obliged themselves by mutual Oaths not to forsake each other in this Expedition, but strenuously to Live and Die together.

But [5.] the Archbishop of *Tork* being disabled by Sickness, as well as old Age from Marching any farther with the Army, appointed *Ralph* Bishop of the *Orcades* Chief Commander in his stead, who immediately led the *English* Forces towards the *Humber*, near which they Encamped expecting the coming of the *Scots*; and it was not long before they learned from their Scouts, that King *David* and his Army had passed the River *Tey*, and were making great Marches to meet them; and passing by the Town of *Aberton* (now called *North-Aberton* in *Torkshire*) they came betimes in the Morning to an open

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Then Marches back into the Bishoprick of *Durham*, which he lays waste.

[4.]  
Id. Ib.  
Archbishop *Thurstan*, with the Earl of *Albemarle* and several others, resolve to raise an Army against the King of *Scots*, and O'Connell's assistance to the King of *Scots*.

[5.]  
Id. Ib.  
Bishop *Ralph* comes with a fresh Party of Horse to their Assistance.

*Robert Bruce*, and *Bernard de Baliol*, renounce their Homage to the King of *Scots*.

*Ralph* Bishop of the *Orcades* being disabled by Sickness, appoints the Bishop of the *Orcades* Chief Commander in his stead.  
\* Note, That the *Orcades* were not then under the Dominion of the Kings of *Scotland*.



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The Army

sets up a cer-

tain standard

which they

call the Stan-

dard.

The Army

sets up a cer-

tain standard

which they

call the Stan-

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The Army

sets up a cer-

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call the Stan-

Plain, called *Cutun Moor*, about Two Miles from that place, where some of them in the middle of the Field erected a certain Machine made of the Mast of a small Ship, which they called the *Standard*, and on the top of it they placed a Silver *Pix*, in which was (as they supposed) the Body of Christ, and on each side of which they hung the Banners of *St. Peter* and *St. John of Beverlie*, and *St. Wilfred*. This Engine (though superstitious enough) was yet of great Use, not only to animate the Spirits of the Soldiers, but (being also seen all over the Field) to make them more Resolute in their Defence of it; and if by any Accident they should be dispersed from each other, then that was to serve as an Ensign where they were to Meet and Rally again.

But [1.] they had scarce got themselves in a readiness to Fight, when word was brought that the *Scottish* Army was now very near them; whereupon the *English* being drawn out in order of Battle, the Bishop of the *Orcades* made them a long and invective Oration against the late *Scottish* Barbarities, for which I refer the curious Reader to *H. Huntington*, and *R. Howden*; all that I shall take notice of from it is, that at the Conclusion he Absolved all those from their Sins, who should happen to fall in this Battel, which made the *English* the desperate in Fighting, for nothing can give the Courage a keener edge, than to whet the Quarrel with the Cause of God.

Now [2.] the greatest part of the Horse alighted, the better to Fight on Foot; the choicest of whom being mingled with the Archers were placed in the *Van Guard*, but most of the Chief Commanders and Barons were drawn up in the main Body about the *Standard*, the rest of the Army lying round them as near as possible, whilst the remaining Body of Horse, with the Horses of those Soldiers who had alighted, retired further off, that so they might not be frightened with the noise and shouts of the *Scots*.

So likewise on the Enemy's side, the King himself and almost all his Soldiers alighted, their Horses being kept at a distance; near the Front of the Battel were the *Galloway* men, and in the middle the King with his *Scottish* Soldiers and *English* Auxiliaries, many of whom being of the Emperor's Party, now joined with the *Scots* against their Native Country, but the rest of the Barbarous Multitude were dispersed about the Field. Now whilst they Marched on in this Order to Fight, and saw the *Standard* not far off, their Hearts began to be struck with a panick Fear, but for all that they obstinately went forward, until the Battel was begun, which lasted not above Two Hours, for many of the *Galloway* Men, who were but lightly Armed, being slain at the first Onset, the rest soon hung down their Arms, and fled, not being able to endure the Showers of Arrows and force of the *English* Swords; then the Body of *Lothian* Men (their Leader being slain by an Arrow) likewise dispersed, though the King and the rest of the Nobility did all they could to Rally them, and some of them came back again to his Royal *Standard* (which was a Dragon) and made up a fresh Body; but the King perceiving they were not sufficient to renew the Fight, commanded them to fling away their Tokens, and mix themselves with their Enemies, which they immediately did, and so lately passed through the *Van Guard* of the *English*, most

The Order of  
the *Scottish*  
Army.

The *Scots* be-  
ing posselt  
with a panick  
Fear, ran  
away.

The King  
himself is  
forced to fly  
to *Carlisle*.

The Marks by  
which they  
knew each  
other.



of them flinging down their Arms and shifting for themselves as well as they could; but the King in his flight kept on his Armour, till being got out of danger he came to a poor Man's Cottage, and there he left it because it was a burthen to him; yet he made no very great haste, that so he might the better in his March pick up those that had fled; at length he arrived safe at *Carlisle*, though much concerned for Earl *Henry* his Son, who was left behind; but he tarried there two days, and on the third he likewise received him in safety.

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Is much concerned for Earl *Henry* his Son, who at last returns safe.

[3.]

Id. Ib.

The English pursue the Scots, and kill a great Number of them, and carry home a great deal of Plunder.

\* Col. 321, 322.

The Scottish Historians give a different but false Relation of this Battel.

This Relation confused.

In [3.] the mean time the English pursuing the Scots, killed a vast number of them, besides a great many that were taken Prisoners, for (as some of our Historians say) there were above Ten thousand Scots murthered when they were Mustered at their return home; but of the English Forces there were but few killed, all the rest getting large Spoils, and having placed the Enemies Colours which they had taken from them, in the Churches of several Saints, they returned home in Peace. But their sudden departure tended very much to the prejudice of the King's Affairs, as you will see by and by.

This is the Account (omitting the long Speeches) that *Richard Prior of Hailesfeld*, and *Ailred Abbot of Rievall*, give of this famous Battel and Victory obtained by a small Army of English, over a much greater of Scots, where their King Commanded in Person; and is by those Authors last mentioned, called the Battel of the Standard, the reason of which Title the Story it self sufficiently declares.

But *Hector Boetius*, and *Buchanan*, make a quite contrary Relation of this Year's War, and that King *Stephen* repented of the late Agreement he had made, and therefore raised all the Forces he could, resolving to recover *Northumberland*; and that thereupon the Scots gathering together an Army in haste and joining Battel had the worst of it, but yet that their loss was not very great, for requiring that *Ailfron*, by many light Skirmishes, they only gave up that part of *Northumberland*, which was seized upon by the English immediately after the late Victory; but King *David*, that he might put a speedy end to the War, thought it better to drive the English out of *Northumberland* with all his Forces, or else wholly to lose it by an Honourable Death; and therefore he ordered Soldiers to be raised all over Scotland, and a very great Army to be drawn together; that not long after this Archbishop *Thurstan* going to the King (then at *Roxburgh*) begged Peace, and so for a while stopped his fury by obtaining a Three Months Truce on this condition, That the English should yield up all *Northumberland* to his Son *Henry*; which Truce when King *David* found not to be observed by the English, he fell suddenly upon those who held that part of *Northumberland*, and made a great slaughter of them, and that King *Stephen* upon hearing the great losses he had received, forthwith Assembled his Army, and marched with it as far as *Roxburgh*, but it being there told him, That his Nobles began to Rebel against him, he immediately returned without doing any thing.

In which Relation there are many great mistakes; For first King *Stephen* did not begin this War with King *David* with whom he had much rather have been at Peace; nor did he ever give up any part of *Northumberland* to him, and therefore could not make War to recover what,



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what was already in his own Possession; nor was the Victory gained by the *English* over the *Scotch* so inconsiderable as they would have it, as appears by what we have already related, as also by the effects of it; they being now driven not only out of part, but out of all *Northumberland* which they had before laid waste with Fire and Sword; a Method that Princes never take when they look upon a Country as their Own already.

As for what follows of King *David's* second Invasion of *Northumberland* with a potent Army, and Archbishop *Thurstan's* attending that King at *Roxburgh* to desire Peace, it was not in this, but in the Year Precedent we have already shewn; neither was there any such condition then agreed to, that the *English* should deliver up *Northumberland* to Prince *Henry*, and therefore the *English* could not break the Truce in not delivering it without their King's Consent; 'tis true, King *David* did again invade *Northumberland*, and made a great slaughter there; and it is also as true, that he then suffered a total Defeat, which the former of these Authors wholly conceals: and as to King *Stephen's* raising an Army, and marching with it as far as *Roxburgh*, and then returning back all of a sudden without doing any thing: It was not in this Year neither, but in that preceeding, upon the News of the Irish Insurrections in *England* abovementioned.

A farther  
Confutation  
of Buchanan.

Nor is *Buchanan* any whit less mistaken, when speaking of this Battel near *Alerton*, he makes the Earl of *Gloicester* to have Commanded the *English* forces, and that after a sharp Engagement (the loss at first being pretty equal on both sides) the *English* ran away, and many of their Nobility were taken Prisoners, and among the rest the Earl of *Gloicester* their General: This is all a very notorious falsehood, for there never was but one Battel near *Alerton*, in which the *Scots* were utterly routed (as you have already heard); nor could the Earl of *Gloicester* be their General, nor then be taken Prisoner, since he was never trusted by King *Stephen* with any Command under him, he being always on the same side with the King of *Scots*, even before he openly declared against King *Stephen*. Indeed *Buchanan* is less excusable in this, because he might (if he had pleased) have consulted our *English* Historians, who all with one consent assert the contrary. It is true, he is somewhat more ingenuous, when he confesses that the War being renewed the Year following, the *Scots* again marched into *England*, and being flushed by their late Victory, engaged anew with the *English*, but giving them Battel too precipitantly at the River *Tyne*, they paid dear for their Rashness, in thus slighting their Enemy, who by a terrible slaughter compell'd them to quit *Northumberland*: Though the real Truth is, there was but One set Battel fought between the *English* and the *Scotch* in the last Two Years, viz. that of the *Standard* abovementioned; and as to what he says farther concerning King *David's* second Invasion upon this Defeat given him by the *English*, and Archbishop *Thurstan's* suing for Peace (and for which he cites *William* of *Newburgh*, tho he says no such thing); I have already proved it to be misplaced, since it was not after, but before this Battel, that these things happened: Neither did Queen *Matilda* go at the King her Husband's Command to King *David* her Uncle to sue for Peace; however it must be confessed, that Peace was afterwards made by this Queen's Intercession, though at first



first much against the Inclinations of the King her Husband, as you will find when I come to treat of the next Year's Transactions. This much I thought fit to let the Reader know, to shew the great Ignorance and Partiality of the *Scottish* Historians in the Relation of their Wars with *England*. But to return again to our History.

So [4.] soon as the news of this great Victory reached King *Stephen's* Ears, he was very much pleased with it, and the more because he had heard that *William de Albemarle*, and *Robert de Ferrars* had behaved themselves very Gallantly in the late Battel; whereupon he made the former Earl of *Turkshire*, and the latter of *Darbyshire*; in which Families those Honours continued for divers Generations.

But [5.] to return to the Affairs of *Scotland*; notwithstanding this Defeat, the King of *Scots* no sooner had heard that the *English* Forces were returned home, but recruiting his shatter'd Army, he again Marched into *England*, and laid fresh Siege to the Town and Castle of *Weark*, trying by all sorts of Engines to take it; but the Townsmen so well defended themselves, by breaking the Engines and killing many of the *Scots*, that they grew weary of the Siege; yet having the whole Country round about in their power, they so block'd up the place, that it could receive no Relief any way.

In [1.] the mean time *Albert* Bishop of *Ostia*, the Pope's Legate, being arrived in *England*, and going into the Province of *Nork* to visit and Reform what was there amiss, went to the King of *Scots*, whom he found at *Carlisle* with the Bishops and Barons of that Kingdom, where he endeavoured to make Peace between him and King *Stephen*; but it was to no purpose, for he could scarce obtain a Truce that he should not again March into *England* before *Marston*: Then the Castle of *Weark* began to be very much straitned for want of Provisions, which increasing more and more, the Besieged, when they had Eaten up all their Horses, were at last forced to surrender it to King *David*, and he caused both Town and Castle to be Demolished.

But [2.] about the beginning of Winter, there was a Treaty of Peace set on foot between the Two Kings, by the means of Queen *Mathilda*, who being Neice to King *David*, as I have said before, did all she could to reconcile them; to which, though King *Stephen* himself was at first averse, because several of his Barons (who had sustained great Losses by the present War) perswaded him by no means to make Peace with the King of *Scotland* upon those terms; yet the Queen at last prevailed with her Husband to consent to a Peace, though it was not concluded till the Year following.

I have already told you, that the King being at the same time pressed with divers Rebellions in the Southern parts of *England*, had not Leisure to prosecute the War against *Scotland* in Person, as otherwise he would have done; I shall therefore (from [3.] *William of Malmesbury*) give you a more perfect Account of the causes of these Comotions, and what Success they met with: You must know that several of the Young Nobility having been advanced under the late King, the greatness of their Minds, or their own youthful boldness prompted them to commit many unlawful things, and being not contented with what they had got, they very confidently asked the King, some of them for Mannors, others for Castles, and, in short, whatever

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[4.]  
*De Bello Standardi*. col. 323.  
King *Stephen* is much pleased with the News of this Victory, and bestows Titles of Honour on the Chief Commanders.

[5.]  
*Id. Ib.*  
Upon the Retreat of the *English* the King of *Scots* again Invades *England*, and Besieges the Castle of *Weark*, though in vain.

\* Called by this Author *Carrum*.

[1.]  
*Id. Col. 324.*  
The Pope's Legate going into the North endeavours to make a Peace between the Kings of *England* and *Scotland*, but to no purpose.

[2.]  
*Id. Ib.*  
Yet a Peace is at last concluded by the Mediation of the Queen *Mathilda*, Neice to the King of *Scots*.

[3.]  
*Hist. Nov. Lib. 2. p. 180.*  
An Account of the Insurrections in *England*, and the Cause of them.



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whatever they had a fancy for; which when the King denied to grant them, alledging that it would be a dismembring of his Kingdom, and that Others, who had also desired the same things were already in possession of them; these Noblemen so very much resented it, that presently flying to Arms, they Fortified their Castles, and took great Spoils in the adjacent Countries; yet the King was not at all discouraged with this their Defection; but sometimes Subdued one, and sometimes another; and being too merciful, always made an end rather to his own Loss than the Prejudice of those who had Rebelled against him: for after a great deal of labour and trouble bestowed to no purpose, all that he got by this Clemency, was a temporary dissembled Peace, though he often obliged them (but too late) by giving them those very Honours and Castles which they had at first desired. From whence we may observe, That as too great Cruelty, so likewise an over great Clemency may be equally Prejudicial to a Prince, especially whose Government is unsettled.

But [4.] what made these Noblemen more greedy to ask, and the King more easy to give, was a Report at that time spread all over England, viz. That Robert Earl of Gloucester (then in Normandy) was coming over to take his Sister the Empress's part, and having not long before renounced his Homage, had then also sent the King a Defiance; but before his Arrival several of the Nobility had begun to Rebel: For [5.] William Talbot at that time held the Castle of Hereford against the King, but he by a close Siege soon reduced it to his Obedience; also William Lovell held the Castle of Caris; one Paganel that of Ludlow; William de Mohun that of Dunster; Eustace Fitz John that of Melton in Yorkshire; William Fitz Allen that of Shrewsbury; which last the King quickly got by force, and Hanged some of those that were taken therein; which one Walkelin, who held the Castle of Dover, hearing of, he delivered it up to the Queen, who was then Besieging it; but [1.] the King hearing of these Rebellions, received the News with a great Presence of Mind, and was often wont thus to expostulate concerning those who had Rebelled: Since (said he) they have Chosen me their King, Why do they now forsake me? By the Birth of God (which was his usual Oath) I will never be called an Abdicated King; and he was as good as his word; for to his death he courageously kept that Crown, which the prevailing party of the Kingdom had set upon his Head.

But [2.] (as the same Author and others relate) one great reason of the hasty Revolt of these Noblemen, was the King's late Seizing upon the Persons and Estates of some of their Order, upon slight suspicions of their Disloyalty; to this may be added the extraordinary Favour he shewed to William of Ipre, a Flemming, and those of his Nation, which the English Nobility interpreted as a Contempt of themselves; whereupon the Noblemen abovementioned sent over word to the Empress, that within Five Months she should have the whole Kingdom delivered up to her: So that we see nothing could disoblige the English Nobility so much as Arbitrary Proceedings, and the unnecessary Preferment of Foreigners to high Commands and great Estates.

But

[4.]

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[3.] But he who now, and all along, indeed gave the King the greatest trouble was, *Robert Earl of Gloucester*, who not long after *Whitsun-tide* had sent over Messengers out of *Normandy* to the King, by whom (according to an Antient custom of that Age) he renounced his Fealty, and Surrender'd up his Homage, alledging as he thought a sufficient Reason for it, to wit, that he had not only seized the King's wife broken the Faith which he had sworn to himself; and that if he had done him Homage, it was contrary to the Oath which he had already taken to his Sister, therefore now repented of it; besides the Answers of divers Religious Persons (whom he consulted) did very much excite him to it; for they told him, that he could not pass this present life without Ignominy; nor hope to obtain that to come, if he violated the Oath he had already made to so near a Relation. He also got the Pope's Sentence, requiring him that he should rather obey that Oath which he had formerly taken by his Father's Command, than this more late One to the present King.

These are the Reasons our Author gives, why *Earl Robert* his Patron broke his Oath of Allegiance to *King Stephen*; which, whether they are sufficient to excuse him, or not, I shall not take upon me to determine; but only observe, that tho' the Clergy then (as well as any time since) have been the greatest causes of Alterations, and Revolutions in Governments, yet the double dealing of the Pope is most remarkable in this Affair; for after he had by his Bull approved of, and confirm'd *King Stephen's* Title, yet he could now grant another, declaring that *Earl Robert* was not bound by the Oath he had taken; and indeed the Pope might as well have absolved All the Bishops and Nobility of *England* of their Oaths for the same Reason.

[4.] But the King deeply resenting the Earl's bold Defiance, immediately seized upon all his Great Estate in *England*, and razed some of his Castles, but those of *Bristol* and *Slade* remained still untaken, which were not only in a condition able to repel his Enemies, but also they did very much disturb the King by their frequent Excursions.

[5.] I have nothing further to remark under this Year, but that *Alberic*, Bishop of *Ostia*, the Pope's Legate, in December held a General Synod of all the Bishops and Clergy of *England* at *Westminster*, where were present Eighteen Bishops, and about Thirty Abbots, with a great multitude of both Orders: one of its chief Affairs was, to select a fit Person into the Church of *Canterbury*, than vacant, by the decease of *William* its late Archbishop: But *Thurstan* Archbishop of *Tork*, being very weak, sent thither the Dean of his Church, together with some of his Clergy, to Represent him.

[1.] *Richard*, Prior of *Hagulfstade* or *Flexham*, has given us the Canons of this Synod, which since they wholly belong to Ecclesiastical matters, or else are but such as had been already made by former Councils, I purposely omit, only shall take notice of Two of them: the former of which Ordains, That no Person shall claim any Ecclesiastical Benefice by Paternal Inheritance, or appoint a Successor therein: And by the Other it is Ordained, That if any one shall kill, imprison, or lay violent hands upon any Clerk, Monk, or Nun; And as for any other Ecclesiastical Person, (unless being thrice Summon'd he make

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[3.]

Id. 1b.

Earl Robert  
renounces his  
Allegiance to  
King Stephen.

[3.]

Id. 1b.

The Pope's  
double deal-  
ing in this  
Affair.

[4.]

Id. 1b.

The King sei-  
zes on Earl  
Robert's Es-  
tate, and ra-  
zes his Ca-  
stles; tho'  
several of the  
strongest re-  
main untaken.

[5.]

Id. 1b.

The Pope's  
Legate holds  
a Synod at  
*Westminster*.

[1.]

Col. 327, 328.

A short Ac-  
count of the  
Canons there  
made.

Of which

that of the

Inviolable-  
ness of the  
Clergy is the  
chief.



Anno Domini  
MCCXXXVIII

Theobald Abbot of Bec is there chosen Archbishop of Canterbury.

[2.]  
Id. Ib.  
Theobald Abbot of Bec is there chosen Archbishop of Canterbury.

[3.]  
Col. 1348.  
[4.]  
O. V.  
P. 915.  
The various successes of affairs in Normandy, where the War broke out before the Truce was expired.

Waleran Earl of Mellent passes over thither with some Forces; but to little purpose.

[1.]  
Id. Ib.  
The Earl of Anjou returns into Normandy, and having brought over Earl Robert to his Party, takes Caen, and Bayeux.

Whereupon many Bishops and Noblemen of that Province desert the King.

Whereupon many Bishops and Noblemen of that Province desert the King.

satisfaction) he shall be Excommunicated; nor might any besides the Pope himself, absolve him, unless it were at the point of Death; but if he died unpunished, his Body was to remain unburied.

By virtue of which Decree, many Bishops, Priests, and Monks thought they might commit what Crimes they pleased, without being at all liable to the Civil Power, which caused Great Disturbances in after times.

[2.] In this Council likewise, (after some Debates about filling the Vacant See of Canterbury) Theobald Abbot of Bec in Normandy was by the Pope's Legate, and all the Bishops of England, Elected Archbishop; but [3.] Gerard of Canterbury places his Election immediately after the breaking up of the said Council, and makes it to have been performed not only by the Bishops, but by Jeremy, Prior of Canterbury, and some of the chief Monks of that Convent.

[4.] Before we conclude this year it is fit we look back into Normandy, and see what King Stephen's Enemies had been doing there, whilst he was employed in England; for before the Truce between the King and the Earl of Anjou was expired, Reginald Base Son to King Henry, took up Arms for his Sister the Empress, and joyned his Forces with Baldwin de Redvers, Stephen de Mandeville, and others of the King's Enemies, who made a fresh Insurrection in the County of Constantine; whom when Roger le Kilewint went to resist, he fell into an Ambush they had laid for him, and was there slain; this ill Accident was followed by divers other petty Insurrections, and taking and Plundering of Castles and Towns, not sparing any Places either Sacred or Profane, no not in the Holy Time of Lent.

[5.] In May following Waleran Earl of Mellent, and William de Ipers Captain of the Flemings, came over with them, and other Forces into Normandy, in order to settle that Province, which then laboured under great Disturbances, but to little purpose; for Roger de Conche the Head of the opposite Party so well defended himself that they could do him little prejudice, only the miserable Country being Burnt and Plundered, suffer'd extremely by both Parties.

[1.] For in June, tho' the two years Truce between the King and the Earl of Anjou was not yet expired, yet laying hold on these Disturbances he return'd into Normandy with an Army, and by Prayers and Promises now prevail'd with the Earl of Gloucester, openly to espouse and take up Arms for his Sister the Empress's Interest, so that by his Assistance the Cities of Bayeux and Caen, together with many other Places, were taken either by Force or Surrender: which Successes encouraged many Bishops and Noblemen of Normandy to Rebel against King Stephen, because they knew the Earl to be very powerful not only there, but in England, as having a great Estate, and many strong Places under his Command in both Countries; therefore tho' the Earl of Mellent did all he could to oppose this almost general Defection of the Normans, and hired Foreign Troops to reduce them to Obedience, yet it was to little purpose; for his Forces not being strong enough to Besiege Caen (which Earl Robert then kept) all that could be done was, to waste the Country that lay in the Enemy's power, and to fight them in some petty Rencontres, tho' with various success; this I thought fit to mention, since Normandy had continued hitherto under the King of England's Dominion.

This



This Year [1135] immediately after Christmas, the King besieged the Castle of *Slade* belonging to *Robert Earl of Gloucester*, and took it in a short time; some while after which, early in the Spring, he again marched with his Army into *Strathclyde*, which he laid waste with Fire and Sword; till at last the King of *Strathclyde* was forced to make Peace with him, sending his Son *Earl Henry* as a Hostage, whom the King carried along with him into *England*, and then went to the City of *Worcester*, where being joyfully received by both Clergy and Laity, He offered the King at the High Altar, and so marched presently to the Siege of *Ludlow Castle*, which was then in Rebellion against him; and *Earl Godfrey* (being there present with him) was pulled from his Horse by an Iron hook let down from the Wall, and very narrowly escaped being taken Prisoner; but the King perceiving his danger, ran him self to his Succour, and refused himself not withstanding all other Endeavours, the Resistance which the Besieged made was so vigorous, that he thought he was constrained to leave the Place untaken, and march back to *Oxford*, where holding a Council, or Great Council, of his Bishops and Nobility, there happened a Business that afterwards gave him much disturbance, and was very like to have cost him his Crown by his unseasonably falling out with those Bishops, who had been the chief means of putting him upon his Throne, and who were now too powerful for him in his Circumstances to contend with.

The Original of which Quarrel is a *William of Malmesbury* having given us so large a History from him (who wrote not long after he gave you this first account of *Robert's* speedy coming out of *Norway*, together with the Bishops his Sister, several Noblemen (as we have already shewn) made an open Defection from the King, whereupon he resolved to secure himself from their Insurrections, tho' to the prejudice of many that were innocent; for seizing upon divers of the Nobility in his Court on a bare Suspicion of their being in Conspiracy against him, he contrary to his Royal Dignity committed them to Prison, and thereby constrain'd them to Surrender their Castles, and submit to what Conditions he pleased: There were likewise at that time two most Potent Prelates in *England*, viz. *Roger Bishop of Salisbury*, and *Alexander his Nephew, Bishop of Lincoln*; this last had lately built the Castle of *Newark* for the Defence of his Bishoprick (as he pretended;) the Former also, who desired to appear as Magnificent in Buildings as his Nephew, had erected one Castle at *Shireburn*, and another at the *Devon*, taking in a great quantity of Ground, with Walls and Buildings; and had also begun a Third at *Malmesbury* in the very Church-yard, and had formerly procured of King *Henry* the Custody of the Castle of *Salisbury*, which too he had Enclosed with a Wall, to which I may likewise add *Nigel Bishop of Ely*, another Nephew of *Bishop Roger's*, who all three lived in such Secular Pomp and Grandeur, that they never came to the King's Court without vast Trains of Armed Followers, to the great scandal of their Episcopal Function, and terror to the King and his Subjects, as the Anonymous Relation of this King's Reign observes. With which Actions some of the Lay Nobility, particularly the *Earl of Menteith*, being much displeased, they plainly told the King

Dom. Anna MCCCXXIX.

[2.]

H. H.

The Castle of *Slade* is taken.The King marches into *Scotland*, and forces that King to make Peace, and A give his Son *Henry* as a Hostage for it.The King besieges *Ludlow Castle*, where *Earl Henry* is like to be taken up with an Iron hook.The King marches back to *Oxford*, and there holds a great Council.

[3.]

P. 102. v.

[4.]

WM. p. 102. 2.

[5.]

[6.]

The occasion of King *Stephen's* Quarrel with the Bishops of *Salisbury*, *Lincoln*, and *Ely*.

[7.]

[8.]

The high and Pompous way of Living of these Bishops give great offence to the Lay Nobility.

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Anno Dom.  
MCXXXIX.

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Where upon  
occasion of  
Quarrel be-  
tween the  
Servants of  
the Bishop of  
Salisbury, and  
Alan Earl of  
Bretaign, the  
King let the  
Bishops  
abovemention-  
ed, until  
they would  
Surrender  
their Castles  
into his  
hands.

[1.]

Idem.

P. 103.

[2.]

H. H.

[3.]

H. H.

A prodigious  
Treasure  
found in the  
Castles of  
Shireburn, and  
Devizes,  
which the  
King seized to  
his own use.

[4.]

P. 199.

A farther Ac-  
count of this  
Action from  
Ordericus Vi-  
talis.

that the Bishops were now grown more intent upon erecting Castles, than on their Sacred Functions, and no doubt, but they were design- ed for his Destruction, and that when the Empress came over, they would not only take her part, but deliver them up to her, as being ob- liged to it by the memory of those favours they had formerly received from her Father: persuading the King to force them to deliver up their Castles: and he readily hearkening to their advice, took the first Opportunity to put it in execution, and it was in this manner.

[5.] About the end of June a General Council of all the Chief Men of the Kingdom was held at Oxford, where all the Bishops above men- tioned appeared. William of Malmesbury reports he heard the Bishop of Salisbury say, *He had no mind to the Journey, and undertook it with great Reluctancy, for that he could be of no use in that Council;* which proved true enough, for it so happen'd, that the Retainers and Servants of that Bishop, and those of Alan Earl of Bretaign, quarrelled about taking up Lodgings, and from words it came to blows, upon which many were wounded, and one Knight killed, but the Bishops Men were superior in the conflict. Now the King taking advantage of this Riot, commanded the Bishops above mention'd to be Convened, that they might satisfy his Court for their Servants thus breaking the Peace, and the Satisfaction he required, was no less than the Delive- ry up of their Castles into his hands as a Security for their future Fi- delity to him.

They seem'd very willing to make him satisfaction, but they de- murred as to the yielding up their Castles; [1.] whereupon the King commanded they should be kept Prisoners with great strictness, for fear of their escape; then Roger Bishop of Salisbury was carried away unbound indeed himself, but his Son Roger, Chancellor of En- gland [2.] (whom he had got on Maud of Ramisbury his Concubine) was led in Fetters (with a Halter about his Neck) to the Castle of the Devizes, which Nigel, Bishop of Ely, (Nephew to the Bishop, who had fled thither from Oxford, when his Uncle was taken) then held out against the King; so that by this severe Treatment, the Castle of Salisbury, Shireburn, and Malmesbury, were delivered upon the first Summons; as was that of the Devizes too after three days Siege; the Bishop of Salisbury of his own accord without any force, resolving to fast until it was in the King's possession, that so he might the more incline his Nephew to yield, who otherwise perhaps would have de- fended it as long as he could; his Other Nephew Alexander Bishop of Lincoln purchased his liberty by the speedy surrendering of his Castle of Sleaford into the King's hands.

[3.] In the Castles of Shireburn and the Devizes the King found such a prodigious quantity of ready Money, that sending great part there- of to Lewis King of France, he thereby not only obtain'd his Friend- ship, but also Constantia his Sister for his Son Prince Eustace, tho' the Mariage was not Consummated till the year following.

[4.] Ordericus Vitalis tells this Story somewhat more at large, for he says, that Waleran, Earl of Mellent, and his Brother Robert, with Alan Earl of Bretaign, sought occasion of quarrelling with the Bi- shops, and that after the Fray, when the Bishops, Roger and Alexan- der were taken Prisoners, the Bishop of Ely escaped to the Castle of the Devizes, and Fortified it: And that the King hearing of it, was very angry,



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[5.]

Id. Ib.

W. M. Ib.  
This Action  
of the Kings  
makes a great  
division a-  
mong the  
Bishops.

The Bishop  
of Winchester  
takes part  
with the in-  
jur'd Bishops.

[1.]

Id. Ib.

Who there-  
upon being  
Legate to the  
Pope, calls a  
Synod of the  
Bishops and  
Clergy of  
England at  
Winchester,  
where he  
makes a  
Speech to  
them against  
the King.

The King ap-  
pears to the  
Legate's Ac-  
culation.

angry, and sent *William de Ipre* a Fleming before with an Army to take the Castle, who carried *Roger* the Bishop and his Son the Chancellor along with him, swearing that the Father should not eat, until it was deliver'd to him; and not only so, but erecting a Gallows before the Castle Gate, he threatened forthwith to hang the Chancellor *Roger*; and then *Maud* his Mother, who was in the Castle to redeem her Son from death, sent to the King, and acquainted him, that she would deliver the Keep or Chief place of Strength (which was in her power) and by that means forced the Bishop of *Ely* to Surrender the whole Castle, in consideration, that he might have Liberty to retire to his own See.

[5.] This Act of the King's as it made a great noise, so it likewise served to divide the Bishops among themselves; *August* Archbishop of *Rouen*, a great Friend to, and Defender of the King's cause and Interest (being then in *England*) was of opinion, that it was but just the Bishops should be deprived of their Castles, which were not allowable by the Ecclesiastical Canons; that the Bishops ought to be *Evangelists of Peace, not Builders of Castles, to be as Sanctuaries for their* *Evil and disloyal Practices*. But *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, King *Stephen*'s Brother, then the Pope's Legate, affirmed, That if the Bishops transgressed in any point, they were not to be tried in the King's Court, but to be Judged by the Canons, nor to be deprived of any thing but by a General Synod; and forthwith Summon'd the King his Brother to be present in the Council he intended to hold at *Winchester*, on the Twenty ninth day of *August* next ensuing.

[1.] On which day appeared most of the Bishops of *England*, with *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury* (for *Thurstan* Archbishop of *Tork* was excused, both in respect of his want of health, and present care in the defence of the Northern parts against the *Scots*;) then the Legate having first produced his Commission from the Pope, made a Latin Speech to the Clergy, wherein he set forth, and aggravated his Brother's late Fact, in that he had Commanded the Bishop of *Salisbury* to be taken Prisoner in the very Chamber of the Court, (or Great Council) and the Bishop of *Lincoln* in his Lodging; and that the Bishop of *Ely* fearing the like Treatment had avoided it, by a speedy flight to his own See; that it was an unheard of wickedness, that the King should be so far seduced by Evil Counsellors, as to command his Subjects (especially Bishops) to be seized even under the protection of his own Court, Exhorting the Archbishop and all others to consult what was needful to be done; telling them, that for the loss of his Brother's Friendship, or of his own Possessions, nay even of his Head, he would not forbear to put the Decrees of this Council in Execution.

But the King not distrusting his Cause, sent some of the Earl's into the Synod, To know why he was called thither; to whom the Legate immediately answered, That he who was guilty of such a crime as that Age never saw, being himself a Christian, ought not to take it amiss, if he was called by the Ministers of Christ to make satisfaction; they might therefore tell his Brother, that if he would take his Advice, by the help of God, it should be such, as neither the *Roman* Church, the Court, nor Council of the King of *France*, nor their Brother Earl *Theobald*, (a prudent Religious Man) should find



Anno Dom.  
MCXXXIX.

[2.]  
Id. Ib.  
Alberic de Ver  
a Baron Lear-  
ned in the  
Laws makes  
the King's  
Defence.

Id. Ib.  
Alberic de Ver  
a Baron Lear-  
ned in the  
Laws makes  
the King's  
Defence.

Id. Ib.  
Alberic de Ver  
a Baron Lear-  
ned in the  
Laws makes  
the King's  
Defence.

[3.]  
Id. Ib.  
The Bishop of  
Salisbury's  
Reply.

\* Alioqui Fure  
Gentium des-  
seisti, non pla-  
citabant.

find fault with; which was, that he should do well, neither present-  
ly to give a reason of this late action, by submit to the Judgment of  
the Canons. The Earls when they had heard what was said, totem  
out, and not long after came back again. [2.] Then Alberic de Ver (Ambassador to the Earls of Oxford) a Man well  
vers'd in all the variety of Civil Causes (who accompanied the Earls  
thither) brought back the King's answer, "and as much as he was  
able aggravated the cause against Bishop Roger, (for Bishop Alexan-  
der was then absent) yet modestly enough, and without any re-  
proachful Language; the sum of his Discourse was to this effect;  
"That the Bishop of Salisbury had been many ways injurious to the  
"King, that he very seldom appeared at his Court, or Council; also  
"that his Men, or Retainers, presuming upon his power, had moved  
"Sedition, and at Oxford, (as well as at other times and places) had  
"done violence to the Followers of his Nephew Earl Alan, and like-  
"wise to the Servants of Henry of Lyons, who was of such great  
"Nobility and high spirit, that tho' the late King Henry had often  
"requested him, yet he would never vouchsafe till now to come in-  
"to England; so that the affront reflected upon the King himself in  
"respect to whom he came over: He further accused the said Bishop,  
"that he privately favour'd the King's Enemies, which appeared in  
"many instances, but most especially in this, that when Roger Mor-  
"timer with the King's Troops, which he commanded, fled for fear  
"of those that belong'd to Bristol, he would not permit them to  
"Quarter one Night in Malmesbury; that it was the general discourse,  
"that he with his Nephews, so soon as the Empress should arrive,  
"would declare for her; he also added, that he was seized, not as a  
"Bishop, but as the King's Servant, that had transacted the King's  
"Business, and received Wages for so doing: That the Castles were  
"not violently taken from them, but that they freely render'd them  
"to escape the accusation of the Tumult they had raised in the  
"Court; that the Sums of Money which were found in the Castles  
"lawfully belong'd to the King, for that in the time of his Uncle  
"King Henry, the Bishop had fraudulently diverted them from the  
"Exchequer, and that he had willingly parted with them and the  
"Castles as a Composition for the Crimes he had committed; and of  
"this (he told the Council) the King wanted not sufficient Proof, and  
"therefore he advised, that the late Agreement between him and the  
"Bishops might remain firm, but the Bishop of Lincoln was only ac-  
"cused of an old grudge he bore to Earl Alan, and was therefore  
"made the Author of the late Tumult, and breach of the Peace com-  
"mitted by his Followers.  
[3.] To all which the Bishop of Salisbury replied, "That he never  
"was the King's Servant, neither had he received his Wages; and  
"stoutly threatned, that if he could not find Justice in that Council, he  
"would seek it in a Higher Court. Whereupon the Legate said calmly,  
"It ought to be first enquired, Whither all those things, of which the  
"Bishops were accused in that Council, were true, before they could  
"be condemned; and therefore according to the practise in Secular  
"Courts; the King should reinvest them in those Possessions\*, other-  
"wise whilst remaining disseised, by the Law of Nations, they ought  
"not to Plead.

So



So much having been said on both sides, at last upon the King's request, the cause was adjourned to the next day, and then to the day following, until the Archbishop of *Rouen* came thither, who granted the Bishops should have their Castles restored, if they could prove by the Canons, that they ought of Right to have them; and suppose (said he) that they have such a Right, yet certainly the times being suspicious, all the Great Men according to the usage of other Nations, ought to commit their places of strength to the King's disposal, who is best able to defend them. *Alberic de Ver* added on the King's behalf, that if they presumed to send any of the Bishops or other Persons out of *England*, to appeal to *Rome*, contrary to the King's will, and the Dignity of the Kingdom, their return would be very difficult: by this they understood, the King would not endure the censure of the Canons, and therefore the Bishops thought it was most advisable, to forbear pronouncing it, and that for two reasons; first, because it would be a rash thing to *Excommunicate* their Prince, without the knowledge of the Pope: Secondly, because they saw, or at least heard, that some Swords were drawn not far from them.

Therefore tho' they parted for the present, yet the Legate and Bishops fail'd not to perform their Duty, by throwing themselves at the King's Feet in his Chamber, and beseeching him to be merciful to the Church, and his own Soul, and to consult his Honour, so as not to suffer a breach to be made between the Secular and Ecclesiastical Powers; and that if he would restore to the Bishops their Possessions, they would likewise pass by all that he had done against them. But the King, tho' he did all he could to remove from himself the Odiousness of this action, yet being hindred by the ill advice of those about him, notwithstanding his fair Promises, still kept the Castles in his hands. Then about the latter end of *August* the Council was dissolved without coming to any Issue.

These Disputes between the King and the Bishops, encouraged divers of the Barons to rebell, and [4.] *William de Moïun* (or *Mohun*) fortified his strong Castle of *Dunstar*, lying on the Sea-side, against which the King (presently marched with his Forces, and finding that by reason of the great Strength of the Place, he was not able to take it by force, he raised the Siege, and left *Henry de Tracy* a Valiant Knight with some forces to block it up, who not long after taking above a hundred of the Garison Prisoners in an Incursion they made to Plunder the Country, those in the Castle being reduced to a small number, *William de Mohun* the Lord of it, agreed to deliver the Castle upon conditions, that himself and those that were with him, might quit the Country, and go some where else. Also *Henry de Tracy* had the like success against *William Fitz-Odo*, a Man of a great Estate in those parts, who also holding his Castle against the King, it was surprized by *de Tracy*, whilst *Fitz-Odo's* Men were gone out to Plunder.

*England* being thus disturbed in divers places by fresh Insurrections and Rebellions, [5.] *Earl Baldwin de Redvers* (who had been formerly banished by the King) Landed at *Warham* with some Forces, and was presently after received through the treachery of the Governour into the Castle of *Corfe*, which being one of the strongest Places of *England*.

Anno Dom.  
MCXXXIX.

The Business  
adjourned till  
the Arrival  
of the Arch-  
bishop of  
*Rouen*, who  
also under-  
takes to de-  
fend the  
King's Cause.

The Legate  
and Bishops  
throw them-  
selves at the  
King's Feet,  
beseeching  
him to have  
mercy on the  
Church, and  
restore the  
Bishops their  
Possessions.

But being de-  
nied the  
Council is  
dissolved.

[4.]  
G.R.S. p.945.  
These Differ-  
ences encour-  
age *William*  
*de Mohun*, and  
other Barons  
to rebell.

[5.]  
Id. p.946.  
*Earl Baldwin*  
*de Redvers*  
Lands at  
*Warham* with  
some Forces.



Anno Dom.  
MCXXXIX.

And seizes  
the Castle of  
Corf, the King  
marches  
down to take  
it, without  
success.

\* MS. in Bib.  
Coron. Sub.  
Domitian. No.  
13. Upon  
News of the  
Earl of Glou-  
cester's, and  
the Empress's  
intentions to  
come over,  
the King ca-  
joles both the  
Nobility and  
the Commons  
by Acts of  
Grace.

† *St. Plebeis-  
fulcitur ad-  
jutoribus.*

[1.]  
O. V. 16.  
The Earl of  
Gloucester  
with the Em-  
press arrive  
in England,  
with but a  
few Forces.

[2.]  
W.M. p. 104. a.  
The Earl  
marches a-  
way for Bri-  
stol, and leaves  
the Empress  
with the  
Queen Dow-  
ager her  
Mother-in-  
law, who for  
fear of the  
King soon  
grows weary  
of her.

[3.]  
Contin. Flor.  
Wigorn

[4.]  
C. G.  
The Queen  
Dowager up-  
on the King's  
approach  
sends to the  
King to ex-  
cuse her self  
for receiving  
the Empress.

[5.]  
W.M. p. 104.

[1.]  
G. R. S. 16.

England, Baldwin resolved to fix himself there; to prevent which, the King immediately marched down with his Forces, but when he came thither, finding it too strong to be taken in haste, he raised the Siege, and return'd back to the more Inland parts of England, giving Orders, that strict Guards and Watches should be kept at all the Sea Ports to- wards Normandy, to prevent the Landing of the Earl of Gloucester, who was then every day expected with a great Army of Foreigners. And it was about this Time (as \* *Richard of the Devizes* relates) that the Empress *Matilda* being also expected with Earl *Robert*, King *Stephen* to oblige the Great Men of the Kingdom to his Service, assembled them, and granted them new Earldoms and Baronies out of his own Demesnes, or Crown-Lands; and also that he might be sure of the Assistance of the † *Commons*, he granted to all † Free Tenants that they might build Castles upon their Lands, and also allow'd them the liberty of Hunting and Hawking; whereupon the whole Council or Assembly being never like to receive a greater favour, willingly accepted it, and returned the King many Thanks for the Liberties now granted them.

[1.] But notwithstanding all these Endeavours, the Earl hearing that the King was embroiled with those Insurrections, and being also much encouraged by those of his Party in England, towards the end of September, he brought over his Sister the Empress along with him, and Landed at *Arundel*, where they were kindly received by *Adelisa* the Queen Dowager, to whose Husband that Castle then belonged; the Forces the Earl brought over with him were [2.] but very few to carry on so great War as was now to be undertaken, for they were no more than a hundred and forty Souldiers. Then after a few days stay to refresh himself, the Earl committing his Sister to the care of the Queen Dowager her Mother-in-law, marched away with no more than Twelve Knights (besides their Attendants) quite through the Enemy's Country, as far as *Bristol*, *Brian* Son to the Earl of *Wallingford*, meeting him half-way. [3.] But not long after, the Queen fail- ing in her Promises, which she had made them before their Arrival, grew weary of her Daughter-in-law, or rather was afraid to disob- lige the King by entertaining his Enemies.

For [4.] he being at the time of the Empress's Landing taken up with the Siege of *Marlburgh* Castle, as soon as he received the News of it, immediately raised the Siege, and marched towards *Arundel*; but upon his Approach, the Queen Dowager being afraid lest her Castle should be taken, and her self made a Prisoner, she sent the King word, that she was ready to take her Oath, that she was not the occa- sion of the Empress, or her Adherent's Landing in England, nor had entertained them as his Enemies, but only as her near Relations and antient Acquaintance. With which Message the King was not only pacified [5.] but shewed himself so generous an Adversary, that he not only allowed the Empress his safe conduct to go whither she pleased, but also ordered his Brother the Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Waleran* Earl of *Mellent*, to conduct her. Earl *Waleran* waited on her no fur- ther than *Calne* in *Wiltshire*, but Bishop *Henry* attended her to the end of her Journey. Then Earl *Robert* taking some Forces along with him, met the Empress at the Bounds the King had appointed, and carried her to *Bristol*; [1.] from whence after two Months stay, (recei- ving



ving in the mean while all Men's Homages that offer'd themselves, and disposing of the Rights of the Crown of *England* according to her will) she went to *Gloucester*, where she was kindly received by *Milo*, who had the Custody of that Castle under the Earl; and tho' he was lately Chief Constable to the King, yet had he a little before renounced his Allegiance to him, swearing anew to the Empress, and doing her Homage: so that the whole Country about *Gloucester*, even to the very borders of *Wales*, partly by force, and partly through Inclination, before the end of this year submitted to the Empress; tho' some Governours of Castles who stood upon their Guard, keeping themselves as Neuters within their places of Strength, waited for the issue of these Affairs.

But to make some reflection upon what has been here related; perhaps it may seem a very odd piece of Policy in King *Stephen*, not only to give his Competitor the Empress a safe conduct to *Bristol*, but also to appoint his Brother the Bishop of *Winchester* to wait upon her thither; nor can I find the reason of it in any other Author, except [2.] the Anonymous Writer of this King's Actions, who says, that when the King was about to Besiege the Empress in *Arundel* Castle, his Brother the Bishop dissuaded him from it, telling him, that this Siege would take up a great deal of time, that in the mean while the Earl of *Gloucester* might over-run or perhaps subdue the greatest part of *England*, and therefore it were better to give her leave to go to her Brother, and then the King might carry on the War against both of them at once; in which whether the Bishop acted sincerely, or designed by it to ruin the King, as being still infenced against him for his late harsh usage of the Bishops, or else might not have made his Peace under-hand with the Earl of *Gloucester* and the Empress, our Author does not determine; but certainly this advice proved very fatal to the King's Affairs, as you may have already observed: and thus the Kingdom, which was before the Empress's coming over full of Tumults and Commotions, now fell into a cruel and violent Civil War.

Not long after her arrival, *Brian Fitz-Count*, a Baron of great Birth and Estate, was thereby encouraged to rebell against the King, and to that end, declaring for the Empress he Victualled and Fortified the Castle of *Wallingford*; to Besiege which the King presently marched with a very great Force, but finding it too strong to be taken without longer time, then he could at that Season afford, he only order'd the Building of two Forts to Block it up to hinder the Garrison's going out to Plunder, and then he marched on to Besiege the Castle of *Troubridge* in *Wiltshire*, and in the way thither, took the Castles of *Cerne* and *Malmesbury*, in which last *Robert Fitz-Hubert* the Governour was taken Prisoner.

Whilst the King was engaged in this Expedition, *Milo* the late Constable laid hold of the Opportunity, and marching speedily by Night from *Gloucester* to *Wallingford* with a strong party of Light-horse, fell upon those the King had left in the Forts to Block up the Castle, so that he either kill'd or took most of them Prisoners. And having met with this good success he marched back towards *Gloucester*, which he made the chief Seat of the War for that Part of *England*. These actions happened sometime before the Empress came to that Ci-

Anno Dom.  
MCXXXIX.

The Empress receives the Homages of all that would, and removes from *Bristol* to *Gloucester*, where she is received by *Milo* late Constable to the King.

Some Reflections upon the King's generous tho' impolitic Proceeding; and the Reason of it.

[2.]

G. R. S.  
P. 947.

[3.]

*M. Ib.*  
*Brian Fitz-Count* Rebels, and Fortifies *Wallingford* Castle: the King marches to take it, but can do no more than build two Forts to Block it up.

*Milo* late Constable raises the Blockade of *Wallingford* Castle, and takes the Forts.



Anno Dom.  
MCXXXIX.

Who for his  
good Service  
is by the Em-  
press made  
Earl of Here-  
ford.

[4.]  
Id. P. 948.  
The King Be-  
siegues the Ca-  
stle of Trou-  
bridge, but  
after some  
time raises  
the Siege, and  
marches to-  
ward London.

[5.]  
Con. F. W.  
Earl Milo goes  
from Glouce-  
ster, and at-  
tacks the Ci-  
ty of Worces-  
ter, sets it on  
Fire, and mar-  
ches off with  
a Considera-  
ble Booty.

[1.]  
Id. Ib.  
The Earl of  
Worcester  
when he saw  
the City so  
destroyed, in  
revenge Plun-  
ders all the  
Country a-  
bout Sudely.

[2.]  
Id. Ib.  
The King co-  
ming to Wor-  
cester makes  
William Beau-  
champ his  
Constable in  
the room of  
Milo.

Anno Dom.  
MCXL.

[3.]  
R. G. S.  
P. 949.  
The King  
marches a-  
gainst the Isle  
of Ely.

ty, whom *Milo* soon after received, and espous'd her Interest with as great heartiness, as if he had been her Father; and she in requital created him afterwards Earl of *Hereford*.

[4.] But we shall now look back on what the King has been doing all this while in the *West*, where sitting down before the Castle of *Troubridge*, tho' he Battered it with his Warlike Engines, yet it proved all in vain; and therefore finding it was not like to be easily taken, he was advised by those Barons and Great Men that assisted him in this Siege, immediately to rise from thence, and to return towards *London* to recruit his Forces, lest the Earl of *Gloucester* should lay hold of this opportunity to surprize him, and make him raise the Siege, whither he would or not, and thereby expose himself to greater hazards; which advice the King followed, and only left in the Castle of the *Devizes* a Garison sufficient to restrain the Excursions of those of *Troubridge*; so that these two Garisons often Sallied out, and meeting, Skirmish'd each other, and thus by their Frequent Plunderings and Burning of Houses and Towns, the whole Countrey was laid in a manner desert.

[5.] Not long after this, *Milo* above mentioned having taken in many Castles and strong Places about *Gloucester*, was resolved to attack the City of *Worcester*, (which was then held for King *Stephen*) wherefore marching thither with an intent to Burn and Plunder it, upon the News of the Earl's approach great part of the People retired with their Goods within the Close of the Cathedral: then the Enemy attacked a strong Fortrefs on the South-side of the Town, but being beaten off from thence, they assaulted the North-side, where they enter'd and fired it in many Places, and burnt a good part of the City, tho' the greater part remain'd; here they got a very large Booty of the Citizen's Goods, as also of Oxen and other Cattle in the Countrey; they took also several Prisoners in the Lanes and by-Streets of the City, and coupling them together like Dogs hurried them away, so that whither they had or had not sufficient for the ransom set upon them, yet they were compell'd to pay such Sums as by a forced Oath they had promised.

[1.] In *November* following the Earl of *Worcester* came to the City, and when he saw how it was destroy'd, he was much grieved, and deeply resenting the Injuries he had received from the Enemy, gathered together some Forces, and went to *Sudely* in *Gloucestershire* to be revenged upon *John Fitz-Harold*, who had now deserted the King and gone over to the Empress's Party; there the Earl stayed two days doing all the mischief he could, and carrying away many Men with their Goods and Chattles to *Worcester*; but not long after, the King himself coming thither from *Oxford* with a considerable Army, beheld with great grief, what had already been told him concerning the Destruction of that City.

[2.] From thence after he had made *William Fitz-Beauchamp* (at that time Sheriff for *Worcestershire*) his High Constable, or Marechal, in the room of *Milo*, who had deserted him, he returned to *Oxford*, and from thence to *Salisbury*, where he kept his *Christmass*.

[3.] After which he came to *Reading*, and there lay a while to recruit his Forces, and then marched towards the Isle of *Ely*, for he looked upon the Bishop of that Diocess as his Enemy, ever since he had



had retreated thither from the *Devizes*, and had strongly fenced the Isle with a Fortification of Wood and Turfes near the Water-side, which commanded the Landing-place; upon the King's arrival near it, he at first met with some opposition, but coming to *Alhereth*, and from thence making a Bridge upon Boats and Hurdles over the River, he made a shift to Land without any great difficulty; upon which Bishop *Nigel* seeing he could not any longer defend the Isle against so Powerful an Army, stole away in the Night to *Gloucester*, and his Men run all away and hid themselves in the Fens; and then the King seizing the Isle, placed a strong Garison in it, and without doing any Injury to the Monks, returned to *Worcester*, from whence he not long after marched with a numerous Army to reduce *Hereford*, as he not long after did.

[4.] But whilst he remained at that Place, the Earl of *Worcester* not forgetting the Injury his Citizens had lately received, went with a great Party of Souldiers and set upon *Tewkesbury*, but being not able to take the Town, he contented himself with Plundering and Burning the Magnificent Palace of Earl *Robert*, as also the Houses of several others lying a Mile off, sparing only the Goods belonging to the Church, and that at the Intreaty of the Abbot and Monks of *Tewkesbury*; here they also took abundance of Prisoners, and got a great deal of Plunder, but after a while all the Prisoners he had were released and left at liberty to go home, which was at that time thought a very great favour, since it had been the usual practice of the Souldiers to sell the ordinary People for Villains or Slaves.

[5.] But whilst the War was thus furiously carried on in *England*, a Mariage was Celebrated in *France* by the Advice of the Barons of that Kingdom, between *Eustace* King *Stephen's* Son, and *Constantia*, Sister to the King of *France*, Queen *Matilda*, Mother to the young Prince, being present at it, with divers of the Nobility of both Nations; tho' instead of receiving any Portion with this Lady, King *Stephen* was fain to pay the King of *France* a great part of the Treasure he had lately taken from the Bishop of *Salisbury*; yet the King gain'd this Advantage by it, that his Son *Eustace* was now Invested by the King of *France* in the Dutchy of *Normandy*, the new Duke doing him Homage for it, according to the Custom of his Predecessors.

[1.] About the same time *Robert Fitz-Hubert* a wicked and cruel Man, (many instances of which our Author gives us) treacherously seized the Castle of the *Devizes*; and declaring neither for the Empress, nor for the King, was about to send for more Souldiers out of *Flanders*, whereby he bragged he would take in all the Countrey from *Winchester* to *London*; but being not long after surprized and taken Prisoner by *John* Governour of *Marlburgh* Castle for the Empress, and by him given up to Earl *Robert*, he was by his Orders Hanged before the Castle of the *Devizes*, because he refused to make his Men Surrender it for the Empress's use; being indeed neither obedient to her, nor true to the King, so that those who did this Piece of Justice deserved commendation, who thus freed their Countrey from so Bloody and Insolent an Enemy.

I must not here omit what the [2.] Anonymous Writer of this Reign farther adds, concerning this Castle of the *Devizes*, that the Garison that was in it, seeing their Governour thus Executed before their Faces,

Anno Dom.  
MCXL.

The Bishop  
steals away,  
and the Isle is  
Surrender'd.

[4.]  
Con. F. W.  
The Earl of  
*Worcester* sets  
upon *Tewkes-*  
*bury*, but  
not being  
able to take  
it, burns the  
Palace of Earl  
*Robert* lying  
near, and marches off with  
a great deal  
of Plunder.

[5.]  
C. G.  
A Mariage  
in *France* be-  
tween *Eustace*  
the King's  
Son, and the  
K. of *France's*  
Sister.

[1.]  
W.M. p. 105. d.  
C. F. W.  
The Treache-  
ry and deser-  
ved Fate of  
*Robert Fitz-*  
*Hubert*, before  
the Castle of  
the *Devizes*.

[2.]  
G.R.S. P. 951.



Anno Dom.  
MCXI.

The Garison  
in the Castle  
make Count  
Hervey their  
Governor, but  
at last he is  
forced to sur-  
render it, and  
leave the  
Kingdom.

[3.]  
Id. P. 953.

[4.]

Id. Ib.

Hugh the Poor  
loses the Ca-  
stle and Earl-  
dom of Bed-  
ford.

[5.]

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followed their Counsel who were desirous of nothing less than Peace; so the Commissioners bestowed their time and labour in vain, and parted just as they met, without coming to any Conclusion: then the War broke out again as fierce as ever, as has been already shewn.

[3.] About the last of September the Legate thinking it his duty to promote Peace (as much as he could) took a Voyage into France, to see whither he could not procure it by going over thither; his design was to confer with that King, and Theobald Earl of Blois, (King Stephen's Elder Brother) about composing the Differences that were here in England, after which he returned about the end of November, bringing along with him such Proposals for Peace, as the Empress and Earl Robert assented to: I could have wished our Author had told us in particular what they were, but they seem not to have been for the King's advantage, since he delayed his Answer from day to day, and at last wholly refused to agree to them.

[4.] In short, this unhappy War was spent in nothing but taking and retaking of Towns and Castles, Plundering and Burning of Houses, not so much as sparing the very Churches; and altho' the Archbishop with the rest of the Bishops thundered out their Excommunications against all Violators of Persons in Holy Orders, as also of Churches, and other Consecrated Places, yet they had little or no effect; so that England, which was wont to be a refuge to those that fled to it, was now reduced to this Extremity, that not so much as the Ecclesiasticks could pass from Town to Town in safety, for the great Swarms of Mercenaries from Flanders and Bretagne, who being wont to live upon Plunder, came over hither upon the hopes of Spoil, [5.] and often taking the Innocent English Prisoners, forced them with cruel Torments to ransom themselves with Money; and the Earl of Gloucester did what he could to hinder these Exorbitances, and did also perform all the Parts of a Courageous Soldier, and prudent Commander, taking in all the strong Places he could: Nor was King Stephen wanting to discharge his duty, omitting no occasion to repel his Enemies, and defend himself, but his endeavours failed of Success, and all things grew worse, and worse for want of a due administration of Justice.

[6.] And now likewise the dearth of Corn, and all sorts of Provisions, began to encrease, and the difficulty in paying or receiving of Money was so great, by reason of its being so much counterfeited, that sometimes of Ten Shillings scarce one would go; and the King himself had contributed to this mischief in commanding the Money to be raised above its true value, because the vast Treasure of his Predecessor being now exhausted, he had not wherewith left to pay so many Soldiers as he was then forced to maintain; therefore all Dignities and Offices were now made Saleable, even to the very Bishopricks and Abbies, and that not privately, but openly, being justified as necessary for that time: This was the sad and deplorable state of England, not only in this, but the most part of the succeeding years of this King's Reign, as William of Malmesbury relates, who was an Eye-witness of it.

[7.] This is the Sum of the Civil as well as Military Actions of this Year, and nothing else happened considerable; Only as to natural Phenomena, upon the Eleventh of the Month of April (being our

Anno Dom. MCXL.

[3.]

Id. Ib. The Bishop of Winchester to promote the Peace takes a Voyage into France.

But the King refuses to agree to the Proposals he brought over.

[4.]

Id. Ib. The sad state of the Kingdom in this Year's War.

[5.]

C. E. W.

[6.]

The great dearth of Provisions by reason of the Counterfeiting Money, and how much the King contributed to it by raising the value of his Coin.

[7.]

Id. Ib.

Twenty



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A Great E-  
clipse of the  
Sun.

[1.]

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[4.]

[5.]

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[60.]

Twenty first of March) early in the Morning, happened so great an Eclypse of the Sun, that Men were forced to light Candles to eat their Meat by (as the Saxon Annalist relates) and William of Malmesbury adds, that those who sat at Table where he was, fear'd the Return of the antient Chaos, for going out they could perceive divers Stars near the Sun; yet our Author is mistaken in placing this Eclypse on the Thirteenth of the Kalends of April, (i. e. the Nineteenth of March) for it was not New Moon till the Twenty first.

Where the King kept his Christmas this year I find not, only it is certain this year produced great Changes in England, [3.] for King Stephen having about the end of the last left Lincoln (where he had spent some time) Ranulph Earl of Chester (who had Married the Daughter of Earl Robert) together with William de Romare, laying hold of this opportunity surprized the Castle of Lincoln, but the Citizens who much favoured the King, sent to let him know, that both the Earls were very secure in the Castle, and not dreaming of his coming, they might easily be taken, in which design they would give him their utmost Assistance: Whereupon the King began his March presently after the Christmas Holy-days; but before that time, the Citizens, upon the News of his coming to them, seized seventeen Men at Arms, that were got out of the Castle into the City, and made them Prisoners; whereupon the Earl of Chester in the Night quits the Castle, and going thence into Cheshire, raised fresh Forces from that County, as also some Welshmen under the Conduct of Morgan and Maradoc their Princes; he also applied himself to his Father-in-law Earl Robert, and to the Empress her self, promising her all future fidelity, if he might but obtain their Assistance; for he was very solicitous about his wife's safety, whom he had left behind in the Castle; with these earnest Entreaties the Earl of Gloucester easily complied, and joyn'd what Forces he had of his own to those of his Son-in-law, and not thinking them sufficient, he raised more by the way, and so marched towards Lincoln; when the King (who had layn before the City from Christmas to Candlemass) heard of their approach, he raised the Siege and marched towards them in Battell array; his Army (which was not great) consisted of a Main Body of Foot, headed by himself; one of the Wings consisting of Flemings, was led by William de Ipre a Nobleman of Flanders; the other of Bretons was Commanded by Alan their Earl, besides a Body of Horse Headed by Wateran Earl of Meleut, with whom were also William Earl of Waren, and Gilbert de Clare, with divers Noblemen of Norman Extraction.

[4.] The Earl of Gloucester's Army was divided into three Bodies, the first whereof was Commanded by Ranulph Earl of Chester, the second consisted of those whom King Stephen had deprived of their Estates, the third was led by the Earl of Gloucester himself, by which the Vant Guard, consisting of Welshmen, was Commanded by two Welsh Princes, Maradoc and Kaladar. H. Huntington and Roger de Hoveden here bring in the Earl of Chester making a long Invective Speech at the Head of the Army, full of Personal Reflections against Alan Earl of Bretaign, and the other chief Commanders in the King's Army, which is seconded by the Earl of Gloucester in another much longer, setting forth all the Vices and Faults of those Noblemen who

were

The Earl of  
Chester quits  
the Castle,  
and goes into  
Cheshire to  
raise more  
Forces, and  
brings the  
Welsh Princes  
to assist him.

The Earl of  
Gloucester al-  
so joyns his  
Forces with  
Ea. Ranulph's,  
with which  
they march  
to Lincoln,  
the King rais-  
es the Siege,  
resolving to  
fight them.

The Order of  
the King's  
Army.

[4.]  
C.B. Col. 1039  
How the Earl  
of Gloucester's  
Army was  
drawn up.

The Invective  
Speeches that  
were made by  
Noblemen on  
both Sides,  
before the  
Battel.



were of the King's Parry, and (that they might not be behind hand with the other) he brings in one *Baldwin Fitz-Gilbert* an Eloquent Knight of the King's side, doing the like for him, because he had naturally but a weak voice; but since we are not assured that these Orationes were ever really spoken by those whose names they bear, I shall omit giving you any further account of them, tho' of the bad Omens which they say befell the King before this Battel, I shall here give you a short Relation from *Henry Huntingdon*, which is to this effect: That the *Welsh* first charging the *Flemings* and *Britains*, soon routed them, and that then the Earl of *Chester* furiously fell on the Earl of *Mellent*, who presently fled, as did also most of the Noblemen and Soldiers on the King's side, and even one of the stoutest of them, viz. *William de Ipres*, seeing it impossible further to assist the King, fled likewise, and so reserved himself for better times: but the Main Body of the Army (in which the King himself was) consisting of Foot, being yet unbroken, all the Enemy's Horse turned upon them, which begot a sharp dispute, till at last the King's Army was totally routed, except a small Parry where he himself was, who fought stoutly, defending himself with a *Danish* Battel-Axe, and so laid about him, that none durst come near him, till that being broke with the force of his Blows, he then defended himself with his Sword, and that also breaking, he was knocked down on his Knees with a Stone thrown from an unknown Hand, which a valiant Knight (called *William de Kains*) perceiving, he immediately ran in, and took hold of the King's Helmet; yet for all this he refused to Surrender himself to any but the Earl of *Gloucester*, who being hard by was called to take him Prisoner. The Earl for some time forgetting their former Quarrel, used him like a Kinsman, and tho' he was a Prisoner, yet omitted no Respect that was due to his Royal Dignity: With him likewise were taken Prisoners that Brave Knight (whom our Author supposes to have made the Speech for him), also *Richard Fitz-Urse*, and *William Martel* the King's Sewer, who was forced to deliver up the strong Castle of *Shirburne* for his Ransome, with divers others who fought near the King's Person, and thought it would fully their Honour to forsake him; but the Earls of *Bretaign* and *Mellent*, with most of the Men of Quality saved themselves by flight.

The King being thus made Prisoner, was carried to *Gloucester*, and there presented to the Queen by the Earl her Brother, and from thence was conveyed to *Bristol*, where he was a while kept in safe, but Honourable Custody, (being only debar'd of his Liberty) but sometime after, either through the ill will of some who were vexed, to see the Earl use the King better than they desired he should; or because it was reported, that by bribing his Keepers, he had been found abroad in the Night beyond the Bounds of his Confinement, he was at last Fettered with Irons.

Not long after the close Imprisonment of the King, *Nigel* Bishop of *Ely* (as the Manuscript History [1.] of that Monastery informs us) by the Assistance of the Empreſs, recovered the whole Isle, and returning thither in Person, after two year's Exile, was received by the Clergy and Laity with great Rejoycings; yet for all that he by the Council of some wicked persons about him, again seized upon the Goods and Lands belonging to the Monastery; and also Coynded a new Groat of Silver with what Stamp he pleased.

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A Relation of  
the Battel of  
*Lincoln*, where  
the King's  
Army is to-  
tally defea-  
ted.

And where he  
himself being  
knockt down,  
is taken Pri-  
soner, with  
divers other  
Persons of  
Quality.

[5.]  
W. M.  
P. 106. 2.  
The King is  
presented to  
the Empreſs,  
and carried  
Prisoner to  
*Bristol*.

[1.]  
Penes Doct.  
Gale. *Nigel*  
Bishop of *Ely*  
returns to his  
own Church,  
and there  
Coyns new  
Money.

But



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[2.]  
G. R. 3.  
P. 953.  
The Empress  
brings over  
the Bishop of  
Winchester to  
her Party.

[3.]  
W. M.  
P. 106.  
And upon  
what Condi-  
tions.  
\* *Ut ipsam in  
Ecclesiam, &  
Regnum reci-  
peret.*  
Id. lb.

\* DOMINA.

† *Passum.*

[4.]  
Cont. F. W.

[5.]  
Id. lb.  
From Winche-  
ster the Em-  
press removes  
to Wilton,  
where the  
Ab. of Cant.  
and other  
Bishops pro-  
mise to own  
her if the  
K. will give  
leave.

\* *Dominam.*

The Archbi-  
shop owned  
her for no  
more than  
Lady, not  
Queen.

But the wisest action the Empress performed after this Victory was in following the Advice of her Brother the Earl of Gloucester, who used all means possible to bring over the Bishop of Winchester to her Party, since he exceeded all the Prelates of England in Prudence, Riches and Power; for being then the Pope's Legate, 'twas very great odds, that which way soever he inclin'd, the Ballance would turn on that side: but he remain'd for some time very uncertain what to do, for tho' he had been much displeas'd with the King his Brother, yet it seem'd dishonourable (having sworn Allegiance to him) wholly to desert him, but finding it very difficult to restore things to their former state, he thought it safest to comply with the time, and make his Peace with the Empress.

[3.] Wherefore upon her and the Earl of Gloucester's earnest Application to him, that he would without delay admit her to the Government over the Church and Kingdom (by which was meant her speedy Coronation) as Daughter to King Henry, and one to whom both England and Normandy had sworn Fealty: after some Treaty by Messengers, they at last agreed, and a Meeting was appointed on the open Plain near Winchester, upon the third Sunday in Lent, where the Empress swore solemnly to the Legate, that he should wholly order and direct all the Great Affairs of both Church and State, and should likewise dispose of all Vacant Bishopricks and Abbies, provided that he and the Clergy would inviolably observe their Fidelity to her, and receive her for their Lady and Mistress. Then the Earl of Gloucester with Brian Fitz Count Marquess of Wallingford, (that is, Governour of that Castle) and Milo the late Constable, and some others, Swearing the same things on her behalf, the Bishop, together with some other Prelates of his Party, acknowledged her for Lady of England, and took an Oath of Fealty to her, that as long as she observed Her *†* *Compass with them, they would also keep their Fidelity to her.* The next day she was received into the City of Winchester, and attended to the Cathedral with a Solemn Procession, the Legate leading her into the Church by the Right Hand, and Bernard Bishop of St. Davids by the Left, many Bishops, Abbots, Barons, and Knights, being there present.

[4.] Then the Legate Cursed all those who cursed her, and Blessed those that Blessed her; and Excommunicated all those who were disobedient to her Commands.

[5.] After some day's stay at Winchester, she went to the Nunnery of Wilton; but Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury, tho' he came thither some time after by the Legate's Invitation, yet deferred swearing Fealty to her as his Lady or Mistress, thinking that it by no means did become his Character and Dignity to change Sides upon every occasion, without first consulting the Imprison'd King, therefore he and most of the Bishops with some few Lay-men were permitted to go and discourse with him, and if possible obtain his leave, that submitting to the necessity of the times, they might go over to the Party of the Empress.

This is William of Malmshury's, and the Continuator of Florence's Account of this Great Transaction, wherein they both agree in their Expressions, by saying that the Archbishop of Canterbury acknowledged her only (*in Dominam, i. e.*) for Lady or Mistress, but neither of them styled her Queen.



But the Anonymous Writer of this Reign is more large, and expresses in some Particulars, than our Author in the relation of this late Transaction between the Empress and Legate, [1.] as that he not only then deliver'd up to her the Castle of *Winchester* with the Crown, and that little Treasure which remain'd there, but also caused her to be publickly proclaimed *Lady* and *Queen* in the Market-Place of that City, which is to be understood only by way of Courtesie, and vulgar Acceptation; for neither this Author, nor *Ordericus Vitalis*, who gives us much the same Relation of this Affair, do for all this Proclamation ever give her any other Title than that of Empress, or Dutches of *Anjou*. But to return to our History.

The same Historian also relates, that King *Stephen* being thus taken, and kept close Prisoner in the Castle of *Bristol*, the whole Kingdom stood astonish'd, and many Noblemen, who before this ill success took part with the King, now went over to the Empress as the stronger side; not to mention *Alan* Earl of *Rickmond*, [2.] who (having been surprized by the Earl of *Chester*, at the Castle of *Galclint*) was by him kept Prisoner, till he had done him Homage, and had deliver'd up all the rest of his Castles to his discretion; but he was forced to do what he did, whilst others quitted the King without any constraint, among whom were *Robert Doyley* Governour of the City of *Oxford*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, Men more addicted to their Pleasures than Military Atchievements. [3.] So that the Empress being now puffed up with this good success, she left off her former Feminine mildness, and began to carry her self with extreme Pride, and haughtiness, especially when she had once possessed her self of the Capital City of the Kingdom, as you will find anon; so that she disannulled all Grants made by King *Stephen*, even to those who had come over to her from the King's party, and tho' the King of *Scots* her Uncle, and the Earl of *Gloucester*, did all they could to perswade her to the contrary, yet being wholly guided by her own will and humour, she would not comply with their desires, which when the Bishop of *Winchester* saw, he held his Peace, and waited to see how things would work: But to return to Transactions of greater moment.

[4.] On *Apr. 9.* following there was a General Synod of all the Bishops and Abbots of *England* held at *Winchester*, in which the Legate presided as the Pope's Legate, notwithstanding the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was present: before the Council met, the Legate had a private Conference with the Bishops, Abbots, and Archdeacons, each of them a part; the next day in a full Assembly he made a set Speech to them, "Setting forth the cause of their meeting, which (in short) was to consult about the Peace of the Kingdom; then minded them of the flourishing Estate thereof in the Reign of King *Henry*, and that divers years before his death, he had taken an Oath of Fealty from *England* and *Normandy*, for the Succession of his Daughter, and her Issue-male, but she, being in *Normandy* at the time of his Decease, had delayed coming into *England*; so that for the present security of the Nation, his Brother was *Elected* to Reign over them. He said further, That tho' he had made himself a Pledge between God and him, that he should honour and exalt Holy Church, maintain the good Laws, and abrogate the evil; yet it grieved him to re-

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[1.]

G. R. S.

P. 953.

Some other Particulars concerning the Legate's delivering up the Crown and proclaiming the Empress Lady and Queen.

Many upon the King's Imprisonment quit his Party, and go over to the Empress.

[2.]

S. D. Contin. Col. 969.

Civitas Oxonfordie sub Rege Præceptor.

[3.]

G. R. S. 16. The Empress being elated with this good success carries her self haughtily and disannuls all King *Stephen's* Grants.

[4.]

W. M.

P. 106. b.

A General Synod held at *Winchester*, where the Legate makes a Speech.



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member (and he was ashamed to speak it) how ill he had behaved himself in the Kingdom, the Peace of which was destroyed, and no punishment inflicted upon the offenders; that the Bishops were imprisoned, and forced to deliver up their Possessions; Abbies were sold, and Churches robbed of their Treasure, the Counsel of ill Men prevailed, and the Advice of the good were despised; that he had once already convened him before a Synod of Bishops, and got nothing but hatred for it; that he ought indeed to love his Natural Brother, but much more the cause of God his Eternal Father; therefore seeing he had exercised his Judgment upon him, so as to let him fall into the hands of his Enemies, lest the Kingdom might be ruined for want of a Governour, he had Summon'd them all hither by his Legantine power; that yesterday the Cause was propounded in private to the greatest part of the Clergy of England, *Whose Right it chiefly was to Elect and Ordain a King*; therefore after having (as is meet) invoked the Divine Assistance, they now Elected *Maud* (Daughter of the late Glorious King *Henry*) Lady of *England* and *Normandy*, to whom they now promised Fidelity and Defence.

[5.] All that were present either assenting to what he said, or else by their silence seeming not to contradict it, the Legate proceeded thus: "We have also Summoned the Citizens of *London* (who in respect of the greatness of their City may be compared with the \* Chief Men of England) and sent them a safe Conduict; and he hoped they would not defer coming beyond the next day, and therefore they would wait for them. The *Londoners* came the next day (according to appointment) and being brought into the Council, said, They were sent from the † Community of *London*, not to make Debate and Contention, but to Petition, that their Lord the King might be delivered out of Prison; as likewise did all those Barons, who had been already received into their Community, earnestly desiring it of the Legate, the Archbishop and all the Clergy there present.

"Then the Legate answered at large, that it became not the *Londoners*, who were esteemed like Noblemen of *England*, to side with such as had forsaken their Lord in Battel, and by whose Counsel he had made Holy Church contemptible, and who favour'd the *Londoners* only for their own Advantage.

[1.] But it was a matter of such great difficulty to bring over the *Londoners* to the Empress's Party, that tho' this Council was held presently after *Easter*, yet it was but a little before *Midsummer*, before they agreed to receive Her into the City.

[2.] Then there stood up a Chaplain to King *Stephen's* Queen, whose Name was *Christian*, and offered a Letter from her to the Legate, who received and read it, but would not communicate it to the Assembly; then the Chaplain with great assurance read it himself, the sum whereof was, "That she earnestly intreated all the Clergy, and by name the Bishop of *Winchester*, her Lord's Brother, to restore him to his Kingdom, whom wicked Men, tho' his Subjects, had cast into Prison.

To this Suggestion the Legate gave much such an answer, as he had before given the *Londoners*, who thereupon consulting together, said, They

The Legate's Answer to the Chaplain.



They would communicate the Decree and Resolution of the Council to their fellow Citizens, and comply with it as far as they could.

[3.] This done, many of the King's party were *Excommunicated*, as *William Martel* by name, who had formerly been his Cup-bearer, and was then his Sewer, whose Advice the King had followed in many things; but the true reason was, he had provoked the Legate in divers Particulars, as by intercepting and Plundering his Goods. After this the Synod was dissolved, which sat only three days; for the first meeting was on the fifth day of the same Week, which was *Friday*, and ended on the *Monday* following.

[4.] From *Wilton* the Empress went to *Reading*, where a great confluence of People resorted to her, and *Robert Doyley* came in, offering her to reside in the Castle of *Oxford*, which she accepted, and went thither, and there received the Homages of that City, and the Country round about it; from thence she went to the Monastery of *St. Albans*, where many of the chief Citizens of *London* met her, and treated about delivering the City to her, to which she quickly came with a great Train of Bishops and Barons, her Uncle the King of *Scots* also accompanying her; and being honourably received by the *Londoners* at *Westminster*, in a Stately Procession, she stayed there some days to give Directions and Orders about the state of the Kingdom; first of all providing for the Peace of the Church, (that is, of Ecclesiastical Persons) so that the greater part of *England* now willingly owned her Authority, her Brother *Robert* acting all things for her Honour, and the Publick Benefit, bringing by fair means, or else by force, most of the Great Men to embrace her Interests; and if she would have hearkened to his prudent Counsel, she had not suffer'd so sudden a Change of Fortune, which happened through her Own too much Severity and Wilfulness, the occasion of which was thus.

[5.] These Affairs being dispatch'd, *Mathilda* King *Stephen's* Queen still solicited this new Lady of the *English*, being encouraged to it by divers of the Principal Men of *England*, that upon Hostages given, and all Castles delivered up to her pleasure, the King her Husband might be released, and restored to his liberty, tho' not to his Kingdom, and said they would undertake to perswade him to quit his pretence to it, and devote himself to the service of God either as a Monk or Pilgrim. This Proposal she absolutely refused with great haughtiness, and thereby so highly incensed the Queen, that when she found she could obtain nothing of her by fair means, she resolved to take other measures, which proved the ruin of the Empress's Affairs, as you will read hereafter.

[1.] At the same time the Citizens of *London* humbly desired her, that they might live under King *Edward's* Laws, being much more gentle than those of her Father, but she following her own humour, would by no means consent to this their reasonable request; and (which was worse,) [2.] being not long after by them invited to come up to *London*, she easily complied with their desires; But tho' the Citizens rejoiced at her arrival (as hoping for better times) and applied themselves to her, beseeching that in consideration of their great Losses by the Wars, she would give them some ease in their Taxes, and other Duties, till the Times should mend, yet she was so far from granting any Relief, that looking upon them with a severe Countenance,

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[3.]

Id. Ib.

Many of the  
King's Party  
Excommunicated in the  
Synod.The Synod is  
dissolved.

[4.]

C. F. W.

The Empress  
removes to  
*Reading*, and  
from thence  
to *Oxford*,  
where she re-  
ceives the Ho-  
mages of that  
City, and the  
Country ad-  
jacent.

[5.]

Id. Ib.

\* Interpellavit  
Dominam An-  
glorum, Re-  
gina.King *Stephen's*  
Queen solli-  
cites the Em-  
press for her  
Husband's Li-  
berty, moved  
to it by many  
of the Chief  
Men of *En-  
gland*.The Empress  
refuses the  
Proposal  
with scorn.

[1.]

Id. Ib.

The Citizens  
of *London's* re-  
quest to enjoy  
K. *Edward's*  
Laws, but she  
refuses it.

[2.]

G. R. S.

P. 954.

As also all  
their other  
Petitions,  
which they  
made upon  
his Arrival  
there.



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[3.]
Queen *Mathilda* finding no hopes of recovering her Husband's Liberty, destroys the Country about *London*.

The Citizens being highly displeased, resolve to return to their old Allegiance.

[4.]
W. M. Ib.
Earl *Robert* does all he can to reconcile the *Londoners* to the Empress, but in vain.

The Empress, fearing to be Seized by the *Londoners*, steals away privately.

[5.]
Lt. Ib.
The Empress denies the Legate to grant *Eustace* his Nephew the Earldom of *Mortaign*; at which the Legate being offended, is reconciled to the Queen his Sister-in-law.

she told them, that since they could bestow their Riches upon their late King, to support him against her, and had joyn'd with her Adversaries to her prejudice, she did not think it reasonable to spare them in the least; with which answer, the Citizens departed much more discontented than they were before.

But [3.] that which farther contributed to the ruin of the Empress's Affairs, was, that Queen *Mathilda* finding there were no more hopes of Reconciliation upon any other Terms than the giving up all that her Husband and Son could pretend to, was now resolved to make use of force to obtain what she looked upon as their Right; wherefore being already Mistress of *Surrey* and *Kent*, she sent over a strong Detachment to the other side of the River *Thames*, to Burn and Destroy the Countrey; which being done in sight of the Empress and her Party (who it seems were not able to hinder it) the *Londoners* were so mortified to see those Places laid waste, from whence they were used to receive most of their Provisions, that this (together with her late rough usage) made them repent their ever quitting of the King, and therefore they now resolved to return as soon as they could to their former Allegiance, and make a new Confederacy with his Queen, to deliver King *Stephen* out of Prison; the Empress all this while thinking her self secure, since the Legate and divers other Bishops and Barons were now come to Town, in order to her intended Coronation; this did rather encourage, than hinder, the Citizens from taking the first opportunity of rising against her, which *William* of *Malmesbury* sets forth more at large, viz. That [4.] the *Londoners*' Affections being now wholly turned against her, it was no easy matter to sweeten them, and again to reconcile them to her; therefore though Earl *Robert* her Brother did all he could by Promises and Threatnings to gain some of them to her Party, and to deter others from leaving it, yet it was all in vain; for the *Londoners* being disgusted by her former rigid Deportment, quite changed the face of her Affairs, for they privately conspired against her, and intended to seize her Person, with those that accompanied her; but they gaining Intelligence of it, resolved to retire privately out of the City; so the Empress her self, attended by her Uncle the King of *Scots*, the Legate, and her Brother Earl *Robert*, and the rest of the Noblemen of her Party, stole away from thence; yet no sooner was she gone, but the Rabble of the City fell upon the Goods she had left behind, and plundered them.

But as Misfortunes seldom come alone, so this Error of the Empress in returning that harsh Answer to the *Londoners*, was followed by another greater mistake in Politicks; for though she had still the Clergy pretty firm to her, yet she lost them likewise by falling out with the Legate, and it was upon this occasion:

King [5.] *Stephen*, whilst Earl of *Mortaign*, had *Eustace* his Eldest Son by *Mathilda*, Daughter and Heir of *Eustace* Earl of *Boloigny*; which Match he obtained by the Recommendation of King *Henry* his Uncle, as the first of these Titles was also owing to his Favour; which Earldoms the Legate was very importunate with the Empress to have her confirm to *Eustace* his Nephew; But the Empress absolutely refusing it, the Legate was so offended at this unkind Repulse, that, though he was often Summoned, he came not for many days to Court;

Court; but in the mean time he had private Conferences at *Guilford* with the Queen his Sister-in-law, where he was easily prevailed with by her Tears and Promises of Satisfaction from the King her Husband, to procure his Delivery and Restoration; whereupon not long after changing sides, he *Absolved* all those of the King's Party, whom he had before *Excommunicated* (the rest of the Bishops not being at all consulted in it): He then also published throughout *England* great Complaints against the Empress, "As that she would have taken and imprisoned him; that whatever she had Sworn to was not observed by her, though the Barons had fully performed their Oaths to her; and that she knew not how to use with Moderation what she had so easily acquired."

From which we may observe, that the Empress (as indeed most other Women) understood not the Arts of Government, nor how to treat People in a new and unsettled state as her's than was, and (which was worse) would not hear any good Advice: also that the *Londoners* (notwithstanding her supposed Hereditary Right) did not think themselves bound to receive her for their Queen, who refused to Govern them according to the just Laws of their former Kings. And lastly, that the Church-men in those days were as easie and free to break their Oaths of Allegiance, and to change their party, either for Advantage, or out of Discontent, as ever they have been since. But to return to our History.

[1.] The Empress when she left *London* in such haste, went through *Oxford* to *Gloucester* to consult with *Milo*, her constant Friend and faithful Servant, in whose Company she presently return'd to *Oxford* again, and stayed there until her dispersed Troops came thither to her, and then she created this *Milo* Earl of *Hereford*, as a Remuneration of his former Signal Services; for he was (next to her Brother) her chief Support, since from him alone she had received the Expences of her Household from her first coming to *Gloucester*, which was then near two years; And this our Author says he had from his own mouth.

[2.] The Earl of *Gloucester* in the mean time went with a few Followers to *Winchester*, to try if he could compose these Differences by discoursing with the Legate; but not meeting with success, he soon return'd to *Oxford* (where his Sister the Empress had then taken up her Residence) And finding by her Brother's Relation, that the Legate had privately deserted her Interest, she marched to *Winchester* with such Forces as she could then get together, and was not without some difficulty received into the Castle, she not daring to trust her self in the City, because she found their Affections much alienated from her by means of the Bishop, who as soon as he heard of her coming slipped out of the Town at another Gate, and would not come any more into her Presence, tho' she sent often for him to wait on her without delay; but he thinking that not very safe for him, deluded the Messengers with a cunning and ambiguous Answer, that he would "prepare himself," and so immediately sent for all the Nobility that he knew favoured King *Stephen*: Upon this most of the Earls of *England* came in to him, who (as *William* of *Malmesbury* relates) were light young Men, that loved Torneaments on Horseback more than Peace; and but very few continued with the Empress, the chief of whom were *David* King of

Scots,

Anno Dom.
MCXLI.

Some short
Reflections
upon the Em-
press's Con-
duct and Ti-
tle.

[1.]
C. C. F.

[2.]
W. M.

P. 107. b.
The Empress
finding that
the Legate
had deserted
her, leaves
Oxford, and
goes to *Win-
chester*.

The Legate
hearing of
her arrival,
slips out of
Town, and
tho' sent to,
refuses to
come back.
* Parabo me.

The Legate
Summons in
the Earls and
Barons of *En-
gland* to assist
King *Stephen*.

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The Empress
Besieges the
Bishop's Tower
or Castle
at Winchester,
whereupon he
marches to
relieve it.

Winchester is
Block'd up by
the Bishop's
Forces.
By Fire
thrown from
the Bishop's
Tower the
Abbey of
Hyde, and a
great part of
that City are
burnt to the
Ground.

[3.]
C. G.

The Nunnery
and Church
of Warwell
are also burnt
with many of
the Empress's
Towns.

[4.]

W. M. Ib.

[5.]

C. F. W.
W. M. Ibid.
Earl Robert
with the Em-
press fearing
an Assault,
quit Winche-
ster.

The Earl of
Gloucester is
taken Prison-
er in his Re-
treat.

The Empress
is carried to
the Devizes
like a dead
Corpse, as
some Histori-
ans relate.

[1.]

W. M. p. 108. a.
Earl Robert be-
ing taken Pri-
soner is pre-
sented to the
Queen, and
then sent to
Rochester-
Castle.

Scots, with the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, and some few Barons.

So soon as the Empress came to Winchester, she Besieged the Tower or Castle that was kept by the Bishop's Men; to relieve which, the Legate brought not only the Earls above mentioned (with whom the Earl of Chester, having now changed Sides joyned) but he had likewise sent for the Londoners, who came down in great Numbers, so that by their assistance the City was Blocked up, and all Passages to it so closely Guarded, that no Provisions could be brought into it without great difficulty; whilst they within were thus streightened, some fire was thrown from the Bishop's Tower upon the Citizen's Houses, because they seemed more inclined to the Empress's than to his party; this took hold of the Nunnery within the City, and at last of the Abbey of Hyde, tho' without it, and burnt them both down to the Ground, together with the greater part of the City, and above Twenty Churches.

[3.] About the same time divers of the Empress's Party went about to Fortifie the Nunnery of Warwell, within Six Miles of that City, which would have commanded all the Country thereabouts; to prevent which the Bishop above mention'd sent William de Ipre with a strong party to dislodge them from thence, who setting upon them drove them into the Church, [4.] and there refusing to Surrender, the King's Men set it on fire and burnt it with the adjacent Monastery to the Ground.

[5.] But for all this the Bishop not being able to take either the Castle or the City, growing weary of the Siege retreated from the Town, yet the King's Men having the Command of the Country, and daily Skirmishing with those of the Empress's, (who often went out to fetch in Provisions) therefore Earl Robert and her Councillors fearing the ill consequences of another Assault, (which they were not able to undergo) thought it best for them to yield to necessity, and retire to another place before it was too late; so Earl Robert preparing all things for their departure, sent his Sister before with the greatest part of the Army and best Troops, under the Conduct of her Brother Earl Reginald, who marched in great order, whilst Earl Robert brought up the Rear with Two hundred undaunted Followers; but the King's Forces immediately persuing him, he, to shew himself more careful of his Sister's than his own Safety, and thinking it dishonourable to flee, was set upon and taken Prisoner, whilst the Empress with the rest of the Noblemen escaping with great speed, kept on their Journey as far as to the Castle of Lutgershal, but not finding her self there neither in safety (as Brompton's Chronicle and John of Tinmouth in Histor. Aurea) relate, she removed to the Devizes, and from thence for fear of the King's Souldiers, was carried in a Herse or Bier (like a dead Corpse) to the City of Gloucester; which Story since it sounds very improbable, and is not found in W. of Malmesbury nor any other Author of that Age, I only mention, because I would not be thought to omit any thing that other Modern Writers have thought worth mentioning.

[1.] But E. Robert (who was not at all daunted with these misfortunes) being first brought back to Winchester, and there presented to the Queen, was sent Prisoner to Rochester; and tho' he was tempted by large Promises,

ses,

ses, and urged likewise by Threats to leave his Sister's cause, yet nothing could prevail with him, to desert her, nor would he enter into any Treaty for his Release without her Consent, or to the least prejudice of her Interest: but [2.] within the space of Six Months the King and he were both Exchanged upon even Terms, which was managed with that nice caution on both sides, that it being moved that the King, because of his Royal Dignity, ought to be first set free, yet Earl Robert doubting whither himself should be then discharged, the Pope's Legate and Archbishop to satisfy him were both forced to engage that if he were not set free, they would surrender themselves Prisoners; and farther likewise they engaged to obtain the Pope's consent to it. Whereupon the King coming to *Winchester*, had some familiar conversation with the Earl, who was thereupon immediately set at Liberty, and each party were left to pursue the War with as great earnestness as ever.

[3.] Not long after which the Legate being now resolved to perfect what he had begun, proceeded in his design totally to ruin the Empress, and by his Legantine Power Summon'd a Synod to meet Eight Days after the Feast of *St. Andrew at Westminster*; but our Author tells us, that not being present himself at this Council, he cannot give us the Acts of it with that exactness as he had done the former, but yet says in General, that the Pope's Letters to the Legate were openly read, in which he was blamed that he had not more strenuously endeavour'd to restore his Brother, and exhorted him to use all Power both Ecclesiastical and Secular to do it.

[4.] Then the King himself came into the Council, and complained, that his Subjects (to whom he had never denied Justice) had imprisoned, and reproachfully treated him to his great affliction. Then the Legate by his Rhetorick endeavour'd to justify his own late actions, pretending he had received the Empress by compulsion and necessity, not out of favour, or good will; and at that Juncture of Time, when the King's Army was quite routed, and all the Lords of his Party were either fled, or stood expecting the Event, she with her Adherents came to *Winchester*; and whatever Compact she had sworn to, or promises she had made to preserve the Rights of the Church, she had wilfully broke them all. He further said, "That she and her Friends had contrived not only to deprive him of his Dignity, but his Life; but God in his great mercy had beyond her expectations and endeavours, so ordered things, that he escaped destruction; and the King his Brother being now freed from his Imprisonment, he therefore commanded them on the behalf of God and the Pope, that they should aid the King to the utmost of their Power, *Who was anointed by the free will of the People, and Assent of the Apostolick See*; and that he would Excommunicate all Disturbers of the Publick Peace, and that favoured the Dutchess of *Anjou*, for so he then styled the Empress.

But tho' our [5.] Historian not being present in this Council, cannot tell us exactly what was done in it, as in the former, yet he says in General, that the Legate's words were not grateful to all the Clergy, tho' none of them durst contradict them, but out of fear and reverence they kept silence; only one Lay-messenger from the Empress forbade the Legate by the Fealty he had before sworn to her, to

act

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MCXLI.

[2.]
Id. P. 109. A.
The King and the Earl are mutually released.

[3.]
Idem.
P. 108. A.
Another Synod Summon'd by the Legate, wherein he endeavours to restore his Brother to the Throne.

[4.]
Id. Ib.
The King himself appears at this Council, and complains of the ill usage he had received from his Subjects.

The Legate excuses his joining with the Empress.

And commands all Men under pain of Excommunication to obey the King his Brother.

[5.]
Id. Ib.
The Legate's Speech not well received by the Clergy tho' they durst not contradict it.

A Messenger from the Empress forbids the Legate to act any thing to her Prejudice.

Anno Dom.
MCXLI.

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[1.]  
O. V.  
P. 923.  
The Earl of  
Anjou again  
enters Nor-  
mandy.

\* Not Mor-  
tain in Nor-  
mandy, but an-  
other Place of  
the same  
name in Pi-  
cardy.

A Council is  
there assem-  
bled, where  
divers of the  
Great Men  
offer that  
Dutchy to  
Theobald Earl  
of Blois.  
Verneuil and  
other Places  
are Surren-  
der'd to Earl  
Geoffrey.

Anno Dom.  
MCXLII.

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[2.]
Id. P. 109. b.
The War is
again renew'd
as fiercely as
ever. The Earl
of Anjou is de-
sired to come
over.

The King up-
on his return
from York is
taken with
such a fit of
Sickness
that he was
given over,
yet recovers.

[3.]

Id. Ib.

Another
Council call-
ed of the Em-
press's Party,
where the
Messengers de-
liver the E. of
Anjou's Excuse
for not com-
ing over.

“ act any thing in that Council contrary to her Honour or Interest,
“ or to assist his Brother: He added also, That the Empress came in-
“ to *England* by his Invitation; and that if she had taken the King,
“ and kept him Prisoner, 'twas by his Approbation. All this the
Messenger said, and much more, with great sharpness, not at all spa-
ring the Legate, but all his words could not move him to make any
reply, or to shew any passion, much less to desist from his intended
designs.

To conclude this Year with some Account of the Affairs of *Nor-
mandy*: [1.] when *Geoffrey* Earl of *Anjou* heard of his Wife's good suc-
cess in *England*, he went forthwith into *Normandy*, and then sent Mes-
sengers to the Noblemen, requiring them peaceably to deliver up
their Castles and strong holds, which he said belonged to him of Right:
then in *Lent* following *Rotrac* Earl of * *Mortain* made Peace with him,
and breaking the League he had made with the King, assisted the Earl
of *Anjou*. About *Mid-lent* following many of the Great Men of *Nor-
mandy* held a Council concerning the Publick Affairs, where divers of
them, together with *Hugh* Archbishop of *Roüen*, agreed to make an
offer to *Theobald* Earl of *Blois* of the Kingdom of *England*, and Dut-
chy of *Normandy*, but he like a wise Prince, refused those Litigious
Titles; but (if our Author may be credited) he made over all his
Right in them to Earl *Geoffrey* on these Conditions, That he should
Surrender to him the City of *Tours*, which he said belonged to his
Fee, and should also set at Liberty the King his Brother, and restore
to him and his Heirs all those Territories which had belonged to
him in King *Henry* his Uncle's life-time. Upon which the Citizens
of *Verneuil*, who were formerly very violent for the King, when they
saw so many Places Surrendered to the Duke of *Anjou*, they began to
relent, and delivered up both Town and Castle to Earl *Geoffrey*, and
not long after the Townsmen of *Nonen-court* followed their Example.

From [2.] the Feast of *Christmass* until *Lent* following, both Parties
continued quiet, being more desirous to keep their own, than Invade
what was in the possession of another; but then the King began to
move, and the War to be renewed as fiercely as ever; the Empress
also came to the *Devizes*, and there held a Council, in which it was
resolved, That she should send for her Husband the Earl of *Anjou*,
who, perhaps, might prove more fortunate, and help her to recover
her Son's Right in *England*: upon this there were some Persons of
Quality presently sent to him to desire his speedy coming over.

Not long after *Easter* King *Stephen* being followed by his Queen,
marched down to *York*, resolving to Revenge his former Injuries in
those parts, and to that purpose gathered together great Forces,
which quickly after he was obliged to disband; for returning to
Northampton, he was there taken with a grievous fit of Sickness that
held him till *Whitsontide*, so that he was given over for dead, but at
last he recovered his health again.

And [2.] And now the Messengers being returned from the Earl
of *Anjou*, another Council was held at the *Devizes*, where they de-
livered the Earl's Answer to the Empress, and the Chief Men of her
Party, which was to this effect: “ That the Earl, as he was proud to
“ receive such an Invitation from the *English Nobles*, so also he highly
“ esteemed the Earl of *Gloucester*'s Friendship, whose Prudence, Fide-
“ lity,

lity, and Courage, he had long since sufficiently tried, and that if he would come over he would Advise with him what was best to be done to answer their requests; otherwise it would be but in vain to send any body else. Wherefore the Earl was mightily intreated by all the Noblemen there present to undertake this Voyage, but he alledging the difficulty of the Journey, and the great hazard his Sister might run, did all he could to decline it; but at last being prevail'd upon, he demanded certain Persons to go along with him, who might assure the Earl of the fidelity of the English Nobility, that they would to the utmost of their power stand by, and defend the Empress, of whom he desired greater Security for her safe stay at Oxford till his Return; wherefore he took Pledges of the Nobles that were to attend and Guard her there; all which being settled, he left them and took Shipping at Warham in Dorsetshire, and soon arrived in Normandy, tho' not without some difficulty (by reason of a great Storm he met within his Passage:) and came to the Earl of Anjou, who was then at Caen for the Earl taking advantage of the King's Imprisonment, had not long before conquer'd the greatest part of Normandy, and was then busied in gaining the rest.

[4.] This troublesome Affair detain'd the Earl much longer in those parts than he expected, for the Duke made several difficulties, why he could not as yet go over into England, especially because of divers strong Places holding out against him; but that the Earl might do what he could to remove this main Objection, he assisted him in subduing no less than ten Castles in Normandy; yet all this could not procure the effect of his Ambassie; the Earl still starting fresh difficulties, why he could not go along with him, and at last could only be prevail'd with to send over his Eldest Son Henry with his Uncle Earl Robert, by whose Presence the Noblemen of England might be the more encouraged to maintain his Right.

[5.] In the mean time the King taking his Advantage of the Earl's Absence, had surprized the strong Castle of Warham, then destitute of a sufficient Garrison; but the Earl being ignorant of this, set Sail for England (bringing the young Prince Henry Eldest Son to the Emperor over with him) and after a prosperous Voyage arrived in Warham Harbour, and there Landing with sufficient Forces he resolv'd immediately to take the Town, which he presently did, but not the Castle, tho' he Besieged it with all the Forces he could raise, to the end that he might draw the King thither to its Relief, from the Siege of Oxford-Castle, where his Sister the Empress then was; for he had not long before taken the Town and burnt great part of it, but could not take the Castle, by reason of its great Strength: in the mean time the King being now employ'd in that Siege was not able to send any Relief to his Men in Warham-Castle, so they were at last forced to Surrender it; besides, the Earl then took the Isle of Portland, (which the King's Men had also fortified) together with another Castle called then Lullewarden, (now Ludworth Castle in Dorsetshire): after which the Earl Summon'd all those who were for the Empress to meet him at Cyrencester, that they might march together to Oxford for her Relief, and fight the King if he durst abide their coming; but in their way thither, they received the joyful news of the Queen's Escape out of that Castle, and her safe arrival at Wallingford, whither

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MCXLII.

The Earl of Gloucester is importuned by the Noblemen to go over and persuade him to come hither.

The Earl is hardly persuaded to undertake the Journey, yet yields at last, and goes.

The greatest part of Normandy is conquer'd by the Duke of Anjou.

[4.] Yet Earl Robert cannot prevail with the Earl of Anjou to come over.

[5.] The King takes Warham Castle, but E. Robert arrives in that Harbour, and takes the Town.

[6.] The King being employ'd in the Siege of the Castle of Oxford cannot send any Relief thither. Warham-Castle with others forced to Surrender to the Earl.

Who receives the good news of the Empress's Escape out of Oxford-Castle.

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MCXLII.

[1.]
Id. 16. 6.
The Malmesbury's Account of the manner of the Empress's Escape.

the Earl with his Men immediately went according to the Empress's Orders, because the Souldiers who were left in Oxford Castle had Sur-

render'd to the King, upon condition to go whither they pleased; so that the Christmas Holy-days approaching, all the Forces on both sides went into Winter Quarters.

[2.] Our Author further tells us, he would have given us the manner of the Empress's Escape, had he himself certainly known it, and therefore only says in short, that many of the Besiegers turning away for fear of the Earl's approach, the rest that were left kept a more slender Guard about the Castle, of which the Empress being inform'd by some of the Townsmen, her Friends, escaped at a Postern, with only four Attendants, and passing the River (it being then a great Frost) walked to Abingdon on Foot, and from thence was conveyed on Horseback to Wallingford Castle. Here William of Malmesbury concludes his Relation of this King's Reign, tho' he intended to continue it further, which it is pity he had not done, for the greater advantage of our English History, that so we might have had a more certain account of the manner of her Escape, which as yet remains but dark: for the Author of this part of the Saxon Chronicle (lately Printed) tells us in the beginning of Henry the Second's Reign, that she was let down from a Tower by Ropes, and so made her Escape: but since so grave an Author as H. of Huntington (who wrote not long after the crime when this was done) tells us expressly, that the Empress escaped over the Thames, it being then frozen, and a great snow upon the ground, by clothing her self, and those that attended her all in white Linnen; and is therein also followed by Roger Hoveden, Brerton and Gervase of Canterbury's Chronicles, who all three lived in King Henry the Second's and King John's Reigns, I shall not let the Saxon Chronicle in Competition with their concurrent Authorities.

Anno Dom.
MCXLIII.

[1.]
R. H. O.
Another Synod at London, where a Canon is made against those who should lay violent hands on any Clerk.

[2.]
H. H.
King Stephen seizes Geoffrey de Mandevilla, and for what cause.

the Earl with his Men immediately went according to the Empress's Orders, because the Souldiers who were left in Oxford Castle had Sur-

render'd to the King, upon condition to go whither they pleased; so that the Christmas Holy-days approaching, all the Forces on both sides went into Winter Quarters.

[2.] This Year in the beginning of Lent, King Stephen was present at a Synod in London, which was held by the Bishop of Winchester, (the Pope's Legate) wherein it was again Ordained, That whoever laid violent hands upon a Clerk, (that is one in Holy Orders) should not be absolved, unless by the Pope himself, and then only in his Presence.

Which Decree, tho' formerly made in the Reign of King Henry, yet by reason of the violence that was lately committed upon the Persons of Clergy-men during these Wars, it was now again reinforced, and that Clause of the Pope's Presence being added to it, render'd the Persons of all Ecclesiastics for the future inviolable.

[3.] Not long after this, King Stephen holding his Court at St. Albans, seized upon the Person of Geoffrey de Mandevilla Earl of Essex, contrary to the safe Conduct he had given him; but all our Authors excuse it, by saying, that he did this rather out of necessity than choice, and according to the Law of Nature; for unless he had acted thus, he might have been deprived of his Kingdom by the Earl's perfidious practices: wherefore before he could obtain his Liberty, he was forced to deliver up into the King's hands the Tower of London, together with his Castles of Walden and Pleissi, which two last were then counted two of the strongest Places in England.

[4.] The

[4.] The Earl being thus ousted of his Castles, was resolved to be revenged of the King, therefore raising what Men he could, he did a great deal of mischief in the Countreys through which he marched; and going to the City of *Canterbury*, he surprized it before the Citizens were aware, and not only Plundered them, but did the like by the Churches; and setting fire on the Town, marched cross the Countrey as far as *Huntingtonshire*, where wanting a place of Strength for his Retreat, he seized upon the Abbey of *Ramsay*, and driving out the Monks made it a Garison, for which he was *Excommunicated* by the Bishops; yet being a Man of greater Courage than Conscience, he valued it not, but kept the Place till he was strangely and suddenly taken off, as you will find the next year.

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MCXLIII.

[4.]

Id. Ib.

Geoffrey de Mandeville afterward Plunders *Canterbury*, and sets it on fire, and then marches off and seizes the Abbey of *Ramsay*.

[5.]

H. H. Ib.

C. G.

Col. 1358.

The King goes down to *Wilton* where his Quarters being beaten up by the Earl of *Gloucester*, he flies away in the Night, with the loss of his Plate and Baggage.

[5.] After this, some time this Summer, tho' I cannot tell in what Month, the King marched down into *Wiltshire*, with a design to Fortifie the Nunnery of *Wilton*, to prevent those that were of the Empress's Party in *Salisbury* from seizing it; upon which News the Earl of *Gloucester* raising what Forces he could, immediately went thither in the Night, and setting the Town on fire (where the King with his Army than lay) put him into such a fright, that tho' he Quartered in the Nunnery, he dislodged, and left all his Plate and other Baggage behind him, and tho' the Night was very dark yet he hardly escaped with his Brother the Bishop of *Winchester*; the Earl's Souldiers in the mean while killing and taking Prisoners many of the King's Men, and amongst the rest *William Martel* the King's Favourite, whose Redemption cost three hundred Marks, besides the Surrender of the Castle of *Shirborn*, then in his Custody.

Gervase of *Canterbury* places this Action under the year following, but I rather chuse to follow *Henry of Huntington*, who puts it under this.

And as for Ecclesiastical Affairs there happened nothing worth our noting, only that the [1.] Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Bishop of *Winchester* went now to *Rome* to adjust their differences concerning the Legantine Power, which the Archbishop said was an Incroachment upon his Right; but before they could arrive there, Pope *Innocent* died, and *Celestine* succeeded him, and he also deceased before the end of this year.

[1.]

H. H.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Bishop of *Winchester* go to *Rome*, and on what occasion.

[2.]

C. N.

Normandy almost quite subdued by the Earl of *Anjou*, the City of *Roüen* being Surrendered to him.

As to Foreign Affairs, these things are most worth our notice, that *Normandy* being almost subdued the last year, [2.] the Conquest of it was this year quite finished, for *Geoffrey* Earl of *Anjou* having gather'd a great Army in the beginning of *February*, passed the *Seine* at *Vernon*, and Encamping before the City of *Roüen*, had it Surrender'd unto him by the Citizens the day following, being received into the Town with a Solemn Procession; notwithstanding which, the Souldiers of the Earl *Warren* still held the Castle for the King, which Earl *Geoffrey* and *Walleran* Earl of *Mellent*, and other *Norman* Lords, (who had now made their Peace with him) presently Besieged, and tho' they made use of all their Engines, yet could they not suddenly take it, by rea-

Anno Dom.
MCXIII.

[3.]
Id. lb.

son of the Strength of the Place, but at last Provisions failing them, they were forced to Surrender upon Terms.

[3.] But all Things being settled in the City and Castle, the Earl having gathered a great Army, resolved to carry his Conquests to the farthest Parts of *Normandy*, for the Earl of *Flanders* his Brother-in-law was now come to his Assistance with Fourteen hundred Horse; whereupon the Duke undertook the Siege of the Castle of *Drien-court*, which was then held by some Stipendiary Souldiers of the Earl of *Warren*, who seeing they could not resist him Surrender'd the Castle, tho' against their wills. Then also *Hugh de Gornay* delivered up the Castle of *Lyons*, fearing least Earl *Geoffrey* should take away his Estate: thus all things were quiet in *Normandy*, and the whole Countrey reduced to Earl *Geoffrey's* Obedience, except the Castle of *Arcques*, which was still Besieged; upon this the Earl of *Anjou* took the Title of Duke of *Normandy*, and was no more under the Subjection of the *English* till this Earl's Son *Henry* succeeded King *Stephen* in the Throne; till whose Reign we shall say no more of the Affairs of *Normandy*, only that the Castle above mention'd not long after ran the same fate as the rest of that Province had already done.

[4.]
G. R. S.
P. 962.

An odd Account of the death of *Milo* Earl of *Hereford*.

[4.] I shall conclude this year with an Account of the death of *Milo* Earl of *Hereford*, which the Anonymous Writer above mention'd thus relates, viz. that a Quarrel arising between him and *Richard* Bishop of *Hereford*, about certain Taxes or Contributions which he then Exacted from him, and others of the Clergy in his Diocess. But the Bishop refusing to pay it, the Earl at last sent Souldiers to levy it by force; whereupon the Bishop Assembling his Clergy, Excommunicated the Earl and all his Assistants, and also laid an *Interdict* upon his Territories; At last the Earl becoming penitent for his offence, gave Security to make satisfaction, and so was restored to the Church; but on *Christmass* Eve following he was unfortunately slain by one of his own Men with an Arrow, as he was shooting at a Deer, which is looked upon by this Author as a Judgment; But for the truth of this Relation I will not pass my word, since it looks so like the fate of *William Rufus*, and is related by no other Author than this, and the *Welsh* Chronicle; yet thus much is certain, that this Earl's decease went extreemly to the heart of the Empress, whose chief Councillor, Friend and Defender he was.

Anno Dom.
MCXLIV.

[5.]

H. H.

The King Besieges *Lincoln*, but meeting with ill success marches off.

The remarkable Deaths of *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, and *Robert Marmion*.

[1.]

C. G.
Col. 1360.

[5.] This year the King Besieged the City of *Lincoln*, but when he had just begun to build a Fort against the Castle (then under the Command of the Earl of *Chester*) the Enemies Sallied out, and stopping up the mouth of a Mine, smother'd near eighty Pioneers, who were then working in it; whereat the King being discouraged, marched off; nor had he much better success elsewhere, so that this year passed without any great action done on either side.

Neither doth it afford any thing else remarkable, but [1.] the sudden deaths of two Barons of great note, the first *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, who, after he had seized upon the Abbey of *Ramsay* (as you have already heard) Sallied out thence to Besiege *Burwell* Castle, where having made a vigorous Assault, and being much heated in the Action, he withdrew to a Place not far off, to cool and rest himself; and having pulled off his Helmet for that purpose, he was espied by a Souldier in the Castle, who presently shot at him with an Arrow which pierced

pierced his Skull, but the Wound being very small, it was so long neglected, that he died of it within a few days; the like Fate also befell *Robert Marmion* about the same time, who had made a Garison of the Monastery of *Coventry*, which being assaulted by the Enemy, he Sallying out to repell them, was slain before its Gates, in the midst of his own Souldiers. These Accidents I thought fit to relate, as being look'd upon by the Writers of those Times as Judgments upon Sacrilege.

[2.] The beginning of this year was wholly taken up by K. *Stephen* in repelling the Incursions of *Hugh Bigot*, but in the Summer *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester*, having lately built a strong Castle at *Farindon* in *Berkshire*, the King immediately marched thither with all the Forces he could raise, bringing also a strong Body of *Londoners* along with him, who Besieged this Castle with that briskness and vigour, that at last they took it by Storm, which occasioned a great effusion of Blood; whilst Earl *Robert* with those of his party lay not far off, expecting a Reinforcement, tho' to no purpose, and from this time the King's Fortune began to change for the better, however he met not with the like good success in all Places.

For the year following, [3.] the King having long Besieged the strong Castle of *Wallingford*, without being able to take it by force or Art, he built a Wooden Castle or Fort before it, which he called *Crawmers*, and thereby Blocked it up; at which Siege *Ranulph* Earl of *Chester* came in to him with his Forces, and made his Peace with the King, but notwithstanding this show of Friendship, it lasted not long.

[4.] Whilst the King some time after kept his Court at *Northampton*, he on the Twenty fifth of *August*, ordered the Earl to be seized, and committed close Prisoner, and kept him so till he had Surrendered the strong Castle of *Lincoln*, which he had formerly surprized, with all the other Places of strength he had then in his Power, which being done the Earl was restored to his Liberty; but this gave him such an implacable malice against the King, that he was resolved to have them again, or be revenged whatever it cost him; and indeed this Act brought the King into such Extremities, that it may warn Princes either never to disoblige great and powerful Men, or if they once do it, to put it out of their power ever to hurt them again.

[5.] This year produced nothing more worth noting, except that *Geoffrey* Earl of *Anjou* having subdued all *Normandy*, and also quelled the *Anjouins* who were then about to rebell, and being now in Peace, desired to see his Son *Henry*, whom he had sent four years before to his Uncle the Earl of *Gloucester*; wherefore the Earl of *Anjou* sent three Noblemen with a great Train into *England*, to bring over his Son, to which Earl *Robert* readily consenting, accompanied his Charge to *Warham*, where he took Shipping; from which time they never saw each other more, [1.] for the Earl soon after deceased of a Feaver at *Gloucester*, and was buried at *Bristol*. He was certainly a Prince of great Prudence and Magnanimity, and of invincible Fidelity to the Empress his Sister, to whose Interest his death proved so great a Blow that it could never recover it self, till the return of her Son *Henry* into *England*, of which you will hear more anon.

Anno Dom.
MCXLIV.

Anno Dom.
MCXLV.

[2.]
H. H.
The King is taken up in repelling *Hugh Bigot*, and then marches to Besiege the Castle of *Farindon*.

Anno Dom.
MCXLVI.

[3.]
H. H. C. G.
Col. 1361.
The King not being able to take *Wallingford* Castle, builds a Fort against it, to Block it up.

[4.]
Chron. MS.
Cestria.
Ranulph Earl of *Chester* is seized and committed close Prisoner till he Surrender'd the Castle of *Lincoln*.

[5.]
C. G. Id. Ib.
Geoffrey Earl of *Anjou* sends for his Son over to him.

[1.]
Id. Ib.
Robert Earl of *Gloucester* deceased of a Feaver.

Anno Dom.
MCXLVI.

[2.]

Mon. Ang. Vol.
1. p. 643. Earl
Baldwin de
Rivers founds
a rich Mona-
stery at Ex-
ceter.

As to Ecclesiastical Matters, notwithstanding the Civil Wars that now raged, [2.] *Baldwin de Rivers* Earl of *Devonshire* about this time Founded and well Endowed a Monastery at *Exceter*, Dedicated to *St. James*, for Monks of the *Cluniac* Order, which was also confirmed by the Charter of the Empress *Mathilda*; upon the Seal of which (a Draught whereof I have seen) she is stiled *Regina Romanorum & Domina Anglorum*; this shews that the Earl had then engaged in her party, and that she did not account her self absolute Queen, but only Lady of the *English*, or else what need of this distinction in the Titles?

[3.]

Ann. Waverly.
The Pope sets
on foot a new
Crusado by the
Preaching of
St. Bernard.

Nor did this year afford any thing considerable in Foreign Affairs, only [3.] that the Pope hearing of the great Success of the *Saracens* in the *Holy Land*, did now by the Preaching of *Bernard*, Abbot of *Clarevalle*, set on foot a new *Crusado*; *Conrade*, Emperour of Germany, *Lewis* King of France, *Frederick* Duke of *Swevia*, *Theodorick* Earl of *Flanders*, *Waleran* Earl of *Mellent*, *William* Earl of *Warren* his Brother, with divers other Persons of Great Dignity of the *German*, *French* and *English* Nations, taking the Cross (the Mark of that Expedition) and not only Military Men, but divers Bishops, Abbots and Monks taking upon them the same Sacred Ensign, prepared to go to *Jerusalem*; but this Expedition tho' now resolved on, was not undertaken till the next year, and then it proved as unfortunate as those that had preceeded it.

Anno Dom.
MCXLVII.

[4.]

H. H. R. H.
The King goes
to *Lincoln*, and
there holds
his great
Council, and
wears his
Crown, not-
withstanding
a certain Pro-
phesy against
it.

[4.] The King having again possessed himself of the strong City and Castle of *Lincoln*, was much satisfied and went thither in Person, and there held his Court, or Great Council; and to shew his Grandeur, wore his Crown at the *Christmas* Solemnity, which no King before him durst undertake to do in that City, being frightened by a certain Superstitious Prophecie, foretelling death, or some great misfortune to any Prince that ventured it, which the King not valuing at all, is therefore commended by our [5.] Historians for his Courage. But no sooner had He departed thence, but the Earl of *Chester* came up thither with all his Forces to retake it; but he was repulsed, the chief Commander of his Forces being killed in the very entry of the *North Gate* of the Town, and he himself forced to retreat with the loss of many of his Men, which gave the Citizens great cause of rejoycing. Nothing else happen'd remarkable, except [1.] that the Empress *Mathilda* being extremely mortified with the Deaths of Earl *Milo*, and her Brother *Robert*, and therefore despairing of Success, in the beginning of *Lent* returned to the Earl her Husband, being then in *Normandy*, with whom she continued till his Death; nor do we hear any more of her, till her Son Duke *Henry* came to the Crown.

[5.]

Id. Ib.

[1.]

C. G.
Col. 1363.
The Empress
Mathilda de-
spairing of
success, goes
over into *Nor-*
mandy to her
Husband.

[2.]

Id. Ib.

Pope *Eugenius*
comes into
France, and
there holds a
Gen. Council,
where *Willi-*
am A.B. Elect
of *Tork* is de-
prived, and
for what
Cause.

[2.] As for Ecclesiastical Affairs, this time of War affords nothing at home; but Pope *Eugenius* coming this year into France, and holding a Council at *Rheims*, did there without the consent of the greater part of his Cardinals solemnly deprive *William* Archbishop of *Tork*, of his Archbishoprick, because he had been Nominated by the King before he was Canonically Elected, and the Chapter of *Tork* was commanded by the Pope to make a new Election, who chose *Henry Murdac* Abbot of the Monastery of *Fountains* to be Archbishop: and *William* being a weak and pious Man, was forced to retire to
Henry

Henry Bishop of Winchester, and he maintained him until the death of the said Pope.

The Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, the main Props of the Empress's Party, being both lately dead, it is no wonder if the War against the King was now carried on more remissly; so that I do not find any action of moment perform'd this year in England, neither did there happen any considerable alteration in the Church, [3.] only Alexander Bishop of Lincoln, having contracted a Sickness by his Journey into France to visit the Pope, deceased this year, and was Buried at Lincoln: a Prelate more famous in History for his great Magnificence in Building, and Policy in Secular Affairs, than for those more necessary Qualifications of a Bishop, viz. Piety, Charity, or Learning.

I cannot here omit [4.] the bad success of that vast Army above mentioned, that went towards the Holy Land, of which great part perished by the Treachery of Emanuel the Greek Emperour, who ordered Chalk to be privately mingled amongst the Meal that was ordered to make Bread for the Army; and after this, those that remain'd, and arrived in Syria, being routed at the Siege of Damascus, the whole Army dwindled away to nothing, and the Emperour, as also the King of France, with all the other Princes were forced to return home ingloriously.

[5.] Duke Henry, Son to the Earl of Anjou and the Empress, came this year into England with a small, but well chosen Army, (being no more than a hundred and forty Horse, and three thousand Foot) which excited the courage of many of their Friends; for after the decease of the Earls Robert and Milo, (and the departure of the Empress into France) nothing could move the Noblemen against King Stephen, but the Duke's Presence, to whom the Crown was of Right thought to appertain; so having secured Normandy by convenient Garisons on the Frontiers, from the Invasion of the K. of France, he took Shipping, But presently after his arrival (finding he had not strength sufficient to make open War against the King) he took with him Ranulph Earl of Chester, Roger Earl of Hereford, Son of the late Earl Milo, and some others besides those he brought over with him out of Normandy, and went to David King of Scotland, his Great Uncle, who receiving him at Caerlisle with great honour and satisfaction, at the Feast of Pentecost ensuing Knighted him, and some other young Noblemen of his Retinue; which Solemnity being over, the King his Uncle, and himself, resolved with their Joint Forces to Invade England, to prevent which, King Stephen marched into the North Parts, and came to York with a great Army, thereby the better to secure the Countrey and City, and there continued all the Month of August, the King of Scotland lying then at Caerlisle, not daring to Invade the English Territories; and thus after they had layn the whole Summer watching each other's motions, they Both of them return'd home without any Action.

[1.] In the mean time Earl Eustace, Son to King Stephen, (having not long before received the Order of Knighthood) shewed his Brave and Warlike temper, by falling upon and spoiling the Estates of those Noblemen, who took part with the Empress, and destroying them with Fire and Sword, no Man daring to oppose him. But young Prince

Anno Dom.
MCXLVIII.

[3.]
H. H.
Alexander
Bishop of
Lincoln dies.

[4.]
Id. Ib.
The bad success of the Army sent to the Holy Land, great part of which perished by the Treachery of the Greek Emperour.

Anno Dom.
MCXLIX.

[5.]
C. G. W. New-
brig.
Duke Henry
returns into
England with
a small, but
choice Army.

And goes in-
to Scotland to
his Uncle K.
David, by
whom he is
Knighted.

[1.]
H. H.
Earl Eustace
falls upon the
Estates of
such Noble-
men as took
part with the
Empress.

Anno Dom.
MCXLIX.

Anno Dom.
MCL.

[2.]
C. N.
The King of
France being
return'd from
the Holy Land
is displeased
that the Earl
of Anjou
should dispose
of Normandy
without his
consent, and
therefore
joins with
E. Eustace.

A Peace is
made between
the French
King and the
E. of Anjou,
and he invests
his Son Henry
with the Dut-
chy of Nor-
mandy.

Anno Dom.
MCLI.

[3.]
R.D.H.C.B.
Eleanor Dut-
chess of Aqu-
taine, &c. is
Divorced
from the K. of
France, and for
what cause.

[4.]
Id. Ib.
The Dutches
not long after
her return
Marries Hen-
ry Duke of
Normandy.

[5.]
C. N.
The King of
France being
Angry at D.
Henry, invades
Normandy.

Prince Henry finding no good to be done in England, returned before Winter into Normandy to his Father, who not long after surrendered to him that Dukedom, which he had lately Conquered.

Lewis [2.] King of France being newly returned from the Holy Land, was much displeased that the Earl of Anjou, as Duke of Normandy, should presume to dispose of that Duchy to his Son without his Consent; wherefore joining his Forces with those of Earl Eustace, Son to King Stephen, he invaded Normandy with a powerful Army, and Besieged the Castle of Argues; to prevent the taking of which, the Earl of Anjou, and Duke Henry his Son, marched with another great Army of Anjouins, Britains, and Normans, but the Chief Men of both sides seeing this Quarrel could not come to a Decision without great effusion of Blood, they perswaded their Princes to make Peace; whereupon by the Intercession of Friends, the King of France was prevailed on to receive Homage from Henry, as Duke of Normandy, and so Earl Eustace's Claim was now laid aside. But while Duke Henry remained there, consulting with his Great Men, concerning his intended Invasion of England, he received the News of the sudden Death of his Father, who being lately return'd into his own Countrey, and there deceasing, was immediately succeeded by the Duke his Son.

He being thus advanced, not long after Married Eleanor Countess of Poitou, and Dutches of Aquitaine, [3.] late Queen of France, from whom King Lewis her Husband had been newly Divorced, on suspicion of Adultery with a young Saracen in the Holy Land; though a more plausible pretence was found out, viz. as being Cousins in the Fourth Degree; yet King Lewis dealt so honourably with her, as to restore her all her own Territories, and gave her leave to return home in safety, and also provided for the two Daughters he had by her. Nor was the Dutches her self less pleased at this Divorce, though to the loss of her Honour, she having had no Affection for the King, who was too much in Years, and too strict for one of her youthful and gay Humour.

Not [4.] long after her return home a Match was privately Treated on between her and Duke Henry, being then in the Eighteenth Year of his Age, and as much too Young for her, as her former Husband was too Old; who, when he heard how his late Queen had bestowed her self, was highly displeased, because he found that thereby accrued to great an Accession of Dominions to his Rival Duke Henry, and upon this account he ever after both hated and envied him, and did him all the prejudice he could, as you will find in the next Book, when King Henry succeeded Stephen in the Kingdom of England. Though indeed King Lewis could blame no body but himself for it, because he might (if he had so pleased) have kept the Dutches for his Wife with all her Faults.

But to be revenged of King Henry [5.] and to recover by Force what he had lost by his own Weakness, he again joined his Forces with Earl Eustace; and they with Robert Earl of Flanders, Henry Earl of Champagne, and Geoffrey Brother to Duke Henry (who had now upon Discontent joined with them) Invaded Normandy with a powerful Army, and Besieged and took the Castle of New Market, having already divided (in imagination) all Duke Henry's Territories amongst themselves; but he being then at Barblfleet, straight marched against

against them, and giving them a Diversion, fell in upon the *Norman Vexin*, then in the hands of the King of *France*, and there Burnt several Towns and Castles; after which the Duke leaving a sufficient Guard to secure *Normandy*, marched back into *Anjou*, where he Besieged and soon after took the Castle of *Mount-Sorrel*, which belonged to his Brother *Geoffrey*, who upon that was forced to make Peace with him on the best terms he could. In the mean time, the King of *France* taking this Opportunity of the Duke's absence, again Invaded *Normandy*, and Burnt some Towns there, but not long after, through the Intercession of certain Monks, there was a Truce made between the King and the Duke, in order to a Peace.

But whilst he was thus defending his Territories in *France*, [1.] King *Stephen*'s thoughts were taken up in settling the Crown of *England* in his own Family; for which purpose having Summon'd *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and all the Bishops and Chief Men of *England* to a Great Council, he propos'd to them the Coronation of his Son *Eustace*, and particularly required the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (to whom of Antient Right it belonged to Anoint and Consecrate our Kings) to perform that Office; but he answered, *That the Pope by his Letters had forbidden him to Crown or Anoint him, because that he himself contrary to his Oath had usurped the Kingdom*; At which Repulse all those who favoured the Royal Party were highly incensed, and thereupon the King and the Prince his Son, shut up all the Bishops with their Primate in one House, that so by threats and terrors they might extort from them what they could not obtain either by Money or intreaties; but the Archbishop made his escape, and got over the *Thames* in a Boat, and so fled to *Dover*, and from thence into *Normandy*, and thus the King's Design was utterly defeated: But yet to be revenged on him for his Obstinacy, as also for his flight, the King seized all his Lands and Possessions: *Henry Huntington* relates this story much after the same manner, tho' somewhat shorter, omitting the flight of the Archbishop in a Boat, which indeed is not very probable; but the *Annals* of the Abbey of *Waverlie*, as also *Matthew Paris*, say expressly, that at this time the Earls and Temporal Barons of *England* swore Fealty, and did Homage to Earl *Eustace*, Son to King *Stephen*; And tho' the former of these Authors places this Transaction under the year following, yet it is plain that it could be done at no other time than this above mentioned; and if so, then all these Authors may be in the right as to the matter of Fact, and the Earls and Barons might then swear Fealty to him, tho' all the Bishops refused it.

[2.] Not long after this the King marched down, and took the Castle of *Newbury*, and from thence went to *Wallingford*, and Besieged that; but not being able to take it, he raised a strong Tower or Castle before it, by which means as well as by his other Fort called *Crawmers*, which he had built before, he cut off all Succours from the Besieged; so that at last finding themselves reduced to great want of Provisions, they sent word of their Condition into *Normandy* to the Duke, desiring some speedy Relief, or otherwise they must Surrender the Castle to the King.

[3.] Whereupon Duke *Henry*, hearing the strongest place he had left in *England* was now ready to fall into the King's hands, made what haste he could to come over, and Landed here eight days after *Epiphany*,

Anno Dom.
MCLII.

A Truce is made between the French King and the Duke.

[1.]
H. H. C. G.
Col. 1371.
King *Stephen* endeavours to persuade the Bishops and Noblemen to Crown his Son *Eustace*, but the A. B. of *Canterbury* with the Bishops refuse to consent to it.

The Archbishop flies into *Normandy*.

[2.]
Idem.
Col. 1372.
The King takes *Newbury* Castle and Besieges that of *Wallingford*.

They send over to Duke *Henry* for relief.

Anno Dom.
MCLIII.

[3.]
R. D. C. G. 16.

Anno Dom.
MCLIII.

He arrives in
England with
small Forces,
yet great
numbers flock
in to him.

He takes
Malmesbury,
whereupon
the King mar-
ches with his
Army against
the Duke.

But being
hinder'd by
bad Weather
he is forced
to return to
London.

The Tower of
Malmesbury
with several
strong Castles
Surrender'd
to the Duke.

[4.]
H. H. C. G.
Col. 1373.
Who marches
to relieve
Wallingford-
Castle, and
Block up the
Fort of Cran-
mers.

Which is af-
terwards ta-
ken.

[5.]
Id. Ib.
The Duke
and King's Ar-
my lie encam-
ped near each
other, but
a bad Omen
hinders the
King from
fighting.

A Treaty of
Peace is pro-
posed be-
tween them.

bringing along with him no more than an Hundred and forty Horse, and three thousand Foot, and Landed about *Twelve-tide*; and so soon as the News of his Arrival was spread abroad, all those that had been of his Mother's party came flocking in to him, and now having got together a considerable strength, he marched directly to *Malmesbury*, and sitting down before it, took it, together with the Castle; only the main Tower, which proved very strong, was kept by one *Jordan*, and he privately slipping out, gave the King notice of it, who thereupon mustering what Forces he could, marched down towards *Malmesbury*, and came as far as *Cirencester* with an intention to relieve it; but Duke *Henry* went out to meet him; and when both Armies were got pretty near each other, the Weather proved so very Wet and Tempestuous, (and the Wind sitting full in the King's face) that his Men were neither able to stand against it, nor to handle their Armes: whereupon the King finding it in vain to resist Providence, returned back to *London*; in the mean time those, who were in the Tower of *Malmesbury*, being disappointed of the King's Assistance, Surrender'd it into the Duke's hands; after which *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, took part with the Duke, furnishing him for some time with all Necessaries; and afterwards no less than thirty strong Castles (together with their Masters) submitted themselves to Duke *Henry*.

[4.] But so soon as the Weather would permit, the Duke being resolved to relieve his Men, (who were still Blockt up in the Castle of *Wallingford*) marched thither with all his Forces, and laid Siege to the Castle or Fort of *Cranmers* (which King *Stephen* had built) and by casting up a deep Trench before it, the Duke Besieged the very Besiegers; so that they could not receive any Succours from the adjacent Countrey; which when the King heard, he made what haste he could to relieve it, but the Duke's Souldiers had surprized it on the sudden, before he could arrive; and entering the Tower, they flung the King's Men down head-long from the top of it.

[5.] The Duke, having thus fortunately relieved this Castle, marched forward to meet King *Stephen*, and the two Armies were now encamped within a quarter of a Mile of each other; but whilst the King accompanied with all his Earls and Barons was giving Orders for the drawing up of his Army, his Horse on the sudden rear'd up an end, and did so not only once, but twice or thrice, till at last he fell down backward, not without great danger of the King's Person: Then *William* Earl of *Arundel*, a Man of powerful Eloquence and Prudence made a Speech to his Majesty, setting forth, "That they ought to be warned by these Ill Omens, not to expect any good Success, if they now came to a Battel against the Juster Cause, and that there were so many Persons nearly related in Blood, now set against each other, that it was impossible for them to engage without a Great and Unnatural effusion of Blood; therefore he advised the King to send Messengers to the Duke to treat of a Peace. To which Proposal all those about him began likewise to hearken; whereupon it was resolved by the King and the Chief Men of his Party, that he should have a private Interview with the Duke about it, and what could not be concluded between them, should be referr'd to the Noblemen on both sides; which Resolution being brought to the

the Duke by Messengers sent on purpose, tho' he seem'd at first unwilling to come to any Treaty, yet being at last prevailed upon, he had an Interview with the King near *Wallingford*, where (the River *Thames* being but narrow) they could discourse together from the opposite Banks; and after a long and private Conference, they return'd each of them to their Several Camps; then a Cessation of Armes being agreed to, both Parties retreated for that time.

[1.] Earl *Eustace* the King's Son was mightily disturbed at this Treaty, which he knew must end so much to his prejudice, and Expostulated with his Father very sharply about it, and seeing that would do no good, immediately left the Court, and marched into *Cambridgeshire*, as if he would have laid waste that Countrey; and being now grown desperate, resolved not to spare the Sacred Places any more than others; wherefore coming to the Abbey of *St. Edmundsbury*, where he was treated with great Kindness and Respect but not receiving Money which he demanded for his Souldiers, He ordered them to go out, and seize upon their Corn that was then in the Fields; but when he sat down at Table to Dinner, upon the first bit he eat, he fell into a Frenzy, and died presently after, and was Buried at *Feversham*, near his Mother. This is the Account that *Gervase* of *Canterbury* gives of this Prince's sudden death, which whither it be true or no in all Circumstances, as is there related, I very much doubt, since the Monks are accustomed to make such terrible Judgments of the Deaths of those who did them or theirs any Injury: Nor is this Relation found in any other Author of that time. But this is certain, and very remarkable, that this Prince, and [1.] *Simon* Earl of *Northampton*, a young Nobleman of no extraordinary good Character deceased one and the same Week; as did also about the same time *Ranulph* Earl of *Chester* in the flower of his age, a young Prince of great Valour, reported to have been Poysoned by one *William Peverel* his Servant. He had since his last Imprisonment by the King sided with the Duke, and was a great Encourager of his late coming over into *England*; yet had done nothing considerable for his Service. The sudden Deaths of these three Gallant Men, being the chief Persons of these contending parties, proved a great furtherance to the Peace, which was not long after concluded between the King and the Duke.

But that which before proved the greatest Affliction to King *Stephen* was [3.] the Decease of Queen *Matilda* his Wife, a Lady of incomparable Prudence and Courage, to whose Conduct he chiefly owed his Liberty and Restitution to the Throne: She dyed in *May*, but a few Months before Earl *Eustace* her Son.

[4.] The late Truce being now expired, the War broke out again afresh, and Duke *Henry* marched to Besiege the Town and Castle of *Stamford*, and the former being soon taken, those in the latter were so much streightned, that they sent to the King for Succour, who at the same time was laying Siege to the Castle of *Ipswich*, which *Hugh Bigot* Earl of *Norfolk* then held out against him; but the King being loth to raise that Siege, and not able to send Relief to those in the Castle of *Stamford*, they were forced to Surrender it: And the King in requital took the Castle of *Ipswich*; then the Duke marched to *Nottingham*, and took that Castle after some few day's Siege.

Vol. II.

K k 2

[5.] Whilst

Anno Dom.
MCLIII.And at last
at a private
Interview
they agree
upon a Cessa-
tion of
Armes.

[1.]

Idem.

Col. 1374.

Earl *Eustace*
marches
into *Cam-*
bridgeshire to
make a fresh
disturbance.And coming
to the Abbey
of *St. Ed-*
mundsbury,
there falls
ill, and dies.

[2.]

Id. Ib.

H. H.

As do also
Simon Earl of
Northampton,
and *Ranulph*
Earl of *Chester*
supposed to
be Poyson'd.

[3.]

C. G.

Col. 1372.

Queen *Ma-*
thilda's death.

[4.]

Idem.

Col. 1374.

The late
Truce being
expired, the
War breaks
out afresh.

Anno Domini

MCLIII

[5.] Another Treaty set on foot by the A.B. of Cant.

[1.] H. H. Which is also further'd by the Bishop of Winchester.

Agreat Council Summon'd at Winchester, where a Peace was agreed on, and on what Conditions.

[5.] Whilst the State of Affairs remain'd thus as it were in an equal Ballance, the King being (as I have said) extremely afflicted for the loss of his Queen and Son, was now more inclinable to hearken to a new Treaty of Peace, which was set on foot by *Theophald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who laboured all he could to bring the King and Duke to a final Agreement, discouraging often with the former alone about it, and sending frequent Messengers to the latter. [1.] Also *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, who had been before so mighty prejudicial to the Nation, in making his Brother King, now moved with Repentance (when he saw the Kingdom almost ruined) contributed his utmost Assistance in giving the finishing stroke to this great work of Peace: whereupon a Common Council was Summon'd by the King and Duke to meet at the City of *Winchester*, consisting of all the Bishops and Noblemen of either party, who being there met accordingly, were joyfully received with a solemn Procession; and there in the Presence of a great Multitude of Spectators the King led the Duke by the hand, and at last a Peace was there concluded, on these Conditions:

First, That King *Stephen* should enjoy the Crown during his Life.

Secondly, That after his Decease Duke *Henry* should succeed him as his Lawful Heir. Then the King adopted the Duke for his Son, and he at the same time gave him Reverence in the presence of them all, and acknowledged him as his Father, and Lord: [2.] Whereupon Earl *William* King *Stephen's* only Legitimate Son then remaining alive, did Homage to the Duke at his Father's Command.

After all these things were solemnly performed, and ratified by the mutual Oaths and Consents of the King and all the Bishops and Temporal Lords there present, a Firm Peace, which had been banished *England* for many years, was at length happily restored.

Then also as *Roger Hoveden* relates (for I find it in no other Author) the King appointed the Duke Justiciary of all *England*, under himself; and all the Affairs of the Kingdom were determined by him, so that from that time the King and Duke continued unanimous all the rest of this Reign, but it did not last long.

This Agreement above mention'd you will find recited, and confirmed by King *Stephen's* [3.] Charter or Declaration under his Seal in *Brompton's* Chronicle, directed to all his faithful Subjects of *England*; only the Order of the Articles or Conditions is somewhat inverted from what it is in our Historian.

For the King in the first place there appoints *Henry* Duke of *Normandy* his Successor, by Hereditary Right, and Grants and confirms that Kingdom of *England* to him, and his Heirs: In consideration of which Honour, it is there recited, that the Duke paid the King Homage, and promised upon Oath to be faithful to him, and to preserve his Person, and observe all the Agreements contain'd in this Charter.

This Agreement is extant, being by way of a Charter, and the Contents of it.

[3.] Col. 1637, 1038.

And

And the King likewise Grants; That on his part, he has given the Duke his Oath to preserve and maintain his Life and Honour against all Men in all Points to the Utmost of his Power.

Then follows the Recital of the Homage, which Earl William the King's Son had already paid to the Duke, in consideration of which, the Duke Grants, That he should hold of him all the Lands and Honours, which he was then possess'd of either in England or Normandy, which not being to our present purpose, I omit.

[4.] From Winchester after a few day's stay, the King accompanied by the Duke, returned to London, where they were also received with Solemn Procession, and all other imaginable Demonstrations of Joy; after which they parted for some time, and the our Authors give us no Account, whither the Duke then went, yet it is most likely it was to keep his Christmas among those of his own Party.

[5.] But these Princes soon met again at Oxford on the Thirteenth of January, where all the Chief Men of England by the King's Command, did Homage and swore Fealty to the Duke, saving that Allegiance they owed the King, so long as he lived; and it seems that the Assembly in which this was done, was a Great Council of the Kingdom, for our Author styles it *Conventus Magnus*; then they parted again for some time; but shortly after met at Dunstable, where the good Correspondence between them seem'd a little interrupted, because the Duke took it ill, that all those Castles which had been built for evil designs were not demolished according to the late Agreement; and the King by his sparing some of those that belonged to his own party, had violated the League so lately made between them: And the Duke moving him on that Subject, received a Denial, which he much resented; yet however, because he would not disoblige his new adopted Father, he resolv'd for the present to pass it by, and wait for some better opportunity.

[1.] But after some time the King and Duke came to Canterbury, where they were again received with Solemn Procession; then in Lent they had an Interview with the Earl of Flanders, and his Countess at Dover, after which the King and Duke returned to Canterbury, where (as our Author relates) there was a Conspiracy among certain Flemings to have killed the Duke, but as it was going to be executed, Earl William the King's Son, who was privy to it, falling from his Horse upon Barham Down, broke his Leg, by which happy Accident, the Conspirators were disappointed of a Leader, and so the Design fail'd.

[2.] The Duke thus escaping the snares of his Enemies, presently took his final leave of the King, and went over into Normandy, where he was received with great Joy and Satisfaction by the Empress his Mother, and by Eleanor his Dutcheß, and all his Subjects, he having stay'd above Twelve Months in England.

After [3.] the Duke's departure, there were some who endeavour'd to raise a fresh misunderstanding between the King and him, by false rumours and suggestions; but God prevented them producing

Anno Dom.
MCLIII.

The King and Duke came to London, where they are joyfully received.

[4.] C. G.

[5.] H. H.

The King and Duke came to London, where they are joyfully received.

Anno Dom.
MCLIV.

[5.] Id. Ib.

The two Princes meet again at Oxford, where all the Chief Men swear Fealty to the Duke.

They meet again at Dunstable, where there is some misunderstanding by reason that all the Castles were not demolished.

[1.] Id. Ib.

The King and Duke come to Canterbury.

Where there is a Conspiracy set on foot to kill the Duke, but by Will. the King's Son's breaking his Leg, it is defeated.

[2.] Id. Ib.

The Duke takes his leave of the King, and passes into Normandy.

[3.] H. H.

Anno Dom.
MCLIV.

The King being better settled in his Throne, marches into the North, takes and demolishes divers Castles.

He is recalled to meet the Earl of Flanders, soon after which he falls sick and dies at Canterbury.

A Character of this King.

VII.

Id. Ib.

C. M.

Scriptor. X.

Col. 347.348.

no 348.

no 349.

no 350.

no 351.

no 352.

no 353.

no 354.

no 355.

no 356.

no 357.

no 358.

no 359.

no 360.

no 361.

no 362.

no 363.

no 364.

no 365.

no 366.

no 367.

no 368.

no 369.

no 370.

producing any evil effects: for the King being now better settled in his Throne than ever before, took divers Castles in the North, that presumed to hold out against him; one of the last of which was the strong Castle of *Drax* near *Tork*, which he caused to be razed to the ground, as well as many others of the same sort; from thence he was called away again on the sudden to meet the Earl of *Flanders* being then newly arrived about the end of *October*; of whom when the King had taken his leave, and returned to *Canterbury*, he was quickly after seized with his old distemper of the Emroids, which came upon him with such violence, that it soon put an end to his Life, as well as troublesome Reign: he deceased on the Twenty fifth of *October* in the Monastery of *Christ-Church*, but was Buried at *Feverham* by the Queen his Wife in the Abbey-Church of that Monastery, which he himself had Founded some Years before.

I need not say much more of his Character, than what is already written of him in the beginning of his Reign; he had certainly many Princely Qualities, being Valiant, Affable, and Merciful to his Enemies, as also Liberal to those that served him: But to counterballance these Virtues, he was Ambitious above measure, not valuing the wilful committing of Perjury, and drawing almost the whole Kingdom into the same snare, provided he might gain a Crown; which shews he was no slave to his Word or Oath, and which also appears by several passages in his Reign: he was no great valuer of the Privileges or Grandeur of the Bishops and Clergy when they stood in his way, which procured him a great deal of Trouble and Ill-will, and which had almost cost him his Crown; but notwithstanding these faults, he was an excellent Husband, a good Father, and a true Friend; and had he mounted the Throne by an Undisputed Title, would have been an excellent Prince, as even his Enemies allow; none Burthening their Subjects with fewer Taxes, nor Governing with greater Mildness and Clemency. But to conclude this Reign.

As to Foreign Affairs this Year, the most considerable was that [4.] *David* King of *Scots* deceased on the 24th of *May* at *Carlisle*; he was a Prince of great Piety, Charity, and Valour; insomuch that *Aired* Abbot of *Rievall* in an [5.] Epistle to King *Henry the Second*, has written a great deal in his Commendation; he was Succeeded by *Malcolm* his Grandson, then but a Youth of about Twelve Years of Age, being the Eldest Son of *Henry*, that Noble and Magnanimous Young Prince, who Died some time before his Father.

In Ecclesiastical matters, I find nothing to have happened considerable, except [1.] the sudden Death of *William* Archbishop of *Tork*, who having been Elected some Years before, and Chosen by the Chapter of that Church, his Election was declared void by Pope *Eugenius*, purely because he had been Nominated by the King, as being his near Kinsman: but that Pope Dying, and *Anastafus* the Fourth succeeding him (who had always whilst he was a Cardinal favoured *William's* Cause) as soon as he attained the Papal Chair (*Henry Murdāk* whom *Eugenius* had made Archbishop Dying

Dying the Year before) the New Pope confirmed the first Election of William; and he being thus restored, immediately went over into England, and going to York was there received with so great a concourse of People, that the Bridge breaking under them, a great many persons fell into the Water, but none perishing, it was looked upon as a Miracle, and imputed to this good Bishop's Prayers: But he did not long enjoy this Dignity, for after he had been at York about a Month, and said Mass there on Trinity Sunday, he was seized at the end of it with a sudden and violent Distemper, of which he Died in a few Days, and was Buried in that Cathedral; where he was looked upon as a Saint, and his Tomb resorted to for the Miraculous Cures said to be there done: but Gervase supposes him to have been Poysoned in the Ablution of the Chalice by a Monk or Priest of the contrary Faction.

Anno Dom.
MCLIV.

[2.] About Michaelmas after King Stephen called a Great Council of the Chief Men of the Kingdom to meet at London, to advise about filling the Church of York now Vacant, where all the Bishops being met, as also the Abbots and Priors of that Province, they unanimously gave their Votes for Roger Archdeacon of Canterbury, and the King approved of the Election; then Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury was prevailed upon to Consecrate him on the Tenth of October at Westminster, tho' not as Archbishop, but as Legate to the Pope; whereby that old Dispute between Canterbury and York about the Oath of Canonical Obedience, was now laid aside, for I do not find it mentioned any more.

[2.]
B. C. Ib.

King Stephen's Wife and Issue.

This Prince whilst Earl of Mortaigne, had by the means of his Uncle King Henry, Married Mathilda Daughter and Heir to Eustace Earl of Boloigne, by whom he had Issue two Sons; [3.] Baldwin his First Son was born in the Reign of King Henry the First, and died an Infant: [4.] Eustace his Second Son, having Married Constance Daughter to Lewis the Gros, King of France, deceased without Issue.

[3.]
Sandford's
Gen. Hist.
P. 42.

[5.] William his Third Son (who is expressly mentioned in King Stephen's Charter above mention'd, wherein he appoints Duke Henry his Successor) was by the King his Father Created Earl of Surrey, by the Mariage of [1.] Isabel Daughter and Heir of W. Earl of Warren and Surrey, in whose Right he also enjoyed both those Earldoms, and after his Father's Decease was also Earl of Boloigne and Mortaigne; he likewise died without Issue, in his Return from an Expedition from Tholouse with King Henry the Second, Anno Dom. 1160. as you will find hereafter.

[4.]
Id. Ib.
[5.]
Vid. K. Steph.
Charter a-
bove cited.
[1.]
Sandf. Ib.

This King had also two Natural Sons, [2.] the first of whom was called William, and bearing the same Name with his Elder Legitimate Brother, is by some Writers mistaken for him; but that they were Two several Persons * Mr. Speed, appeals to an Original Charter of the Elder William, to which this Base Brother of the same Name was a Witness.

[2.]
Id. P. 43.

The other Natural Son called [3.] Gervase, was born of a Norman Gentlewoman named Dameta, and being bred a Monk, was by his Father made Abbot of Westminster, but he was afterwards deprived in the

* At the end
of this King's
Reign.

[3.]
Id. Id.

Anno Dom.
MCLIV.

[4.]
Id. Ib.

[5.]
Id. P. 44.

the Reign of King *Henry* the Second, for prodigally Embezelling the Revenues of that Monastery, and so he remained in a private Condition ever after.

This King had [4.] Two Legitimate Daughters, viz. *Maud* the Eldest, who Died an Infant; and [5.] *Mary* his younger Daughter, who was brought up a Nun in the Nunnery of *Ramsay* in *Hampshire*; but upon the Death of her Brother Earl *William* she was clandestinely taken from thence, and Married to *Matthew* Earl of *Boloigne* and *Alsace*; but when she had been his Wife Ten Years, she was Divorced from him by a Sentence of the Pope, which forced her to return again to her Monastery, tho' she left Two Daughters, who were notwithstanding both declared Legitimate.

There are no Laws extant of this King's, either because they have been lost, or that his Reign being very turbulent, and most things Transacted by the Sword, there was little, or no occasion for making any New Ones.

Scutages or Subsidies granted to, or taken by this King, I find none; yet it appears from an Antient Manuscript Copy of *Florence* of *Worcester*, in the Library of *Corpus Christi* Colledge (*Oxon*), that he took *Dane-gelt* more than once, notwithstanding his Charter to the contrary; but it could not be paid very often, since the Armies of both the Competitors being for the most part maintain'd by the Plunder and Spoil of their Adversaries, or the Contribution of their Friends, the Nation became unable to pay Taxes.

THE

Anno Dom.
MCLV.

(3.)
C. G.
He consults
with the Chief
men of the
Kingdom
about the State
and Welfare
of it.

of *Canterbury*, [3.] on the 19th Day of *December* with Loud Acclamations of all the People; Immediately after his Coronation, he retired to the Abby of *Bermundsey*, where he kept his *Christmasts*, yet he did not wholly spend it in Feasting and Jollity, but in a serious Consultation with the Chief men of the Kingdom, concerning its sad and distracted condition, and the best means how to settle a lasting Peace; which they told him could not be done by a wiser method than by expelling all Strangers out of *England*, and by putting the last hand to the destruction of those Castles which had been Erected here during the Reign of his Predecessor; though most of them had been already demolished.

Now as for Foreigners, we need not think it strange, if the Kingdom swarm'd with them; for the Reader may remember, That in the Reign of the Late King, many Strangers, and especially *Flemmings* (whom he chiefly favour'd) were encouraged to come over hither, to serve as Mercenary Soldiers; but at their first Arrival, the principal thing they aimed at was spoil and plunder; yet being afterwards married, and settled here, and several of them having Lands given them by the King's Bounty, they were loath to leave their present Enjoyments; (4.) However these being looked upon as too dangerous Inmates for the Peoples quiet, they were all order'd by the King's Express Command to leave the Nation at a day prefixt; which since they knew not how to avoid, they were forced to comply with, and accordingly went over in a Body under the Conduct of *William d' Ipre* as their Leader.

(4.)
Id. Col. 1377.
And by their
Advice orders
the Strangers,
especially the
Flemmings, by
a Day to leave
the Nation.

He demolishes
the late Erect-
ed Castles.

Id. Col. 1377.
And by their
Advice orders
the Strangers,
especially the
Flemmings, by
a Day to leave
the Nation.

Id. Col. 1377.
And by their
Advice orders
the Strangers,
especially the
Flemmings, by
a Day to leave
the Nation.

Id. Col. 1377.
And by their
Advice orders
the Strangers,
especially the
Flemmings, by
a Day to leave
the Nation.

Id. Col. 1377.
And by their
Advice orders
the Strangers,
especially the
Flemmings, by
a Day to leave
the Nation.

This being perform'd; The next great Work was, according to the foregoing Advice of his Great men, to raze most of those Castles which had been Erected since the Decease of his Grandfather King *Henry*, excepting some few of the Principal, which were preserved for the Strength and Defence of the Kingdom.

(5.) Then King *Henry* finding the chief of the Lands and Revenues belonging to the Crown granted away, and (thro' the late King's easiness or necessity to secure the Great men on his side,) divided amongst them, He recalled all those Grants, and commanded the Lands immediately to be restor'd to the Crown; and when some offer'd to produce King *Stephen's* Charters for them, King *Henry's* Answer was, That the Grants of an Usurper ought not to prejudice a Rightful Prince; so that tho' these Noblemen were at first very loath and unwilling to resign them, yet being afraid of the new King's Power, they were forced at last to surrender them.

Indeed almost all the South complied betimes; but the (1.) * North seemed more resolute, and for a while stood it out with him, until the King going down into those parts, cited *William* Earl of *Albemarle*, and other Noblemen to appear before him, who not without Delays and great Reluctance, were at last made to submit to the King's good pleasure, and to surrender all those Lands and Demesnes they had so long wrongfully possess'd. Among the rest was that strong Castle of *Scarborough*, which that Earl (last mentioned) had caused to be built on the top of a Rock, commanding the Sea with the Adjacent Country.

All things being thus peaceably settled in the North of *England*, the King return'd back into the South, where he also resolv'd to take

into

into his hands the rest of those Castles, which some of the Nobility still retain'd in their possession, (who had been hitherto too powerful to be questioned), [2.] that so he might by this sure means cut up the very Roots of all future Rebellions: To which end, not long after, he summoned a *Common-Council* of the Chief Men of the whole Kingdom, where he demanded of some of them, By what Right they held those Castles which appertain'd to the Crown? Then *Roger Earl of Hereford*, Son to the late Earl *Milo*, being much startled at these proceedings, fled privately from Court, and strongly fortified his Castles of *Gloucester*, and *Hereford*, and at first seemed resolv'd to venture the worst Consequences of his Rebellion, rather than part with those places: But at length by the persuasions of *Gilbert Foliot*, his Kinsman, (then Bishop of *Hereford*) he resign'd them into the King's hands, and thereupon was restored to his Favour.

[3.] But *Hugh de Mortimer*, a Potent Baron, who had before incited Earl *Roger* to rebel, tho he found he was forsaken by him, yet still presumed to hold out his strong Castles of *Colceburgh*, *Wigmore*, and *Bridg-north*, against the King's Forces: But He dividing them into Three Bodies, sent them all at once to assault those places, which being vigorously attack'd, were quickly yielded up, and Earl *Hugh* was forced to deliver up the Castle of *Bridg-north* himself, (tho he there commanded in Person) and most humbly to implore the King's mercy, who accordingly pardoned him; it not being thought advisable to use greater Severities, whilst the Government was as yet but in its Infancy, and unsettled. Nor did the King stop here, [4.] but (contrary to his own Charter and Agreement with King *Stephen*) he despoiled his Son *William* Earl of *Mortaign* and *Warren*, of the Castle of *Norwich*, and all the Crown Lands his Father had given him, except only such as King *Stephen* had enjoyed by the Gift of King *Henry* his Uncle.

[5.] After *Easter* a General Council or Parliament was held at *Wallingford*, wherein the King caused the whole Kingdom to swear Fealty to himself, and his Eldest Son *William* an Infant, and if he died without Issue, then to his Second Son *Henry*, who was born in the beginning of *March* before; but *William* not long after deceased.

Also in this very Council (being I suppose for some Reasons adjourned to *London*) were confirmed the Laws of *St. Edward*, and the Ancient Customs of the Kingdom; and in which also (in imitation of his Grandfather King *Henry I.*) he granted that * Charter of Liberties inserted in the [1.] Second Volume of * *Sir Henry Spelman's* Councils, that I shall here translate from the *Latin*, which I have placed in the * *Appendix*.

'*Henry*, by the Grace of God King of *England*, Duke of *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, Earl of *Anjou*, To all his Barons and faithful Subjects, *French* and *English*, Greeting: Know ye, That for the Honour of God and Holy Church, and for the common Emendation of my Kingdom, I have granted and restored, and do by these presents confirm to God and Holy Church, and to all Earls and Barons, and all my * Tenants, all Customs which King *Henry* my Grandfather gave and granted to them: Likewise all those evil Customs which he abrogated and remitted, I do also abrogate and remit, for me and my Heirs: Wherefore I will and firmly Command, That Holy Church and all my * Tenants may have and hold those Donations, Liberties, and

Vol. II.

Q q 2

' Customs,

Anno Dom.
MCLV.

[2.]

C. G. Col. 1377.

A Common-Council of the Chief Men of the Kingdom summoned. *Roger*, Earl of *Hereford*, fortifies his Castles against the King.

But at last resigns them, and is restored to Favour.

[3.] Id. Ib.

Hugh Mortimer stands out against the King.But being vigorously attacked by his Forces, his Castles were soon took, and he himself forced to surrender *Bridg-north*.

Upon which the King pardons him.

[4.] G. N.

He takes away *Norwich* Castle, and all the Crown-Lands from *William*, which his Father *K. Stephen* had given him.

[5.] C. G. Col.

1378. A Parliament held at *Wallingford*.

Wherein Fealty was sworn to the King and his Sons.

But adjourned to *London*, and the Laws of *St. Edward* confirmed, &c.

[1.] P. 51.

N. 3.

The Charter of Liberties in the 2d Vol. of *Sir H. Spelman's* Councils, here translated.* *Hominibus meis.** *Hominibus meis.*

Anno Dom.
MCLV.

William of
Newburgh's Ac-
count of the
beginning of
this King's
Reign.

The King
corrects the
Judges for Fai-
lure in their
Duties.

Nicholas Break-
spear elected
Pope, who
took the Name
of Adrian the
Fourth
His Birth and
Character.

Is ordained by
Pope Anastasius
Bishop of Alba,
and sent Le-
gate to Ger-
many.

He puts the
City of Rome
under an In-
terdict, and al-
so excommu-
nicates the
King of Sicily.
The Pope dies
after four
Years Reign.

[2] C. N.
The King re-
solves to sub-
due Ireland;
but the Em-
press not ap-
proving of it,
the Design is
laid aside.

[3.] Gir. Cam-
brensis. L. 2. C. 1.
Yet the King
obtains a Bull
from the Pope
to reduce that
Island to his
Obedience.

‘ Customs, freely, quietly, and fully in all points, as King *Henry* my
‘ Grandfather gave and granted to them, and confirmed by his Charter :
‘ Teste *Richardo de Luci*.

To this Charter, and to King *Henry*'s other Legal Proceedings, I suppose *William* of *Newburgh* refers, when he tells us in the very beginning of this King's Reign, That King *Henry* revived the Vigor of the Laws that seemed in King *Stephen*'s time to have been laid asleep ; and having ordain'd careful Ministers of Justice in all the Borders of his Kingdom, who might either restrain the Boldness of Evil men, or do Right to those that appeal'd to them, whilst the King himself pursued his Pleasures, or else was employed in the more weighty Affairs of State : And whenever he was informed that his Judges had acted less carefully or justly than their Duty required, he quickly remedied it by a due Correction of their Failings : These hopeful beginnings of so Young a King were as grateful to the quiet and peaceable, as they were unpleasant to those that were wicked and injurious ; who were now forced either to leave the Country, or at least to seem honest, whatsoever they were in their hearts : whereby all men quietly enjoyed the Fruits of a long desired Peace.

I will here, tho contrary to my usual Method, set down a Foreign Ecclesiastical Affair, since it is not only very remarkable, but also serves to illustrate the following Transactions of this Year.

Pope *Anastasius* lately deceasing, *Nicholas Break-spear* an *Engl. sh-* man, Bishop of *Alba*, was elected in his stead, a little before the King came to the Crown, who took the name of *Adrian* the Fourth : He is said to have been the Son of a *Villain* or *Bondman*, belonging to the Abby of *St. Albans*, and tho put to School there, yet by reason of his servile Birth was refused to be made a Monk of that Abby, as he himself and his Father desired ; upon which disappointment he found means to go beyond the Seas, where he so improved in Piety and Learning, that he was not only by his Predecessor Pope ordained Bishop of *Alba*, but was also sent *Legate* into *Germany*, to convert the Country about the City of *Worms* to the *Christian Faith* ; in which Office he so well acquitted himself, that he was upon his return, made a Cardinal, and proved so Active and Stout a Pope, that he not only put the City of *Rome* under an Interdict, because one of his Cardinals had been there wounded in a Tumult, but durst also Excommunicate *William* King of *Sicily*, and made him yield to his own Terms : Yet this Pope held the Chair but four Years, and some odd days, and then deceased.

[2.] About *Michaelmas* the King held a great Council at *Winchester*, wherein he treated with his Great Men about conquering the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and bestowing it upon his Son *William* ; which Design, because it did not please his Mother the Empress, (who thought it too hazardous) was then laid aside, but resumed divers Years after ; as you will find in due time.

Yet it seems this Project then advanced so far, that the King (against a fitting opportunity, should it offer it self) about [3.] this time sent *John* of *Salisbury* (afterwards Bishop of *Chartres*) and other Ambassadors to *Rome* to Pope *Adrian*, with Compliments and Congratulation, from whom they obtained a Bull, that by his Authority and Assent the King might reduce *Ireland* to his Obedience, for the Increase of the *Christian Religion*, the correcting of their evil Manners, and the Propagation of Virtue among the People of that Island. By

By which specious Pretences the Pope now claims a Temporal Power not only over *Ireland*, but all other Islands which have received the *Christian Religion*, as of Right belonging to *St. Peter* and the *Roman Church*: Therefore he there farther commands all the People of that Island to receive the King honourably, and respect him as their Sovereign Lord, upon condition that he pay that Saint and his Successors an Annual Tribute of one Penny out of each House.

This Bull was not long after carried over into *Ireland*, and there publicly read in a General Synod at *Waterford*, by the said *John of Salisbury*, by whom also the Pope sent the King a Gold Ring in token of his Investiture.

I have given a more particular account of this Bull (which you may find at large in the above-cited [4.] *Giraldus Cambrensis*, and **Radulph de Diceto, Imagin. Hist.*) that you may from hence observe the Pope's Claim is not only to *Ireland*, but also to *England* and all other Islands, whenever he pleases to conceive that Religion and Good Manners are not there taught so well as they ought to be.

I can find nothing else to have happen'd this Year worth noting, [5.] but that the King, by the Advice of *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, made *Thomas Becket* (then only Archdeacon of that Diocese) his Chancellor, which I thought fit to mention, because he will some years hence make a great Figure in our History. *Roger Hoveden* places this Advancement under the Year 1157. but it is a Mistake; for (as *Mat. Paris* also rightly observes) *Thomas* was made Chancellor in the first Year of King *Henry's* Reign.

[1.] King *Henry* having now settled all Affairs in *England* to his satisfaction, thought fit to leave it for a time; and a little before *Candlemass* passed over into *Normandy*, where after a Week's stay at *Roëen*, he had an Interview with *Lewis* King of *France*, and did him Homage for the Dutchy of *Normandy*, as also for *Aquitain*, *Anjou*, and *Tourain*, with their Appurtenances.

[2.] Then the King returned to *Roëen*, where *Theodoric* Earl of *Flanders*, and the Countess his Wife, the King's Aunt, came to make him a Visit, as did also *Geoffry* the King's Brother, tho he staid not long with him, because he would not accept the Terms the King offered him for his Appenage; therefore he went into *Anjou*, which he would fain have kept as his own, but the King would not suffer it.

Who quickly after returned into *England*, yet staid not long, [3.] but passing over again into *France*, made War upon his Brother *Geoffry*: The occasion of which was this; *Geoffry* Earl of *Anjou* their Father, on his Death-bed left his Earldom of *Anjou* to his Eldest Son *Henry*, until he should obtain the Crown of *England*, and then he was to deliver it up to his Brother *Geoffry*; and for a further Confirmation thereof, the late Earl made all his Great Men there present, to swear never to suffer his Body to be buried, until his Son Duke *Henry* had taken an Oath to perform his Last Will. This Oath Duke *Henry* took out of Reverence to his Father's dying Request; yet as he took it unwillingly, so he quickly broke it; for as soon as he arrived in *France*, he sent to Pope *Adrian* for a Dispensation of his Oath, which was presently granted, being the first King of *England* who ever made use of such a mean Evasion. This Dispensation being once granted, he soon entred *Anjou* with an Army; and his Brother *Geoffry* not being able to make any great

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MCLV.

[4.] Id. ib.
Sub An. 1154.

[5.] C. G. Cel.
1177.

Thomas Becket
is made the
King's Chancel-
lor.

[1.] R. H. C. N.
The King goes
into *Normandy*
and does Ho-
mage to King
Lewis for all
his Dominions
in *France*.

[2.] C. N.
The Earl of
Flanders and
his Countess
visit the King,
as also *Geoffry*
his Brother,
who leaves
him in discon-
tent.

Anno Dom.
MCLVI.

[3.] Id. ib. C. B.
The King goes
again over in-
to *France* to
make War up-
on his Bro-
ther *Geoffry*;
and the occa-
sion of it.
King *Henry*
swears to per-
form his Fa-
ther's Last
Will, but soon
after breaks
his Oath.
Pope *Adrian*
giving him a
Dispensation
for so doing.
The first King
here that ever
accepted one.
Then enters
Anjou with an
great Army.

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Takes away
that Earldom
from his Bro-
ther Geoffrey,
and several
other Towns
and Castles.

(4.) M. P.
Who accepts
of a Pension
from him.
Note, One
Penny of An-
jouin Money
was but a
Fourth part of
the value of a
Penny English;
for Hoveden in
R. i. p. 384 b.
says, One pen-
ny English was
to go in all
Markets for
four Anjouin
pence.

Princes sel-
dom observe
Oaths that are
contrary to
their Interests,
&c.

The King re-
turns to Engl.
Anno Dom.
MCLVII.

(5.) W. N. M. P.
Resolves to
subdue North-
Wales, for their
frequent In-
cursions upon
him.

Marches
down to
Westchester
with a great
Army.

Owen with his
Forces goes out
to meet him.
And his Two
Sons surpris-
ing them,
killed a great
Number of the
English, and put
the rest to
Flight.

(1.) C. B.
But upon the
King's appear-
ance they ral-
lied, and made
a safe Retreat.
(2.) Vid. Dr. Pr.
Chron.

great Head against him, because he wanted those Forces which the King of France had promised him; he not only took from him the Earldom of Anjou, but also (through the good Conduct of Thomas his Chancellor,) the Towns and Castles of Chinon, Mirabel, and Lofdun also, which his Father had bestowed upon him for his maintenance; (4.) so that being thus ousted of all, he was forced to accept of a Pension of a Thousand pounds English, and Two thousand pounds more of Anjouin Money from the King his Brother, which was indeed a great Sum in those times.

Most of our Historians place this Quarrel between the King and his Brother Two years after; but I have rather chosen to follow Geruase of Canterbury, who, I think more truly places this War under this year; but let it have happened when it would, it affords us this Observation, that Princes seldom observe Oaths, when they are directly contrary to their Interests, much less when they are extorted from them by force, and against all Right, as this was; for it must be confessed to be a very unjust action in his Father, to disinherit his Eldest Son of his Birth-right, only because he was to have greater Dominions fall to him another way.

The King having stayed most part of this Year in France, and settled all things there to his mind, return'd again into England, where he spent the rest of it.

In the Summer following, the King having been provoked to it by the frequent Incursions of the Welshmen, (5.) was resolved to do what he could to subdue North-Wales; and he was likewise prompted thereto by Cadwallader, Brother to Owen Prince of Wales, who had at that time banished him his Country. Therefore the King having raised a Potent Army marched down to Westchester, and Encamped near it; which when Prince Owen heard, he also got together what Forces he could, and with them went to the utmost Borders of his Dominions, Encamping at a place called Dinas Basing, in English, Basingweark, or Castle: The King thereupon chusing the Flower of his Army, draws them out against the Welsh Prince; but as they were passing a Wood, (called Coed Eulo,) David and Conan Sons to the Prince, leading a strong Body of men, fell upon the King's Forces by Surprize; who being struck with the suddenness of the Assault, and penned up together in a narrow Streight, the English were put to Flight, and a great Number of them killed; And amongst the rest, fell Eustace Fitz-John, and Robert Curcie, Two Barons of great Note: and though the King had escaped the danger, yet upon a Rumour which ran through the Army that he was Slain, it made (1.) a great Lord, Henry de Essex, who was the King's Standard Bearer by Inheritance, to fling down the Standard, and betake himself to Flight, which put the Army into great Confusion; but upon the King's appearing again, it received fresh Vigour, rallied, and made a safe Retreat.

Then the King being much concerned at this Defeat, removed his Camp to the Sea-side, intending there to give Owen the go by, and pass into his Country; but the Welsh Prince foreseeing this, presently drew back to a place called Cil Owen, (that is in Welsh, the Retreat of Owen;) Upon which the King came back to Ruthlan Castle.

(2.) After this there happened nothing considerable between the Two Armies, only Madoc ap Meredyth, Prince of Powisland, being then

on

on the King's side, and Commanding a small Fleet of Ships, endeavoured to Land in the Isle of *Anglesey*; but he having spoiled a Church, the Islanders got together, set upon them, and slew all those that had been so adventurous as to Land; but in the mean time there was a Treaty of Peace concluded between the King and Prince *Owen*, upon condition, that he should pay his accustomed Tribute, and restore his Brother his Lands again; so the King having new-built and fortified the Castles of *Ruthlan* and *Basingwerk*; (where he also Founded a House for the *Knights Templars*, to serve as a farther Bridle upon the *Welsh*) returned into *England* with Honour.

(3.) But some time after the King's return, *Henry de Essex* was accused by *Robert de Montfort*, (a Baron of great Reputation) of Treason, for so cowardly flinging away the Standard in the late Fight with the *Welsh*: Which coming to be tried by Single Combat between them, *Henry* was vanquished, for which he ought by Law to have lost his Life; but the King spared that, (seeing Courage is not always in a Man's own power) and contented himself with seizing on his vast Estate, which was thereby forfeited; and as for the man himself, (being now looked upon as good for nothing,) the King caused him to be shorn a Monk in the Abby of *Reading*.

(4.) This Year also (but whither before or after his Expedition against the *Welsh*, is uncertain) the King demanded the Counties of *Northumberland*, and *Cumberland* of *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, which had been seized by *David* his Grandfather, and also made over to him by the Empress *Matilda*, his Neice, and confirmed by this King's own Oath, before he came to the Crown: But being now not willing to stand to that Agreement, he demanded them again, affirming, he could not afford to part with so large a share of his Dominions; whereupon (5.) *Malcolm*, perceiving King *Henry* was not to be contended with in this point, was fain to surrender those Counties into his hands, together with the Towns of *Carlisle*, *Newcastle upon Tyne*, and the strong Castle of *Bamborough*; but he permitted King *Malcolm* still to retain the Earldom of *Huntington* as his Ancient Right; which, lying almost in the midst of *England*, the King of *Scots* could draw no other advantage from it, than what its bare Revenues afforded.

I know divers of our Historians place this Transaction in the First Year of this King's Reign; but I rather chuse to follow *Roger Hoveden*, and the Chronicle of *Maitros*, who both agree, that *Malcolm* came this Year to the King of *England*, at *Chester*, and there did him Homage after the same manner as his Grandfather had done before to King *Henry* the First, with a Salvo to all his Royal Dignities; by which Clause it seems as if the Homage were not for the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, but only for *Lothian*; and those other Lands which were anciently held of the Kings of *England*.

(1.) This Year also *Richard*, the King's Second Son, was Born at his Palace at *Oxford*, then called *Beaumont*, who, after the Death of his Elder Brother *Henry*, succeeded his Father in the Throne.

The Beginning of this Year the (2.) King spent in a Progress through *England*, and coming to *Lincoln*, he caused himself to be again Crown'd in a Subburb (called *Wickford*), without the Walls, being hindered by some Superstitious Prophecies from wearing the Crown in

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Treaty of Peace concluded between the King and Prince *Owen*. The King returns to *England* with Honour.

(3.) R. D. C. B. *Henry de Essex*, the King's Standard-bearer, charged with Treason by *Robert de Montfort*, and is shorn a Monk.

(4.) R. H. The King demands *Northumberland*, and *Cumberland*, of *Malcolm* King of *Scots*. (5.) R. D. B. Which were surrendered to him, together with *Carlisle*, and *Newcastle upon Tyne*, and *Bamborough* Castle.

But *Malcolm* still retains the Earldom of *Huntington*. Devenit homo suus. *Malcolm* comes to the King at *Chester*, and there pays him Homage, with a Salvo to all his Royal Dignities.

(1.) R. D. C. B. *Richard* Son of *K. Henry* born. *Oxford*, then called *Beaumont*.

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MCLVIII.

(2.) Id. W. N. A Royal Progress through *England*. King *Henry* again in a Subburb without the Walls of *Lincoln*.

the

Anno Dom.
MCLVIII

(3.) C. B.

The City of
Nants chuse
Geoffry the
King's Brother
their Lord,
but he died
soon after.

Then Earl
Conan seized it.

But King
Henry claims
it as Heir to
his Brother,
and seizes on
Conan's Earldom of *Richmond*.

(4.) *Id. ib.*

King *Henry*
goes to *Paris*.

Treaty of
Marriage con-
cluded be-
tween the

King's Eldest
Son *Henry*, and

the King of
France's

Daughter
Margaret.

King *Henry* as

the King of
France's Lieu-

tenant, reduces
Bretagne, and

gets *Nants* un-
der his Domi-

nion.

But restored
to *Conan* upon
an Agreement.

(5.) *Id. ib.*

King of *France*

makes a Pil-
grimage, and

is nobly treat-
ed by King

Henry.

King *Henry's*
return into

England.

(1.) R. H. C. M.

And Journey
to the North,

where *Malcolm*
King of *Scots*

meets him, but
they part on ill

Terms.

(2.) R. H.

The Money
new Coined.

the City it self, which tho' they had been despised by King *Stephen*, (as you may observe in his Life) yet (it seems) the present King could not rid himself out of those vain Apprehensions.

Afterwards the King's Affairs called him again beyond the Seas; for (3.) *Geoffry* his Brother having been about Three years before chosen by the Citizens of *Nants* for their Lord, in the Room of *Hoel* Earl of *Bretagne*, whom they had expelled; he had possessed himself of that City, together with the Country about it; but dying the same Year, lived not long to enjoy it. After his Death, *Conan* Earl of *Richmond* seized upon it, as next Heir Male to the former Earl *Hoel*, who died without Issue. But the King hearing his Brother was dead, went over into *France*, and claimed *Nants* as Heir to his Brother; and to be even with Earl *Conan*, he gave Command that his Earldom of *Richmond* should be seized into his own hands.

After this, (4.) *Henry* took a Journey to *Paris*, where being Royally received by King *Lewis*, there was a Treaty of Marriage begun and concluded between the King's Eldest Son *Henry*, and the French King's Daughter *Margaret*, at that time both Infants; and for the greater security of this Marriage, the Young Princess was presently delivered into King *Henry's* hands, and he committed her to the Custody of one of his Barons; and at the same time by the means of *Thomas Becket*, the King's Chancellor, he obtained of King *Lewis* (who was a man of a soft and easy Temper,) a Power or Commission for King *Henry* to enter *Bretagne* as his Lieutenant, and there either by fair means or foul to bring the *Bretons*, (who were then engaged in a Civil War among themselves) under his Obedience; which the King performed, and thereby reduced the City of *Nants* with its Territories under his Dominion, to which he pretended a Right as Heir to his Brother, as before was said; but I suppose this City and Territory was some time after restored to Earl *Conan*, upon his Agreement with the King.

(5.) After his Return from this Expedition, the King of *France*, making a Pilgrimage to St. *Michael's* Mount in *Normandy*, was nobly received, and attended by King *Henry* during the Progress, who treated him as he came back in all the chief Cities of that Dutchy, with the like Ceremonies and Magnificence as had been observed to himself at *Paris*: Upon which King *Lewis* went home with great Satisfaction, and immediately after King *Henry* return'd into *England*; (1.) where he had not been long before he took a Journey into the North, to meet *Malcolm* King of *Scots* at *Carlisle*, (tho' our Authors tell us not for what) but they parted upon no very good Terms, and that was the reason why the *Scottish* King did not then receive the Order of Knighthood at his hands.

We have nothing further to remark under this Year, (2.) but that tho' there had been severe Justice lately Executed upon the Coiners of false money, yet notwithstanding they had so far Adulterated the Current Coin of the Nation, that it was all forced to be called in, and New Coined, which for some time proved a great loss and inconvenience not only to the poor, but also to all Labourers and Farmers. This I take notice of, to shew, that this (though it has happen'd in our Times, yet) is no new Grievance, but what has been seen in the Reigns of one of the greatest Princes that ever *England* had.

This

[3.] This Year K. Henry with his Queen Eleanor, kept their Christmas at Falaise, and then passing over into England, they took a Progress as far as the City of Worcester, where he caused both Himself and Her to be solemnly Crown'd upon Easter-Sunday; and coming to the Oblation, they there offer'd up their Crowns at the High Altar, publickly vowing never to wear them any more so long as they lived; which I suppose they strictly observed: Nor do [4.] I find many of our Kings after him to have worn their Crowns at the great Festivals, as they used to do before.

Not long after this the King resolv'd upon another Expedition into France; and to that end rais'd a great Army by a new and easy method: For his design being to march as far as the City of Tholouse, to subdue it with its Territories, he at first summon'd the Forces of all England, Normandy, Aquitain, and the other Countries subject to him; but yet he carried with him in this Expedition no Agrarian Soldiers (the same with our Train'd Bands now a-days), nor yet any Burghers or Rusticks, but made every Knight's Fee in Normandy to pay Sixty Anjouin Shillings; and in England and all his other Territories what he thought fit.

But [5.] Gervase of Canterbury gives us a more exact Account of what was paid in England, than the former Author, who was a Foreigner, could; for he says, The Scutage that was rais'd here for this Expedition, amounted to no less than One hundred twenty four thousand Marks, and from his other Dominions such a Sum as had never been heard of before; with all which he hired a vast Army of Mercenaries; so that none but his chief Barons, and some other principal Knights accompanied him.

King Malcolm also, then coming to King Henry upon his Summons, was forced to go along with him in this Expedition: Which was politically enough done, for by this means he not only secur'd the Kingdom from any Invasion during his Absence, but also thereby created a Misunderstanding betwixt that Prince and the French King.

[1.] So soon as King Henry arriv'd in France, he openly laid Claim to the Earldom of Tholouse, in Right of the Queen his Wife; and her Title stood thus: Her Grandfather, William Earl of Poitou, and Duke of Aquitain, going to the Holy Land, had mortgag'd that City and Earldom for a great Sum of Money to his Brother Raymond, Earl of St. Giles, which Money he never paid, but left the Debt upon his Son Duke William, the Father of Queen Eleanor; and upon Non payment thereof, Alphonsus the Son of Raymond, and after him Raymond Son to Alphonsus, held and enjoy'd the City and Earldom: But the King of France, upon his marrying of Eleanor, Daughter and Heir of the deceased Duke William, claimed and was going to possess himself both of that City and Territory; when at last the King and Earl Raymond came to this Composition, That upon the tender of such a Sum of Money, the Earl should marry the King of France's Sister Constance, Widow to Earl Eustace, Son to King Stephen, and thereupon should be permitted quietly to enjoy the Earldom: But King Henry marrying this Dutchess after she was lawfully divorc'd (as hath been already related) he had then the same Title as the King of France her former Husband had to this City and Earldom.

Anno Domini

MCLIX. M

[3.] C. N. R. H.

The King and

Queencrown'd

at Worcester

And at the

High Altar

offer'd up

their Crowns,

swearing ne-

ver to wear

them more.

[4.] C. N. R. H.

K. Henry re-

solves upon

another Expe-

dicion to sub-

due the

City and Ear-

ldom of Tho-

louse.

* Militi Agrar-

rior.

He takes a

great Scutage

of every

Knight's Fee in

England, and

all his other

Territories,

and therewith

hires an Army

of Mercena-

ries.

[5.] Col. 1381.

[1.] C. N. R. H.

The Queen's

Title to the

Earldom of

Tholouse.

Anno Dom.
MCLIX.

[2.] R. H. 4.
The King of
France putting
himself into
the City, &
cures it from
being besieged.
Cahors taken.

[3.] R. H. 4.
The Relation
of this Expe-
dition of Ger-
vase of Cant.
different from
the other His-
torians.

K. Henry re-
turns into
Normandy.

Giving up
most of his
new Conquests
to William
Trencheveil.

[4.] R. D. C. M.

At Tours he
Knights the
King of Scots.
[5.] R. H. 4.
Stephen in F. &
Thom. Becket,
in Bib. Cotton,
Julius, B.

K. Henry de-
stroys and
burns several
Towns and
Villages.

A Truce be-
tween the two
Kings.

* Servientes.

[2.] To conquer both which, he marched through *France* without any great Opposition, and took many places round about that City: Earl *Raymond* being alarm'd at these great Preparations, implored the King of *France's* Assistance, and in compliance to his desires he immediately put himself into the City with a potent Army; but King *Henry*, for the Respect he bore to his Person, would not besiege it, though he subdued the greatest part of that Earldom: He also falling upon the City of *Cahors*, had it soon surrendered to him.

[3.] But *Gervase's* Chronicle above-cited, quite differs from the rest of the Historians in this Relation; (*viz.*) That King *Henry* was so far from declining the Siege out of any Respect to the King of *France*, that he besieged it from the Nativity of *St. John Baptist* to that of *All-Saints*: Which though probable enough, being written by an Author who lived very near those times, yet since he is contradicted by all the rest except *Rogor Hovedan* under this Year, who says expressly, That the King besieged the Town a long while, I shall not insist upon the Truth of this Relation; only it lets us see the great Uncertainty of the Historians of those times: But this is agreed on all hands, That King *Henry* being thus disappointed in his main design, and having spent a great deal of Treasure, and lost a great many men to no purpose, besides Winter approaching, he was forced to march away into his own Dominions, being little the better for his new Conquests; because he gave up most of those places to *William Trencheveil*, Earl of *Nimes*, a powerful Nobleman, from whom the Earl of *St. Giles* had before taken them.

Nor do I find the King to have been much the better for the Assistance of the Earl of *Barcelona*, with whom he had some time before entered into a Confederacy against the *French King*: Neither can I discover any thing else considerable to have happen'd during this Expedition, save that [4.] *William* Earl of *Balogh*, Son to King *Stephen*, with divers other Noblemen, died by the Sword in their Return: And that King *Henry*, when he came to the City of *Tours*, Knighted the King of *Scots*, in acknowledgment of his Valour and good Service.

But [5.] as *Fitz-Stephens* says, King *Henry*, having fortified *Cahors* to be as a Check upon *Tholouse*, and recommended it to the care of *Thomas Becket* his Chancellor, and likewise having fixed Garisons in all places necessary and convenient, returned into *Normandy*, and from thence with a great Force went into *le Beauvaisis*, and destroyed the strong Castle of *Guerheres*, and burnt several Towns and Villages thereabouts. *Simon* Earl of *Montfort* at that time delivered up to King *Henry* his places of strength in *France*; (*viz.*) *Rochfort*, *Montfort*, *Espernon*, and the rest; which was a great Detriment to the King of *France*; for none of his People could pass freely from *Paris* to *Estampes*, or *Orleans*, for fear of being molested by the *Normans* whom he had put into those Castles; and for this cause the *French King* thought it best to make a Truce or Cessation of Arms with King *Henry*, to be from *December* until eight days after *Whitsunday*.

I cannot here omit what the same *Fitz-Stephens* in his Life of *Thomas Becket* reports, That in this War between the Kings of *England* and *France*, *Thomas* then Chancellor, besides his own Retinue, maintained Seven hundred Knights or Horsemen, and also Twelve hundred others of less Quality, with Four thousand * mercenary Footmen, for one

one Month ; every *Miles*, or Knight, receiving every day to provide for his Horses and Esquires, Three Shillings of that Country Money ; but the Knights themselves had their Diet from the Chancellor ; and though he was a Clerk, he tilted with a Knight of *France*, named *Engelram de Trie*, and with his Lance unhorsed him, and gained his Horse.

I have taken notice of this Passage, to let the Reader see in how great Favour this man was whilst he was Chancellor, and what a vast Revenue he must have had in Offices and Benefices, to be able to maintain such a Body of Men for a Month, as I believe never a Nobleman of *England* but himself was then able to have done.

But the King staying all the rest of this Year in *Normandy*, there happen'd nothing considerable in Civil Affairs ; but in Church-matters it is not amiss to take notice, [1.] That Thirty *German* Hereticks of both Sexes, called *Publicans*, (though for what reasons I know not) came about this time into *England*, under the Conduct of one *Gerard* their Teacher, in order to preach up their Doctrine here ; who being seized upon, and put in Prison by the King's Command, he thereupon ordered a Council of Bishops to be summoned at *Oxford* ; where being examined upon the Articles of their Belief, their Teacher (who seemed to have some more knowledge of Letters than the rest, who were wholly unlearn'd,) answered, That they were *Christians*, and believed the Doctrine of the Apostles, but utterly denied Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and Matrimony : And when they were urged from Scripture to embrace them, they answered, That they believed as they were taught, and came not to dispute concerning their Faith ; and remaining still obstinate Hereticks, they were delivered over to the Secular Power to be punished, which condemned them to be marked with a Red Hot Iron in the Forehead, and then whipp'd ; This Punishment they patiently underwent, their Captain going before them, singing, *Blessed are ye, when men hate you, &c.*

[2.] After they were thus whipt, they were thrust out of doors in the midst of Winter, where they died with Cold and Hunger, no man daring to relieve them, it being expressly forbid for any person so to do. I have taken notice of this, because these were the first (as I can find) that ever suffer'd for Heresy in *England*.

[3.] The same Year also happen'd a great Schism at *Rome*, upon the death of Pope *Adrian* ; for most of the Cardinals assembling, elected Cardinal *Rowland*, Chancellor of *St. Peter's* Church, by the name of *Alexander* ; but he at first too modestly refusing it, divers of those who were averse to his Election, thereby took occasion to chuse another Cardinal, called *Octavian*, who named himself *Victor* ; He being supported by the Emperor *Frederic*, both these Anti-Popes excommunicated each other ; till at last *Alexander* got the better, and forced the Emperor *Frederic* to submit to him.

[4.] This Year *K Henry* being still in *Normandy*, kept his Christmas at *Falaise* ; and in *May* following there was a Peace again clapt up between the Two Kings of *England* and *France*, though it did not continue long : Yet, during this Interval, in July King *Henry* summoned a Council of all the Bishops, Abbots, and Barons of *Normandy*, at a place called *New-Market* ; and King *Lewis* did the like for the Estates of *France* at *Beauvois*, where they both agreed on the Reception of the new Pope *Alexander*, and the Rejection of *Victor* above-

Anno Dom.
MCLIX.

The vast Revenue of *Thos. Becket*.

[1.] *W. N.*
30 *German* Hereticks come into *England*, to preach up their Doctrine.

A Council of Bishops summoned at *Oxford* to examine them.

They are delivered over to the Secular Power, and what Punishment they received.

[2.] *Id. ib.*

The first that ever suffered here for Heresy.

[3.] *M. P. W. N.*
A great Schism at *Rome*, about the choice of a New Pope.

Anno Dom.
MCLX.

[4.] *C. N.*
A Peace made between the Two Kings.
A Norman Great Council, or Parliament.

Anno Dom.
MCLX.

* Vid. Robert de
Monte.

[5.] C. N. B. C.
Fresh Quarrels
arise between
the two Kings,
and upon what
occasion.

Prince Henry,
and Margaret,
Daughter of
France, are
married.

[1.] R. H.
The 3 Knights
Templars that
kept the Castle
of Gisors, &c.
banish'd France,
but are kindly
received and
rewarded by
the King of
England.

Anno Dom.
MCLXI.

[2.] C. N.
The K. posses-
ses himself of
the Castles in
Normandy.

Takes the
strong Castle
of Agen.

Both Kings do
honourably
receive Pope
Alexander, near
the River Loir.

mentioned. * In September Queen Eleanor by the King's Command return'd out of England, (where she had been for some time) into Normandy, bringing over with her his Son Henry, and his Daughter Mathilda: And in October the Two Kings met again, and confirmed the former Peace, but to no great purpose; for presently there arose a fresh Quarrel, occasioned as you shall presently hear.

[5.] Upon the late Contract of Marriage between their Children, the strong Castle of Gisors with its Dependancies, was to remain in the Custody of Three Knights Templars, appointed by both the Kings, until the said Marriage should be consummated, and then they were all to be delivered up to King Henry; but he thinking the time long ere he had them in his possession, was resolved to get them as soon as he could: Therefore about the beginning of November, by the Authority and Allowance of the Cardinals of Pisa and Papia, then the Pope's Legates, he caused the Nuptials to be publicly celebrated between Prince Henry his Son, at that time not Seven Years of Age, and Margaret, Daughter of King Lewis by Constantia his Second Wife, who was Daughter to Alphonso King of Spain; upon which Marriage the Knights Templars delivered up the Castle of Gisors with its Dependancies to King Henry. [1.] At this the King of France was so enraged against those Knights, that he banished them his Country for their breach of Trust; but however they were kindly received by King Henry, and highly rewarded too for it. Nor was the French King contented with this, but he commanded the Earls Henry, Theobald, and Stephen, Brothers to his new Wife Ala, Daughter to Theobald Earl of Blois, to fortify Chaumont, which belonged to the Castle of Blois, that so from thence they might infest King Henry's Territories in Tourain: But He, so soon as he understood their design, without staying for many Forces, presently marched to disappoint it, with those he could get ready on the sudden: The Earls hearing he was coming, left their Work, so he presently took this new Fortrefs, and about a Hundred and twenty Soldiers in it, and demolished it, and then fortified Ambois and Freteval, placing Garisons in them, and went to Mans, where he kept his Christmases with his Queen Eleanor.

This Year he [2.] seized into his own hands all the Strong-holds of the Earl of Melent, and the other Barons in Normandy, and committed them to the Care of his Confidants, and then repaired and strengthened all his Castles on the Borders of Normandy toward France, and well manned them, especially Gisors: But Theobald Earl of Blois did many ill Offices, creating fresh Quarrels between the Two Kings; so that after Easter they both drew their Armies into the Field against each other, to defend their Countries, first in Le Veuxin, afterwards in Le Dunois, every day expecting Battel; yet at length they made a Truce without any Bloodshed.

From hence King Henry after Midsummer marched into Aquitain, and besieged the famous Castle of Agen, seated upon the River Garonne, which was fortified as well by Nature as Art; but yet in a Week's time he made himself Master of it on St. Lawrence's day, to the great Astonishment and Terror of the Gascoins.

During this Truce between the Two Kings, they met together near the River Loir, and honourably received Pope Alexander, (then lately arrived in France, being expelled Italy by Victor his Competitor) each of

of them performing the Office of Yeoman or Gentleman of his Stirrup, walking on foot, the one led his Horse by the Bridle on the Right side, and the other on the Left, until they brought him to a *Pavilion* prepared for him; by whose Mediation a firm Peace was made between them. I have mentioned this, to let the Reader see the wonderful Respect that Princes paid the Pope in those days of Ignorance, which is the Mother of Superstition, rather than true Devotion.

I find nothing considerable to have happen'd this Year in *England*, [3.] except the Death of *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a Prelate of great Piety, who deceased, and was buried at his own Church.

The [4.] King, being still detain'd in *Normandy* by his Foreign Affairs, this Year sent over *Thomas* his Chancellor into *England*, to dispatch the Business of the Kingdom; but chiefly with this intent, that he should be now chosen Archbishop of *Canterbury*: But before that, he called a Council of all the Bishops, Abbots, and other Great Men of *England*, wherein they swore Fealty to *Henry* the King's Son, whom the Chancellor had now brought over with him; and He first took the Oath, and did him Homage, *Saving the Faith which he owed the King his Father as long as he lived, and should please to govern.*

Not long after which, [5.] a Synod of the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* being assembled at *London*, together with the Prior and Senior Monks of *Christ Church* in *Canterbury*, the Bishops having before declared to them the King's Command to proceed to an Election of a new Archbishop; the said Prior, together with the rest of the Clergy there present, elected *Thomas* the Chancellor to be Archbishop, no man opposing it, [1.] except *Gilbert* Bishop of *Hereford*, who said, It was not fitting to make a mere Soldier, and a Secular Man, an Archbishop: But that weighed nothing with them; so he was soon after consecrated on *Trinity-Sunday*, by *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*; the Archbishop of *Tork* being denied to perform that Ceremony, because he and his Predecessors had for some time before refused to swear Canonical Obedience to the See of *Canterbury*.

However, though this was a Creature of the King's own raising, yet he was very much disappointed in this Choice; for whereas he expected to have found the new Archbishop wholly compliant to his Will, he on the contrary, immediately after his Consecration, not only resigned his Office of Chancellor, and returning to the King his Seal, which was then (as it is now) the Badge of that Office; but he also quite alter'd his former course of Life, from a free and Courtly, to a rigid and Monkish way of living, wearing Sackcloth next his Skin, and the Habit of a Monk under that of a Chanon Regular; and yet even of these Trifles the Monkish Writers make great Mysteries.

[2.] King *Henry* having settled all his Affairs on the other side the Water, at last left *Normandy*, having been detain'd there above a Month by contrary Winds; so in the beginning of *January* he landed at *Southampton*, where he was received by most of the Bishops and Nobility with great Expressions of Joy and Respect; and in particular by Archbishop *Thomas*; of whom it was observed, That though the King saluted him with a Kiss, yet he received him so coldly, that it appeared to all there present, that he was not much in his Favour.

Anno Dom.
MCLXI.

And perform
the Office of
Yeoman of the
Stirrup to
him.

[3.] R. D. C. G.
The Death of
Theobald ABP
of *Canterbury*.

Anno Dom.
MCLXII.

[4.] *Ibid.*
Thomas the
Chancellor
sent into Engl.
and for what.
The Bishops,
Abbots, and
Great Men of
the Kingdom
in Council
swear Fealty
to *Henry*, Son
of *K. Henry*.

[5.] *Ibid.*
Synod of the
Clergy of
Cant. assem-
bled at *London*
about the
choice of a
new ABP.

[1.] *Fitz. Steph.*
The Chancel-
lor made ABP
and consecra-
ted by the Bp
of *Winchester*.

The K. much
disappointed
in him.

He resigns his
Office of
Chancellor,
And affects
Austerity of
Life.

[2.] R. D.
K. comes for
England, after
he had settled
his Affairs in
Normandy.

Receives the
ABP very
coldly.

Then

Anno Dom.
MCLXIII.

[3.] C. B. Col.
1164.

M. P. Annales
de Waverley.
The Kings of
North & South-
Wales do Ho-
mage to the
King and his
Son Henry.

Then [3.] the King kept his *Christmasts* at *Westminster*, where he held a Great Council, during which time the Body of King *Edmund* the Confessor was translated into a New Shrine: But I cannot find any thing of moment to have happen'd this Year, only that *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, with *Owen* and *Rees*, Princes of *North* and *South Wales*, and all the Greatest Men of that Nation, did Homage to the King of *England* and his Son *Henry*, upon the First of *July* at *Woodstock*: The *Norman Chronicle* adds, That the *North-Welsh* Prince gave his Brother *David*, and some of his Baron's Sons as Pledges for his good Behaviour, or preservation of Peace; and that the King might have such of his Castles as he pleased.

[4.] C. G. Col.
1184.

Pope *Alexander*
holds a
Gen. Council
at *Tours*, and
Thom. the ABP
is present at it,
and what is
done there.

As for Ecclesiastical Affairs, I find that [4.] about the end of *May* Pope *Alexander* held a General Council at *Tours*, to which *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury* being summoned, appeared, and was received by the Pope with very great Honour, and ordered to sit on his Right hand, and the Archbishop of *York* together with the Bishop of *Durham* on his Left. In this Council the Pope excommunicated the Emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*, and *Victor* the Anti-Pope, with their Adherents.

I shall here, for want of Civil Occurrences, give you some other Church-matters, which, though of no great moment in themselves, yet since they were the Originals of all those grand Differences and Quarrels, that after happened between the King and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, it will not be amiss to let the Reader understand them, seeing most of them hapned about this very time. And this I shall do from *William Fitz-Stephens*, a Monk of *Canterbury's Manuscript History* (already cited) who was present at most of the Proceedings against the Archbishop, and wrote his Life, still in Manuscript in the *Cottonian Library*.

The Rise of
the Quarrels
between the
K. & the ABP
first promo-
ted by some
Court Clergy-
men.

The first thing that raised the King's displeasure against the Archbishop, was, a Jealousy put into his Head by some Clergymen belonging to the Court, who having obtained Ecclesiastical Benefices without any great Desert, were afraid of the Archbishop's Strictness, that he would not suffer them to be advanced any higher, if he let them keep what they had: These men detracted what they could from him, whispering in the King's Ear, That if the Archbishop's Power proceeded too far, his Royal Dignity would be in danger; and that unless he took care of himself, the Archbishop would at last be King, as being the Person that the Clergy would most likely elect; or else that the King would reign precariously at the Archbishop's pleasure: But that which chiefly incensed all the King's Tenants or Military men of the Kingdom against him, was, That he endeavoured to recover the Castle of *Tunbridge* from the Earl of *Clare*, with that whole Honour, though long since aliened from the Church of *Canterbury*, because (according to the Decretals) it was lawful for his Predecessors, as Stewards for the Church, to manage its Lands so as to increase and not to diminish or alienate them: [5.] Therefore he had lately summoned the Earl to do him Homage for that Castle with its Appurtenances; but he refused it, and alledged for his so doing, that he held of the King by Knights Service.

The K.'s Te-
nants highly
incensed a-
gainst the ABP
for his Pro-
ceedings a-
gainst the Earl
of *Clare*.

[5.] R. D.

[1.] F. S.

[1.] In the next place the Archbishop challenged a Right to present to the vacant Churches in the Towns as well of his Barons, (*i. e.* those who held of the Church by Knights Service) as his Monks (*viz.* of *Canterbury*) and by this Right gave the Church of

Eynesford

Eynesford in *Kent* to one *Lawrence* a Priest, whereupon the Lord of the Mannor called *William de Eynesford*, molested the Servants of *Lawrence*, and forced them out of the Town, for which the Archbishop Excommunicated him: Upon this he applied himself to the King, who wrote to the Archbishop to Absolve him; but he sent the King word, That it belonged not to Him to command any man to be Excommunicated, or Absolved; the King provoked with this sawcy Answer, still insisted upon his Royal Prerogative, That no Tenant in Capite ought to be Excommunicated, without his Knowledge or Consent; at length the Archbishop, to pacify the King, did Absolve him: But from thence forward the King had no kindness for him, though not long before he had obtain'd of him a Liberty to Enjoy all the Honours and Dignities of his Church Entire, and that he might also seek to recover those Lands that had been Aliened by his Predecessors, and were now possessed by Lay-men. Nor did he, (it seems,) spare the King himself, for he required of him the Castle of *Rochester*, as belonging to the See of *Canterbury*.

But *Edward Ryme*, a Clerk or Chaplain to this Archbishop (who has written an Account of his Life and Death still in Manuscript) gives us somewhat a different Account of the Original of this Quarrel, between the King and the Archbishop, to this Effect; That the King being at *Woodstock* with the Archbishop, among other Matters, a Question was started concerning a certain Custom which was then observed in *England*, viz. That out of every Hyde of Land Two Shillings were paid to those Officers, who as Under-Sheriffs kept the * Counties, i. e. the County-Courts; which Tax or Payment the King would have added to his * Exchequer, and made a part of his own Revenues: But the Archbishop opposed this to his face, saying, They ought not to be exacted as Royal Revenues; neither (said he) My Lord the King, by your good leave shall we pay it on that account; but if the Sheriffs or Inferior Ministers of the Counties, who defend and maintain our Tenents, do worthily perform their Duty, we shall not be wanting to their Assistance; but the King taking the Archbishop's Answer very ill, Replied, By God's Eyes (his usual Oath) it shall be paid as part of my Revenue, and shall be * enter'd in my Accounts, neither is it well done of you to contradict it, when no body would unjustly burthen your Tenants against your Will; but the Archbishop being very fearful, lest by his Connivance a Custom should be introduced, by which the Payment of that Tax might become a Precedent, Replied, My Lord the King, In Reverence to those Eyes, by which you have now sworn, not one penny shall be raised on my Lands by * Law on that account; Upon this the King held his peace, being confounded at the Archbishop's Reply; but his secret displeasure was not the less against him; and with this Relation also *Quadrilogus* agrees, though it be somewhat shorter in this particular.

[2.] But long before this, in the time of Archbishop *Theobald*, the King had been much incensed through the Insolence and Wicked Actions of divers of the Clergy, who had committed several Robberies, Adulteries, and Murders, as also through the irregular Proceedings of some Archdeacons, who had by taking Money of Offenders, turned other mens Crimes to their own Advantage; the particular Instances of which being many and tedious, I shall only extract some of them for

Anna Dom.
MCLXIII.

The Archbishop pretends a Right to present to all vacant Benefices in all Towns both of his Barons and Monks. He Excommunicates *William de Eynesford*, a Tenant in Capite. But afterwards Absolves him to pacify the King. Yet he spares not the King himself. Now in the Library at *Gresham College*.

Edward Ryme's different Account of this Quarrel. * *Loco Vice-Comitis.* * *Esco.*

* *In Scriptura Regis scriben- tur.*

* *De Jure.*

[2.] *F. S. W. Newbrig.* But long before this the King had been incensed against the Wickedness and Corruption of the Clergy, whom the Bp. would not suffer to be Tried in the Secular Courts.

Anno Dom.
MCLXIII.

[3.] *F. S. Ib.*
One Clerk
guilty of
Fornication
and Murder.

[4.] *Id. Ib.*
Another of
Theft and
Sacilege.

[5.] *Id. Ib.*
The King
holds a great
Council of
Bishops at
Westminster, to
remedy these
Enormities.

[1.] *Id. Ib.*
The private
Conference
between the
Archbishop
and the rest
of the Bishops,
about deliver-
ing over
Clerks to the
Secular
Power.

They were
for degra-
ding, and then
delivering
them over,
&c.

But the Arch-
bishop said it
was against
the Canons.
And adds,
That they
ought not to
destroy the
Liberties of
the Church.

But they were
for complying
for fear of
losing their
Temporalities.

Bishops not to
be present at
any Sentence
of Blood.
[2.] *Id. Ib.*
The Bishop's
Answer to the
King's de-
mands.

for the Reader's satisfaction, that so he may the better judge of the Grounds of this great Quarrel between the King and the Archbishop.

[3.] There was a Clerk in *Worcestershire*, that had Debauched an honest man's Daughter, and afterwards Killed her Father; this man the King would have had Tried in his Secular Court; but the Archbishop would not permit it, but caused him to be kept in the Prison of the Bishop of the Diocess, lest he should be delivered over to the King's Justices.

[4.] Another Clerk had stole a Silver Chalice out of a Church in *London*; this man the King would likewise have had Tried in the Secular Court; but the Archbishop caused him to be Tried in the Ecclesiastical Court, where he was only Sentenced to be degraded, and, to pacify the King, to be branded in the Face with a Hot Iron.

[5.] The King being much provoked by these and several other Enormities of the Clergy, resolved to put a stop to them, and to apply a speedy Remedy to so spreading a Disease; and therefore holding a Great Council at *Westminster*, he demanded of the Archbishop, and all the rest of the Bishops, That by their Consent and Allowance such Clerks as were Taken in the Fact, or were Convicted, or had confessed any Enormous Crime, should first be degraded, and forthwith delivered over to Secular Officers, in order to be corporally punished, and not have any Protection from the Church; he demanded also, That when any Clerk was degraded, some of his Ministers of Justice might be present to take him into Custody, that so he might not fly, to escape punishment.

[1.] The Archbishop not being able to obtain leave to defer his Answer to these demands so much as till the next Morning, went presently apart with the Bishops, and Discoursed the Matter, who were all of Opinion, That indeed according to the Secular Law, Clerks were to be degraded, and then delivered over to the Temporal Court to be corporally punished, which they proved not only by Law, but Authentick Examples out of the Old Testament; but the Archbishop, adhering to the Canons of the *Roman Church*, thought otherwise, asserting, That it was unjust and against the Laws Ecclesiastical, that Clergymen should be subject to the Lay-power, but ought to be only deprived of their Orders for such great Crimes, and not to be any farther punished; since no man should be doubly punished by Two several Courts for the same Crime; adding withal, That they ought to be very careful, not to destroy the Liberties of the Church by their own Consents, for which, from the Example of *Christ* their High-Priest, they were in Duty bound to contend unto the Death; the Bishops Replied, That the Church was in no danger if they should consent to what the King demanded, and that they ought to yield to the Iniquity of the Times, (as they called it,) lest the King should seize upon all their Temporalities; but the Archbishop persisted in his Opinion, and told them, They ought not to expose any man to Death, seeing they could not themselves be present at a Sentence of Blood; with several other Arguments according to the Notions of that Age, too long here to be particularly related.

[2.] The King finding himself not likely to prevail in this, demanded of them, if they would observe his Royal Customs or Prerogatives?

The

The Archbishop Answered, Yes, **Saving their Order by, and in all things**; Then the King asked the same thing of every other Bishop, and they all gave him the same Answer, at which he was so highly provoked, that he left them, and went away suddenly that Night to *Woodstock*.

The Bishops fearful of his Displeasure, followed him; and at *Oxford*, (tho *Rog. Hoveden* makes it at *Woodstock*) consented to acknowledge his Laws, *without any saving of their Order*; yet the Archbishop was immovable, saying, *Far be it from me, that for the fear or favour of any Mortal man, I should be found to condemn God; if an Angel should come from Heaven, and give me advice to make such an absolute acknowledgment, I would curse him*. But the Author of *Quadrilogus* owns, That the Archbishop being at last overcome by the importunity and intreaties of the Bishops of *Chichester* and *Hereford*, consented to the like acknowledgment, without that **saving Clause** which had given so much Offence. The King at this seemed pacified for the present, however, he resolved to have their Consents to his Customs, ratified in a Common Council of the whole Kingdom.

[3.] And to this end, that he might the better assert the Rights of the Crown, he called a General Council at *Clarendon*, about the Feast of *St. Hilary*, in which he propounded to the Bishops and Secular Barons, many Antient Regal Customs and Laws, which he would have the Bishops to own and Recognize, as the Antient Rights of the Crown; which Laws being commonly called the Constitutions or Ordinances of *Clarendon*, since they are printed in the History called *Quadrilogus*, as also in *Chronicon Gervasii*, and likewise in *Matt. Paris*, and being very long, I shall refer the Reader to the end of this King's Reign, where he will find them set down at large, with a Note under each of those, that the Pope afterwards took upon him to condemn; for they are very well worth the perusal, because they contain the chief Prerogatives and Privileges that were then Claim'd, as well by the King as the Clergy.

But to return to our History.

[4.] These Constitutions being openly read in the presence of all the Bishops, who consented to them by word of mouth, they were then required to put to their Seals; at first they seemed willing enough to do it, but the Archbishop utterly refused it; whereupon the King sent to him the Earls of *Cornwall* and *Leicester*, to persuade him to acknowledge them; but they not prevailing, at last Two *Knights-Templars* (one whereof was the Master of the Order) throwing themselves at his Feet with many Tears and great Importunity, so wrought upon him, That he promised without Fraud or any Reservation or Saving, really to receive and submit to the King's Antient Laws. But *Fitz-Stephens* relates more at large, That the Two last Messengers with Tears laid before him the danger he was in, and what ill consequences his standing out might produce, and that then for fear of Death, as well as to appease the King, both the Archbishop and all the Bishops consented to those Laws, and Recognized them under their Seals; and the King afterwards sent them to the Pope to be Confirmed, who not only refused to do it, but Censured and Condemned them.

[5.] Then the Archbishop, by the severe Reproof and Admonition of one of his Chaplains, soon repented of this Act, and made his Body suffer a severe Penance for it; nay, he thought it so heinous

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S f

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Anno Dom.
MCLXIII.

Salvo Ordine
per omnia, &
in omnibus.

The King in
anger leaves
them, and
goes imme-
diately to
Woodstock.

They follow
him, and con-
sent to ac-
knowledge his
Laws.

Anno Dom.
MCLXIV.

[3.] C. G.

Id. p. R. H. 281. b.

The King
calls a General
Council at
Clarendon, to
have his An-
tient Regal
Rights Own-
ed and Recog-
nized.

[4.] Idem ib.

The Consti-
tutions con-
sented to by
all the Bishops
ore scus.

And at last the
Archbishop
and all the
Bishops Re-
cognized
them under
their Seals.

[5.] F. S.

But the Arch-
bishop repents
of what he
had done.

Anna Dom.
MCLXIV.

[1.] R. H.
The Pope
sends the Arch-
bishop of Rouen
over from
France to com-
pose these dif-
ferences, and
what the re-
sult thereof.

[2.] B. G. D.
The Quarrell
between them
daily increas-
ed.
The Arch-
bishop resolves
to leave Eng-
land, and twice
attempted it,
but detained
by contrary
winds, he goes
to Canterbury.

Comes to speak
with the King
at Woodstock,
but is denied
admittance.

[3.] M. B. F. S.
The King
Summons the
Bishops and
Great men to
meet at Nor-
thampton.

And brings
new Accusa-
tions against
the Arch-
bishop.

For denying
Justice to one
John the Ma-
reschal of the
Exchequer,
and for refu-
sing to appear
at the King's
Court.

an Offence, and which so much defiled him, that he was not fit to say Mass, or to appear before the Altar; and therefore he suspended himself from that Service for some Weeks, untill by his Confession and Penance he thought he might be worthy the Pope's Absolution, which he obtained without any great difficulty.

[1.] Nor can I here omit, that during this Controversy between the King and the Archbishop, the Pope, being still in *France*, sent over *Rotrod* Archbishop of *Rouen* on purpose to compose these differences, which the King would by no means hearken to, unless the Pope would first consent to confirm his Laws by his Bull, which he refused; and when the King saw he could not obtain it, he sent over *John of Oxford*, and *Geoffery Ridet* (two of his Clerks or Chaplains) to prevail with the Pope, to constitute *Roger* Archbishop of *Tork* his Legate throughout all *England*, that so by this means he might confound the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; but though the Pope would not grant the King this request; yet that he might satisfy him in part, he then sent him a power of being Legate himself, provided he did thereby no injury to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; which Bull or Commission, when the King saw how little it signified for his purpose, he sent it back again to the Pope by the same hands, that brought it him.

[2.] The quarrel between the King and the Archbishop daily encreasing, and he now despairing of his Friendship, and apprehending himself in much greater danger then he really was, resolved to leave *England* privately; so going to *Rumney* (a Town of his own) he twice put to Sea, but either had no Wind at all, or else a contrary one; and therefore being forced to come again on Shoar, he went in the night to *Canterbury*; at which News the King was much pleased, being afraid that if he had got beyond Sea, he would have put his whole Province under an Interdict; yet was he so much incensed against the Archbishop for this rash attempt, that not long after, when he came to *Woodstock* to speak with the King about it, he would not give him admittance, so that the Archbishop receiving a repulse, was fain to return to *Canterbury*.

Then the King suspecting he might escape unpunished, summon'd the Bishops and Great Men to meet at *Northampton* on the 13th day of *October*. *Edward Ryme's* Account says, That the King resolving to hold a Solemn Council at the Castle of *Northampton*, caused all those that held of him *in Capite* to summon'd thither, and the Archbishop in the first place; this was about the beginning of *October*; but the exact day is not material, nor can our Historians agree about it; only this much is certain, that the Council being then met, the King let fall the first Controversy with the Archbishop about his refusing to observe the Statutes of *Clarendon*, and fell to New Accusations against him, which seeming to be done out of pure Revenge, afterwards gave the Archbishop a great advantage over Him when his cause came to be heard before the Pope; for first the King caused the Archbishop to be accused for denying Justice to one *John* the Mareschal of the *Exchequer*, and afterwards for a Contempt in refusing to appear at the King's Court, to shew cause why he had not done this *John* due Justice. The cause in short was this; *John* had demanded of the Archbishop a Mannor or Farm, which (as he said) the Archbishop unjustly

justly detain'd from him, and finding he could have no Right in his Court, he brought down thither the King's Writ to remove the Cause into that of the King's, whither the Archbishop being cited to answer it, had fail'd to appear at the day appointed, for reasons I shall give you by and by.

[4.] The King being very angry that he appeared not in person, at the request of this *John* the Plaintiff, he appointed another day (to wit) the first day of the next Council, and sent his Writ to the Sheriff of *Kent* to cite the Archbishop, for the King did not write to him, because he would not salute him; nor had he any other solemn Summons by writ to come to the Council * *according to antient custom.*

But it happened that the Cause was that day put off, by reason of *John's* absence at *London* about the King's affairs (as being an Officer in the Exchequer.) The next day the Archbishop was again accused, that he had not done Justice to *John* in his Suit; to which He presently answer'd, That he had done him true Justice, and had not wilfully declined the Authority of the King's Court, because *John* had not taken his Oath upon the Gospels (as was requisite) but upon an Old *Tropaz* or Song-Book, which he drew out from under his Coat; and that if being cited, he had not appeared in the King's Court, it was no contempt, because he was then detain'd at home by Sicknefs, and had sent Two lawful men to make his Excuse on this account: *Fitz Stephens* represents the Archbishop to have made another kind of Plea, *viz.* that tho he came not at the day, yet he had sent to the King Four Knights with his Letters, as also a Letter from the Sheriff of *Kent*; attesting the Injury of *John*, and the imperfection of his proof, (*viz.* as I said before) because he had Sworn upon the *Tropaz*, and not upon the Gospels. This is the Relation these Authors make of this Affair; But tho it seems improbable, that *John* should presume to Swear upon a Song-Book instead of the Gospels, yet since they are only those of the Archbishop's Party who have left us any account of these matters, we must rest contented with what we find in them, having no other Authors to recur to.

But let the Archbishop's Plea have been what it would, [2] his Crime being made no less than that of * *Lasa Majestatis*, by which expression whether is meant Treason, or only a High Contempt, or Misdemeanour, I will not determine, but the King demanded Judgment upon it; and it seemed to all there present, from the Reverence due to the King's Majesty, as also by the Bond of *Leige Homage*, that the Archbishop had made, and from the Oath of *Fidelity*, which he had Sworn to him, that he had failed in his own defence; whereupon his Plea being over-ruled, they all condemned him to be in the King's Mercy for all his moveable Goods. Upon this Judgment a sharp Dispute arose between the Bishops and the Barons, who of them should pronounce the Sentence, for Each Order excusing themselves, would fain have laid it upon the Other, and One of the Barons said, 'You Bishops ought to pronounce Sentence, for it belongs not to us, We are only Laymen, You Ecclesiastical persons, his fellow Priests and fellow Bishops; to whom one of the Bishop, answered, 'No, it is rather Your Office than Ours, for this is not an Ecclesiastical Sentence, but a Secular; We sit not here as Bishops but

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[4.] E. R.
The King angry that he appeared not in person.

And is cited a new by the Sheriff of Kent, and then appears in the K's Court.

* *Ut antiqui moris erat.*

But the Cause was put off to another day. The Archbishop's Answer to *John* the Marshal's complaint.

And excuses his non-appearance by reason of sickness.

[2.] F. S.
* *Lasa Majestatis.*

The King demands Judgment upon him.

He is condemned in the King's mercy for all his Moveables.

Disputes between the Bishops and the Barons about pronouncing the Sentence.

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[1.] *Id.*
The Bishop of
Winchester, by
the King's Or-
der, pronoun-
ces it.

[1.] The King hearing of this Controversie about pronouncing the Sentence, quickly decided this matter by laying it upon the Bishop of *Winchester*, who, tho with great Reluctance, was forced to pronounce it; thereupon the Archbishop (because no man might contradict a Sentence or Judgment which is a Record made in the King's Court,) by advice of the Bishops submitted to it, and by a seeming compliance, for the mitigation of the King's Displeasure, threw himself upon his Mercy, as the custom was: then all the Bishops, except *Gilbert Bishop of London* who refused it, became sureties for him.

[2.] *Id. Ib.*
The same day,
after the Sen-
tence, he was
prosecuted for
300 *l.*
His plea to it.
The King de-
mands Judg-
ment, and the
Archbishop
gives security
for the Mony.

[2.] After this the very same day the Archbishop was prosecuted for Three Hundred Pounds he had received, as he was *Castellan*, or *Constable*, of the Castles of *Eye* in *Suffolk*, and *Berkhamstead* in *Hertfordshire*; the Archbishop waved this action by pleading, that he was not cited for that matter, and further said, that he had disbursed much more money than that in the Reparations of the King's Palace at *London*, and likewise of those Castles, as might be seen by his Accounts; yet the King would not admit of his Plea, but demanded Judgment; Hereupon the Archbishop, to please the King, and not being willing that such a small sum of Money should be the cause of any further difference between them, gave Security for it, by Three Laymen, (*viz.*) the Earl of *Glocester*, and Two others his Tenants.

[3.] *Ib. Id.*
He is prosecu-
ted for 1000.
Marks more,
and several
other sums he
had receiv'd
when Chan-
cellour.

[3.] On the Third day after he was again prosecuted at the King's Suit for Five Hundred Marks, which had been lent him in the Army of *Tholose*, and for another Five Hundred, which he had borrowed of a Jew upon the King's Security; he was likewise prosecuted for all the profits of the Archbishoprick of *Tork*, and other Bishopricks and Abbies, that were void during his Chancellorship, of all which he was Commanded forthwith to give an Account; the Archbishop replied, He came not now prepared to answer these matters, nor was he cited there concerning them; but in due time and place he would do to his Lord the King according to Right: yet the King still exacted further Security of him; upon this the Archbishop answered, He ought first to have the advice of his Suffragans and Clerks about it, to which the King yielded; and so the Archbishop departed from the Court, and from that day neither the Barons, nor other Knights came any more to his House to visit him, having sufficiently understood the King's mind by these proceedings.

Desires first to
have the ad-
vice of his
Suffragans.

[4.] *Id. Ib.*

[4.] On the Fourth day all the Ecclesiasticks came to the Archbishop's House, where he treated with the Bishops severally and a-part, and with the Abbats severally and a-part; the Bishop of *Winchester* advised him to offer a Composition in Money, and to try the King that way; there were 2000 Marks tender'd, tho' not accepted; in the mean while Others encourag'd him resolutely to maintain the Liberties of the Church, he being, upon his Advancement to the Archbishoprick, thereby discharged of all Secular Demands: but most

of

of them perswaded him to comply with the King, and put himself on his Mercy: And *Edward Ryme* his Relation further adds, That the Bishop of *Winchester*, out of seeming kindness told him, That in his Opinion, for the appeasing of the King's Anger, his best way would be to surrender up the Archbishoprick into his hands; but the Archbishop protested with an Oath, That he would never give up his Archbishoprick so long as he could keep it; nor had he taken it on that Condition, ever to surrender it, whilst he lived; yet notwithstanding all this, he afterwards did resign it into the Pope's hands, as you will find anon.

On the Fifth day, [5.] being *Sunday*, 'tis said the Barons sate in a close Consultation; but the result of their Debates and Resolutions are not mentioned. On the Sixth day the Archbishop fell sick of the Colick, proceeding (as 'tis supposed) from the great agitation and trouble of his Mind; then the King hearing of it, sent some of his Earls and Barons to visit him, and to know his Resolutions, Whether he would give security to render an Account of what he had received from the vacant Churches in the time of his Chancellorship, and stand to the Judgment of his Court in that matter, or not; the Archbishop answer'd by the Bishops, That if he was not hindered by Sickness, he would come the next day to Court, and do what he ought in that affair.

[1.] The next day being somewhat better, he came thither according to his promise; but so soon as he enter'd the Castle, he took the Cross from its Bearer into his own hands, in order to secure his Person from any Insult or Violence that might be offer'd him; but when he came into the Room where they were to wait the King's pleasure, and had sate down with the rest of the Bishops, the Bishop of *London* perswaded him to deliver the Cross to its usual Bearer, lest he might be thought to intend some Disturbance in the Kingdom; but the Archbishop would not hearken to that Proposition, which produc'd hard words between Him and the Bishops of *London* and *Winchester*. Then the rest of the Bishops being call'd, they waited on the King, who was retir'd in an Inward Room, where they staid with him a long time, as did also *Roger* Archbishop of *York*, who came last, that so he might not be suspected to be One of the King's private Counsellors and Advisers. In the mean time the Archbishop attended in the Outward Room with the Cross still in his hand, whilst the Earls and Barons were with the King.

The Bishops in this Conference inform'd the King, That the Archbishop, when he last advised with them, told them, They had used him very hardly, and that the Barons had not Sentenc'd him according to Justice, but after an unheard-of manner; since for one single * Absence, or Omission, which was (at most) but a Default, and not a wilful Contumacy, they ought not to have inflicted such a heavy Punishment upon him, as the forfeiture of his Moveables to the King, and to be also in his Mercy; and that being an Inhabitant of *Kent*, he ought to have been Sentenced and Fined according to the Law of that Country, where Forty Shillings was a sufficient Fine for those that were Sentenc'd for such a Default; and the Bishops added further, That this very day the Archbishop had told them, he had now appealed to the Pope against that Sentence, and by his Authority forbid them

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They advise a
Compliance.

Winchester per-
swades him to
surrender his
Archbishop-
rick, but the
Archbishop
protests a-
gainst that
with an Oath.
But afterwards
resigned it
to the Pope.

[5.] *Id. Ib.*
The King de-
mands securi-
ty of him.
And to stand
to the Judg-
ment of his
Court.
The Archbi-
shop said, If
not hindered
by sickness,
he would.

[1] *Id. ib. R.H.*
And comes
accordingly,
bearing the
Cross himself,
to secure his
Person from
any Insult or
Violence.

* *Superfluum.*

The Bishops
privately in-
formed the
King that the
Archbishop
was angry at
the Judgment
given against
him.

And that he
had appealed
to the Pope.

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[2.] *Id. ib.*
The K. mightily disturb'd
at this Appeal.

He is requir'd
to give Pledges
to abide by the
Judgment of
the King's
Court.

[3.] *Id.*
His Answer
to the whole
Accusation.

Puts his Per-
son & Church
under the
Pope's pro-
tection.

[4.] *Id.*
The K. would
have had the
Bishops, &c.
declare the
Sentence a-
gainst the
Archbishop.
* *Dissent Sen-*

tentiam.
But they fear
his Prohibi-
tion.

[5.] *Id.*
The Bp of Chi-
cheſter repre-
sents to him
the Streights
they were dri-
ven to by this
his Prohibiti-
no.

them for the future to Judge him in any Secular Matter he had done before he was Archbishop.

[2.] The King was very much moved at this Relation, and sent the Barls and Barons to know of him, whether he had indeed made this Appeal and Prohibition, or not; especially seeing he was his Leigeman, and bound to him by a particular Oath at *Clarendon*, that he would sincerely and legally observe his Royal Prerogatives, amongst which this was one, That the *Bishops should be present at all his Tryals or Judgments, except those of Blood.* They were also farther to know of him, whether he would give Pledges to stand to the Judgment of the King's Court concerning the account of his Chancellorship?

[3.] To all which Demands, he made answer to this effect, "That he was indeed bound to the King by Leige-Homage, and Oath of Fealty, yet the Oath was chiefly Sacerdotal; and that tho in respect to God he was in all due obedience and subjection obliged to observe, honour and maintain Fidelity towards him, yet it was still, *saving his Obedience to God, and that Episcopal Respect due to his person, and that* he only declined this Suit, because he was not cited to give an account upon any other cause, then that of *John the Mareſchal*; neither was he bound to make answer, or hear Sentence in any other matter: he confessed, he had received many Offices and Dignities from the King, in all which he had faithfully served him as well in *England* as beyond Sea, and had spent his own Revenues in his Service, and for the same had contracted many Debts; As to his putting in Pledges or Security to render an account, that he conceived he ought not to be compelled to, because he was not adjudged to do it, nor had he any Citation as to matter of Account, or any other except that of *John the Mareſchal*: And as to the Appeal and Prohibition, he had that day made before the Bishops he did acknowledge that he told them, that for meer Absence, and not Contumacy, they had unjustly condemned him, contrary to the Custom and Example of former times; wherefore he now Appealed, and forbad them (depending that Appeal) to Judge him in any secular accusation, concerning things done before he was Archbishop; wherefore according to his Appeal he put his Person and the Church of *Canterbury* under the protection of God, and his Lord the Pope.

[4.] The King having received this Answer, urged the Bishops by the Homage they had done, and the Fealty they had sworn to him, that together with the Barons they would * tell him what Sentence ought to be past on the Archbishop: But they began to excuse themselves by reason of his late Prohibition; at which the King was not satisfied, but said, That this Prohibition ought not to hold good against what was done and sworn to at *Clarendon*: they replied, if they should not obey his Prohibition, the Archbishop would proceed to a further Censure against them, and that for the good of the King and Kingdom, they must obey it; yet at length by his persuasion they went again to the Archbishop.

[5.] Then the Bishop of *Chicheſter* told him, That by this Prohibition he had reduced the Bishops to a very great streight, since if they did not obey it, they were guilty of disobedience to the Pope, and if they did obey it, they were then guilty of breaking the late Con-

stitutions

stitutions of *Clarendon*, and lay thereby exposed to the King's displeasure; for the non-observance of his Prerogatives, which, least they might doubt what they were, he had shew'd them those Royal Customs of which he spake in writing, and that they had then given their assent to them; the Archbishop himself first, and afterwards all his Suffragans by his Command; and that when the King pressed them to swear to what they had promised, and set to their Seals for the Confirmation of, they had answered, that That alone ought to suffice, instead of an Oath, that they had said in the word of Truth, in good Faith, without deceit, and according to Law, they would observe them: why do you then forbid us to be present at that Sentence, which the King Commands us? upon this Grievance and least you may add any thing to our prejudice. We also will appeal to the Pope, though for this time we give Obedience to your Prohibition.

"The Archbishop answered, he would be present at the prosecution of the Appeal, and that there was nothing done at *Clarendon* either by them or himself, in which their Ecclesiastical Honour was not saved: 'Twas true, (he said) they had promised in good Faith, without Deceit, and according to law, to observe those Decrees, yet by those general words the Dignities of their Churches, which they held by the Pontifical or Cannon Law, were safe, for whatsoever was against the true Faith of the Church, and against the Laws of God, could not in good faith, or, according to Law, be observed. Also that a Christian King had no Prerogative, by the Exercise whereof the Liberties of the Church (which he had sworn to maintain) might receive any prejudice. Moreover those, which they called Royal Prerogatives, being sent to the Pope to be confirmed, were brought back rather disapproved, for but few of them were allowed by him; and that he had thereby shewn them what they ought to do, in being ready to receive the Decrees of the Roman Church, and to refuse whatever she refused: yet further, if they had failed in any thing at *Clarendon*, (since the flesh is weak) they ought to take fresh courage, and by virtue of the Holy Spirit to strive against the old Enemy, who endeavours, that he who stands may fall, and that he who hath fallen may not rise again: If therefore they had promised any unjust things there, or confirmed them in the Word of Truth, they knew such unlawful Stipulations do not oblige.

This is the Sum of that Speech which our Author tells us the Archbishop made in his own behalf: but to come again to the History:

[1.] The Bishops return'd to the King well satisfied, as being excused from Judging the Archbishop: and so they sat apart from the Barons concern'd in that affair. Then certain Sheriffs and antient * Barons of a Second Rank or Dignity were call'd forth, that being added to the former, they might also sit in Judgment upon him. And after a little while, the Earl of *Leicester* pressed some of them to pronounce the Sentence, but they all refused it; whereupon he began to repeat the business of *Clarendon* very particularly, (as the Bishop of *Chichester* had done before,) and would have made the Archbishop guilty of Treason, and Breach of the Faith he had given in *verbo Veritatis*; and then desir'd the Archbishop to hear his Sentence, he being now present.

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And the Promises they had made to the King to observe the Constitutions of *Clarendon*, even by the Archbishop's own Command.

The Archbishop's Answer to his Remonstrance.

Not.

[1.] Id. The Bishops excused from pronouncing Sentence. * Barones Secunda Dignitatis; these seem to have been the lesser Tenants in Capite. The E. of Leicester takes it upon himself.

[4.] But

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[2.] Id.
But the Arch-
bishop refuses
to hear it.

And goes to
his Lodging
at the Mona-
stery of St. An-
drews.

[3.] P. 283.

The Archbi-
shop privately
informed, that
some conside-
rable Mischief
was designed
him.

[4.] Col. 1392.

The K. com-
plains to the
Bishops and
Temporal
Lords of Him.

[2.] But the Archbishop could not forbear any longer, but said, *What is it ye mean to do? Come ye hither to Judge me? ye know ye ought not to do it. Judgment is a Sentence given after the Controversy or Tryal; I have said nothing this day in the Cause: I have been cited for no Cause but that of John the Marechal, who durst not try it with me, and therefore you cannot Judge me: I am your Spiritual Father, ye are Noblemen of the King's Court, and meer Laymen, I will not hear your Judgment: So the Noblemen withdrew, and the Archbishop went his way to the Monastery of St. Andrews in Northampton, (a House of Chanons Regular) and one Herbert and our Author William Fitz-Stephens then waited on him as his Clerks or Chaplains.*

And this is the Account that he gives us of these Transactions between King Henry and the Archbishop at this Meeting; which tho' they are very particular in Some points, yet are they defective in Others, which are also as fit to be taken notice of: For [3.] Roger Hoveden and Edward Ryme, in his Manuscript History, further relates, That the Archbishop being privately advertised by his Friends, that some designed his Death, or at least to do him a considerable mischief, the day before his departure from Northampton, being that morning to go to Court, he first sung a Mass at the Altar of St. Stephen, to implore the Assistance of that Saint, as if himself expected Martyrdom; and that when he had done, laying aside his Mitre and Pall, and putting on a Hood with a black Canonical Gown, he went to Court. And the latter of these Authors, after the Account of his taking the Cross from the Bearer, and carrying it himself, adds, That when the Bishops, who waited for his coming, saw this, they much admir'd at it, and would needs have taken it (as out of Reverence) to hold it for him, lest he should provoke the King's Anger against him, by thus entering after an unusual manner with that Spiritual Weapon into his Presence; but the Bishops of London and Hereford both striving to wrest it out of his hand, the Archbishop was so far from delivering it, that he held it the faster, which produced some hard words between the Bishop of London and him; then Roger Archbishop of York reproved him very sharply, that he should presume to come to Court thus armed with his Cross, saying, *That notwithstanding he would find that the King carried much the sharper Weapon of the Two, and therefore gave him advice to lay aside his Cross; but the Archbishop would not hearken to it, but told him, That though the King's Weapon might kill the Body, yet his own (viz. that of Excommunication) could destroy the Soul, and send it to Hell.*

[4.] Gervase also gives a much fuller Account than any of the Rest of what passed between the King and the Bishops, concerning this Affair of the Archbishop, and their Resolutions upon it; and likewise of the Proceedings that followed them, to this effect: That the King, being in the next Room, and hearing what had happen'd, was much incens'd at it, and presently retired into an Inner Chamber with the Bishops and Lords, whilst the Archbishop, and those few that attended him, remained without; then the King highly complained to the Bishops and Lords of the Archbishop's proceedings, in coming thus armed into his Court; upon which the Bishop's Enemies going out, consulted together in what manner they might deal with him; who when

when they had all agreed, returned, and told the King, That they were now resolved to bring an Appeal against him before the Pope, and being there convicted, he would certainly be deposed, which pleased the King very well. Upon this they all went out to the Archbishop, and Hilary, Bishop of Chichester, being bolder and more eloquent than the rest, spoke to him to this effect: "That being their Archbishop, they had been hitherto bound to obey him; yet since he had sworn Fealty to his Lord the King to preserve his Life and Royal Dignity, and to maintain those Customs or Prerogatives he required, which he (the Archbishop) then endeavoured to destroy, They therefore pronounced him guilty of Perjury, and for the future thought themselves not obliged to obey a perjur'd Archbishop; wherefore putting themselves under the protection of the Pope, they cited him to his Presence, there to answer concerning these Matters; to whom the Archbishop said no more than this, *I hear what you say.*

Then the Archbishop retired, and sat down over-against them in great Silence, whilst in the mean time the King, with the Great Men of the Kingdom, sat in Council concerning him: the Result of which was, That the King, by some of his Knights, commanded him without any delay to appear and give a full Account of whatsoever he had received of the Revenues of the Crown, whilst he was Chancellor, and in particular of Thirty thousand Pounds of Silver; to which the Archbishop replied, "The King himself knew that he had already given an account of all those Summs which he had now demanded, before he was Elected Archbishop: and that upon his Election Henry, the King's Son, with all the Barons of the Exchequer, and Richard de Lucy, Justiciary of England, had pronounced him clear and acquitted before God, of all Receipts and Accounts whatsoever due to the King; and to being free and discharged, he was Elected to the Administration of his Office; therefore he refused to make any other Plea to those demands. But when the King was inform'd of this Answer, he spake thus to his Barons: *Do me speedy Justice upon him, for he is my Liegeman, and yet refuses to stand to the Judgment of my Court;* thereupon they all going out, *Judged him worthy to be seized, and committed to Prison.* After this Sentence, the King sent Reginald Earl of Cornwall, and Robert E. of Leicester, to acquaint him with the Judgment that had been passed upon him; but when they desired him to hear his Sentence read, "he forbade them under the pain of an *Anathema* to pronounce Judgment against him, because he had appealed to his Lord the Pope; and further told the Earl of Leicester, "That by the Power committed to himself by God, he commanded him as a Son of the Church, not to presume to give Judgment against him as being his Spiritual Father. But whilst these Earls returned to the King with his Answer, the Archbishop went out of the Room through the midst of the Company, to his Horse, and mounting upon it, left the Court, though all that stood without cried after him, saying, *Traitor, whither goest thou? stay, and hear thy Judgment.* When he came to the Outward Gates, and found them shut against him, he was afraid then he should be seized; but One of his Servants perceiving the Keys hanging near the Door, snatched them up, and opened the Gate, and so the Archbishop got away, whilst the

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T :

Door.

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to appeal to
the Pope, in
order to get
him deposed.
The Bishop of
Chichester's
Speech to
him.Who, in the
Name of the
rest of the Bi-
shops, pro-
nounces him
guilty of Per-
jury.And they ap-
peal to the
Pope.The King and
Great Men
consult what
to do to him.He is com-
manded to
give Account
of his Receipts
whilst Chan-
cellor, and par-
ticularly of
30000*l.*His Answer,
That he had
given it alrea-
dy, and was
discharged
upon his Ele-
ction.The King's
Answer to
the Archbishop's
Answer.The Barons
adjudge him
to Prison.The A. Bp. for-
bids them un-
der *Anathema*
to pronounce
Judgment.And leaves
the Court.

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[5.] Hist. Quadriga.
Goes to the
Abby of St.
Andrews.

Bps. of London
and Chichester
go thither, and
propose an
Expedient to
him how he
may be recon-
ciled to the
King.

But the A. Bp.
would rather
venture his
Head, than so
buy his Peace.

[1.] Id. F. S.

He receives
private No-
tice, that some
had conspir'd,
and sworn his
Death.

[2.] F. S.
Sends the Bp.
of Rochester,
&c. to the K.
to beg his
leave to go
beyond Sea.

The K. would
first advise
with his Coun-
cil about it.

He privately
thereupon
steals away
at midnight,
and near Can-
terbury gets a
Vessel that
carried him
over to Gra-
veline.

The K. after
he heard of
the A. Bp's
Escape, for-
bids any ill
Words to be
given either
to him, or his

Door-keeper stood amazed, saying never a word, or (as *Gervase* reports, which is most likely) whilst the Porter was otherways employ-
ed in beating a Boy.

[5.] Then the Archbishop return'd to the Abbey above-mention'd, attended by a vast Crowd of ordinary People; and so soon as he got home, he Commanded Supper to be set upon the Table, and all the Poor who were before the Gate to be brought in, with whom He and his Family did eat; whilst he was at Meat, the Bishop of *London* and *Chichester* coming to him (out of seeming good-will) told him, They had now found out a way how he might make his Peace with the King, and being asked by the Archbishop *what it was?* they answered, "That if he would make over to the King (for a time only by way of Mortgage) his Two Mannors of *Oxford* and *Wingham* in *Kent*, the King would be pacified, and remit all the Money he claimed from him, and would also the sooner restore him to his Favour: "But the Archbishop replied, That he would rather venture the Loss of his Head (which he then touched with his hand) than part with any of the Lands of the Church to buy his own Peace; whereupon the Bishops went away much discontented, and this Refusal aggravated the King's displeasure against him.

[1.] As soon as the Bishops were gone, Two Noblemen of good Interest and Favour came to him privately, and told him, they were inform'd, that some Men of Quality had conspired his Death, and bound themselves by Oath to see it executed; which he believing, resolved, if he could, to defeat their design, and preserve himself by a speedy Flight, since he perceived he could stay no longer with any safety: But whether this Information were true or no, God knows; for the King had absolutely forbid any Injury to be done him, yet it seemed a good Pretence for him thus to steal away; [2.] for that Evening he sent the Bishop of *Rochester* with Two other Bishops to the King, desiring his leave to go beyond Sea; but he being then at Supper, sent him word, that he would propose it to the Council the next day, and then return him an answer.

But the Archbishop not thinking it safe for him to stay any longer, resolved to be gone; but the better to conceal his Intentions, he ordered his Bed to be made in the Church behind the Altar, pretending as if he would have made it his Sanctuary; yet about midnight, taking with him Two Friars of the *Cistercian* Order (one of whom knew the way very well) he with no more besides than One Servant, left the Town, and Travelling all Night, reached *Lincoln* the next Day, where the Archbishop changed his Habit, together with his Name, calling himself *Dereman*; and then passing through the Fens, and being seen by few, he at last got as far as *Canterbury*; and only passing through it by Night, stayed at a Village belonging to the Monks, called *Esprey*, somewhat beyond it, in order to go to the Sea-side, where he remain'd private for some days (no more than one Clerk being acquainted with his being there) till he found he could have a Vessel provided to carry him over into *Flanders*; in the mean time let us look back and see what was done at *Northampton* after his departure.

Fitz-Stephens says, That so soon as the King heard of the Archbishop's Escape, he caused a Proclamation to be made throughout the Town, That no Man should give him, or his Retinue, any ill language,

guage, or offer any ways to injure or molest them; the next day, when his Flight was certainly known, the King and all the Council considered what was fittest to be done, and at last resolved to send over to the Pope several great Persons Embassadors, as well of the Clergy as Laity, about this great Affair of the Archbishop; their Names we will give you by and by; yet the Archbishop was permitted to enjoy for some time all the Revenues of his Church of *Canterbury*, because both Parties had appealed to the Pope. The rest of that day was spent about Raising some Foot-Souldiers to be sent against *Reese* King of *Wales*; and there was (at the King's desire) a certain number subscribed by every Ecclesiastick and Lay-person there present for his Assistance, and so the Council was dissolved.

[3.] Then the King sent after the Archbishop with all speed, thinking to have stopt his passage at *Dover*, and other Ports; but it was all in vain, for he lay still all day at certain Abbeys, or else at Friend's Houses, and Travell'd only by Night. So that it was from the *Quindene* of *Michaelmas* till the 2d of *November*, before he took Shipping at *Sandwich*; and then Landing at *Graveline*, he Travell'd partly on Foot, and partly on Horseback, on a sorry Jade to *St. Omers*, where he was joyfully received at the Abby of *St. Bertin*; and there indeed he was furnish'd with all things necessary for a Prelate of his High Dignity, till he went from thence into *France*.

Whilst he tarried at *St. Omers*, *Richard de Lucy*, the King's Justiciary, (being a little before come over on a private Message to the Earl of *Flanders*) saw him, and would fain have perswaded Him to go back along with him into *England*, and reconcile himself to the King; but the Archbishop fearing the King's implacable Temper, when once thoroughly incens'd, would by no means consent to the Proposal. *Ed. Ryme* also differs somewhat from *Fitz-Stephen's* Account of the Archbishop's Reception by the Earl of *Flanders*, as that he not only refus'd the Archbishop's safe Conduct, but threatned him; so that he stole away privately into *France*, with whom the Author of *Quadrilogus* agrees; saying, That he durst not trust the Earl, because his Brother the Earl of *Boloign* had by the King's means Married King *Stephen's* Daughter, who had been an Abbess, and that contrary to *Thomas Becket's* Advice; who, being then Chancellor, openly declar'd against it; which made that Earl his Enemy ever after.

[4.] So soon as the King knew that the Archbishop was gone beyond Sea, to prevent his being received by the King of *France*, he sent *Gilbert Foliot*, Bishop of *London*, and *William* Earl of *Arundel*, Ambassadors, not only to dissuade him from receiving the Archbishop, but also to send to the Pope, to desire him (out of respect to King *Henry*) not to receive him neither into his Favour; but by how much the more the King of *England's* Messengers labour'd, that the Archbishop might be expell'd *France*, by so much the more that King maintain'd his Cause; and besides, sent his Almoner to Pope *Alexander* then at *Sens*, desiring him, That as he loved the Honour of the *Roman* Church, and the Advantage of the Kingdom of *France*, so in all things he would maintain *THOMAS* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and his Cause against the Tyrant of *England*; and from that time forward the Pope receiv'd him into greater favour.

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The K. and his Council agreed to send to the Pope.

And to raise a Number of Foot-Souldiers against *Reese*, Prince of *Wales*.

[3.] *E. S.* *Ed. Ryme.*

How he got to *St. Omers*.

And from thence to *France*.

At *St. Omers* the K's Justiciary would fain have prevailed with him to return to *England*, and be reconciled to the King.

But he would not yield to him.

Ed. Ryme's Account of his Reception by the Earl of *Flanders*.

[4.] *R. H.*

The K. sends the Bp. of *London* and E. of *Arundel* to the K. of *France* not to receive him.

But *France* sends to the Pope, desiring him to maintain the A. Bp. and his Cause against the K. of *England*.

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[5.] R. H.
p. 284. a.

K. Henry be-
sides sends to
the Pope sever-
al Bps, and
Great Lay-
men.

Who alledged
many false and
evil Things
against him.

[1.] C. G.
The substance
of their Spee-
ches.

First, the Bp.
of London's.

Second, the Bp.
of Winchester's.

Third, the Bp.
of Exeter's.

Fourth, the Bp.
of Bath's.

Fifth, the Bp.
of Ely's.

Sixth, the Bp.
of Lincoln's.

Seventh, the Bp.
of Worcester's.

Eighth, the Bp.
of Hereford's.

Ninth, the Bp.
of Salisbury's.

Tenth, the Bp.
of Gloucester's.

Eleventh, the Bp.
of Exeter's.

Twelfth, the Bp.
of Bath's.

Thirteenth, the Bp.
of Ely's.

Fourteenth, the Bp.
of Lincoln's.

Fifteenth, the Bp.
of Worcester's.

Sixteenth, the Bp.
of Hereford's.

Seventeenth, the Bp.
of Salisbury's.

Eighteenth, the Bp.
of Gloucester's.

Nineteenth, the Bp.
of Exeter's.

Twentieth, the Bp.
of Bath's.

Twenty-first, the Bp.
of Ely's.

Twenty-second, the Bp.
of Lincoln's.

Twenty-third, the Bp.
of Worcester's.

Twenty-fourth, the Bp.
of Hereford's.

Twenty-fifth, the Bp.
of Salisbury's.

Twenty-sixth, the Bp.
of Gloucester's.

Twenty-seventh, the Bp.
of Exeter's.

Twenty-eighth, the Bp.
of Bath's.

Twenty-ninth, the Bp.
of Ely's.

Thirtieth, the Bp.
of Lincoln's.

Thirty-first, the Bp.
of Worcester's.

Thirty-second, the Bp.
of Hereford's.

Thirty-third, the Bp.
of Salisbury's.

Thirty-fourth, the Bp.
of Gloucester's.

[5] Yet, to prevent this, the King sent to the Pope Roger Arch-
bishop of York, Henry Bishop of Winchester, Gilbert Bishop of London,
Hilary Bishop of Chester, and Bartholomew Bishop of Exeter: Wido,
Rufus, Richard, Ivelcester, and John de Oxford, Clerks: and of the
Laiety, William Earl of Arundel, Hugh de Gunde vile, Bernard of
St. Watery, and Henry Fitz-Gerald, who found the Pope at Sens;
where (as Hoveden relates) they said many false and evil things
against the Archbishop: and Gervase of Canterbury has given us all
their Speeches at large; which because they would be too tedious to
repeat, I shall only give you the Substance of them.

[1.] The Pope being seated in his Consistory with his Cardinals,
the Bishop of London first began, and remonstrated to the Pope, that
there had lately been a sharp Contention in England between the Cler-
gy and Laiety from a small Occasion, which might easily have been
remedy'd, if due moderation had been used: But because his Lordship
of Canterbury following his own particular Opinion, and not their Ad-
vice, without any consideration of the Iniquity of the times, and what
prejudice might happen for such Heats of Passion, had thereby laid
Snares for Himself and his Fellow-Brethren: "So that if they had
"given their Consents to his designs, things had turn'd to a much
"worse state than they now were; but because he could not have
"their Consents (as indeed he ought not) to those things which he
"proposed, he endeavour'd to lay all the fault, which proceeded from
"his own rashness, upon the King, and the rest of the Bishops; nay,
"and upon the whole Kingdom; therefore to blacken their Credits
"as much as possible, the Archbishop had fled away, no man threaten-
"ing or offering him any Violence, according as it is written, *The*
"wicked flee, when no man pursues.

[2.] To which the Pope said no more, but *parce, Frater, spare Bro-*
ther: then the Bishop reply'd, *Holy Father, I will spare him*; the Pope
return'd, *I do not mean him, but your self, Brother*; at which the Bishop
being confounded, held his peace. Then Hilary Bishop of Chichester,
trusting more to his Eloquence, than to the Goodness of his Cause,
made likewise a short Speech; wherein he told the Pope, "That it
"was his *Beatitude's* Interest to restore whatever had been done in
"prejudice to the Publick, to the former state of Peace and Concord,
"lest one man's immoderate Presumption might procure the de-
"struction of many, besides a Schism in the Catholick Church;
"which the Archbishop of Canterbury little regarded; since slighting
"more mature advice, he only consulted himself, that so he might
"not only bring great Troubles upon himself, but upon the King
"and whole Kingdom, which did not become so Great a Man;
"neither ought his Friends to have given their assents to it. This
is the Summ of that Bishop's Speech, though, as this Author words it,
(making him run from one thing to another) it appear'd so ridicu-
lous, that all those that were present fell a Laughing, which put the
poor Bishop to silence.

The Archbishop of York, seeing the ill success of those that spoke
before him, resolv'd to moderate his Passion, and only told the Pope,
"That he very well knew my Lord of Canterbury's Temper, that
"whatever Opinion he once embraced, he was scarce ever to be re-
"moved from it; and therefore it was easy to be believed, that he
"was

The A. Bp.
of York's.

“ was fallen into this Obstinacy only for want of Judgment, and that
 “ there was no other way left for his Amendment, but that his Ho-
 “ linefs would interpose his Discretion and good Advice, to put a stop
 “ to it.

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“ The Bishop of *Exeter* spoke more to the purpose, and told the
 “ Pope, he would not dwell long upon those matters, but since this
 “ Business could not be decided but in the Absence of the Archbishop:
 “ therefore he desired that Legates might be appointed, who should
 “ hear and decide the Difference between the King and the Arch-
 “ bishop: and so held his Peace; neither did any of the Bishops add
 any thing farther; which the Earl of *Arundel* observing, He then
 stood up at the Head of a great Number of Knights and Laymen,
 and made the Pope a very handsome and modest Speech in his own
 Language, to this effect; “ That what the Bishops had spoken (in La-
 “ tine) they being Laymen, did not all understand; yet however it
 “ was their Duty to express how they might best discharge themselves
 “ of the Affair they were now intrusted with; therefore it was not
 “ his Business to cast reproaches upon any man in the presence of so
 “ great a Person, to whose Authority the whole World ought to sub-
 “ mit, but rather to set forth before his *Beatitude* the King his Ma-
 “ ster’s Love and Devotion towards him, since he had now sent the
 “ Greatest and most Noble Persons of all Orders and Degrees, as his
 “ Ambassadors; and then proceeded to mention that Great Fidelity
 “ and Devotion the King had shewn him upon his first Advancement
 “ to the Papal See: So that there was no Prince more Faithful and
 “ Devout, nor more desirous to preserve Peace than the King; and
 “ tho’ the Lord Archbishop was also very well instructed in all things
 “ relating to his Order, and was also very vigilant in those matters
 “ which belong’d to his Charge, yet he seem’d in some things too
 “ sharp and severe; but yet were it not for the present difference
 “ between the King and Him, both the Clergy and Laity might
 “ live in mutual Concord under so good a Prince, and so excellent a
 “ Pastor; and therefore their present Request was, That his *Beatitude*
 “ would take due care to remove this Dissention, and renew the for-
 “ mer Peace and Charity between them.

The Bp. of
Exeter’s.

The E. of *A-*
rundel’s short
Speech.

When the Earl had ended his Speech, (which it seems was inter-
 preted to the Pope) tho’ he said little to the Bishop’s: yet he answer’d
 His to this effect; “ That he very well remember’d with how
 “ great Devotion the King of *England* had bestow’d many and large
 “ Benefits upon him, which he was willing as far as lay in his power
 “ to return, when any fit Opportunity offer’d, but since they had de-
 “ sired Legates they should have them. Then when they had kissed
 the Pope’s Feet, the Bishop of *London* asked Him (on purpose) with
 what Powers those Legates should come? To which he answer’d,
With due Powers: Yes, Sir, reply’d the Bishop; *we desire they may de-*
side this Cause without any Appeal: To which the Pope sharply return’d,
 “ *I will not give my Glory to another;* and certainly when the Arch-
 “ bishop is Judged, it shall be by our Selves, for there is no manner of
 “ reason that we should send him into *England* to be Judged by his
 “ Adversaries; he also added, That they should stay a little for the
 “ Archbishop’s coming, without whose Presence He could deter-
 “ mine nothing: but when the Ambassadors said, That they had a
 “ time

The Pope’s
Answer to
the Earl’s last
Speech.

Legates pro-
mised to be
sent with due
Powers.

But the final
Decision
should be by
the Pope.

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The Ambassadors Return home.

[3.] P. 284. a. The Pope at length would not send any Legates into England, for fear they should be corrupted.

What the E. of Arundel promises the Pope, to depose the A.Bp.

[4.] P. S.

The A. Bp. removes from St. Bertin to Soissons in France.

K. Lewis his great Offers to him.

His Honourable reception by the Pope at Sens.

The A. Bp's Speech to the Pope.

“ time prefix'd by the King for their Return ; and finding they could obtain none of those things they desir'd, they took their Leaves, and so departed.

[3.] *Rog. Hoveden* tells us the reason why the Pope declin'd sending any Legates into England, (tho' the Ambassadors desir'd it) *because he well knew the King to be mighty in Word and Deed*, and that the Legates might easily be corrupted, as Men loving Money more than Justice and Equity. *Fitz-Stephens* farther says, That the Earl of *Arundel*, in a private Audience with the Pope, offer'd him, That if he would depose the Archbishop, the King his Master would not only confirm *Peter-pence* for ever, but also grant it to be paid out of every House that made a Fire both in Cities and Towns, as well as in the Country, which would have increased that Revenue above a Thousand Pound *per Ann.* But the Pope was too sensible of his own Interest, to give ear to any thing of this nature.

[4.] In the mean time the Archbishop having stay'd some days at the Monastery of *St. Bertin* near *St. Omers*, and fearing the great Friendship that then was between the King and the Earl of *Flanders*, he removed from thence to *Soissons* in *France*; the next day after his Arrival, King *Lewis* came in Person to the Archbishop's Lodgings, and not only offer'd him his Protection, but Maintenance both for Himself and Followers out of his own Treasury; to whom the Archbishop return'd Thanks for so great a Favour, but yet at present modestly refused it: and so went with the King's good leave to the Pope, who was then, as I said before, at *Sens*, by whom he was honourably received.

Sometime after his arrival, being admitted to a private Audience in the Pope's Chamber, and having prostrated himself at his Feet, he was Commanded to rise; and when he would have stood, he was ordered by the Pope to sit down: So soon as he was seated, he made a short Speech to this purpose; “ That although he was not very wise, “ yet he was never so foolish as to leave his King, Friends, and Estate, “ for nothing; and that if he could have complied with his Will in “ all things, there was no Man in his Kingdom who would have been “ prouder to obey him: but that he had refused all upon the Condi- “ tions proposed, and having taken a contrary course, the King had “ quite withdrawn his former kindness; nay, if he would yet com- “ ply, he needed no body's intercession to recover his Favour: Yet “ since the Church of *Canterbury* was used to be as it were the *We- “ stern Sun*, whose brightness was now obscur'd, he was resolv'd to “ endure any Torments, nay a Thousand kinds of Deaths, rather than “ to dissemble the Evils it now suffer'd; and lest he should seem to “ have undertaken these things needlessly, and out of pure vain Glory, “ he thought it best to satisfy all there present by an Ocular demon- “ stration. Then producing the Writing, wherein were contain'd those Customs or Prerogatives, about which the present difference arose, he said with Tears, *Here, see, Holy Father! what the King of England has ordain'd against the Liberty of the Catholick Religion, or if it be lawful to dissemble these things without danger of one's Soul see you to it.* Which Constitutions being read, it not only moved them to Tears; but the Pope, before all the Cardinals there present, declar'd, That he for ever condemn'd them, and anathematiz'd all those that kept,

kept, or any way favour'd them. This is *Hoveden's* account of the Issue of this affair, and that the Pope solemnly publish'd a * Bull to the same effect.

[5.] But *Gervase* of *Canterbury* proceeds to tell us, That the Archbishop being not long after this admitted into the Pope's Chamber, spoke to him and the Cardinals there present to this effect; "That he himself ought not to lye before God; therefore willingly, yet with Grief, must confess, since it was his own fault that had brought these Troubles upon the *English* Church, that he had enter'd Christ's sheepfold not by the door, nor by any Canonical Election, but was One whom the Terror of a Lay-power had obtruded into it; and tho' he had undertaken that charge unwillingly, yet since it was not a Divine, but Humane Will which had bestow'd it upon him, What wonder was it then, if it had succeeded no better with him? Yet if for the King's Threats he should have presently renounced his Episcopal Dignity, as some of his Brethren the Bishops perswaded him to do, he should have left a pernicious Example of subjecting the Church to the pleasure of Secular Princes: therefore he had deferr'd it till he could come to his Holiness's Presence; but now being convinc'd, that his entrance into the Church was not Canonical, and fearing the ill Events that might proceed from thence, and being also sensible that his strength was not sufficient for so great a charge, lest he might prove a Ruine, rather than a Benefit to his Flock, he now resign'd his Archbishoprick into his Holiness's hands.

Then immediately taking off his Episcopal Ring from his Finger (as a token of his Resignation) he deliver'd it into the hands of the Pope; then concluding his Speech with Tears, he made the Pope and his Cardinals sympathize with him. Then he withdrawing, whilst the Pope and his Cardinals began to consult what was to be done in this affair; at first it seem'd very easy to appease the King's Anger by accepting the Archbishop's Resignation, and bestowing some other Dignity upon him, to put another into his Place: but then they plainly saw, that this would be very ungrateful in respect of one who had sacrific'd his Authority, Riches and Quiet, (nay expos'd his very Life) for the Liberty of the Church; and that if he were now deprived to please the King, no Man for the future would venture to contradict the Will of the Prince in any thing, whereby the Church not only should be in great danger, but the Authority of the Pope would signify nothing; therefore all the Cardinals agreed it was best to restore this Man to his Charge, (tho' he should be unwilling to receive it) since he had venter'd so much for the Church, rather than to nominate another; which Opinion pleas'd the Pope and all there present.

[1.] Then the Archbishop being call'd in again, the Pope restor'd to him his Archbishoprick, and promised him the utmost assistance of the *Roman* See: To which *R. Hoveden* further adds, That either at this or some other Audience not long after, the Archbishop deliver'd into the Pope's hand a Transcript of the Laws of *England*, (that is, the late Statutes of *Clarendon*) which the King call'd antient Customs; which when the Pope had caused to be read before the Cardinals and others

there

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* See it in
Speed's Chron-
icle at large,

[5.] G. C. Col.
1397.

An Account
of the Speech
the A. Bishop
made in Pri-
vate to the
Pope.

He resigns his
A. Bishoprick
into the Pope's
hands.

The Pope and
Cardinals con-
sulting what
was best to be
done in this
case, resolv'd
at last not to
accept of the
Resignation;
but to restore
him again to
his Office.

[1.] Id. Col.
1398.

Upon which
he is restored.
The A.Bp. de-
livers the Pope
a Transcript
of the Consti-
tutions of *Clarendon*.

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Which he
damns, and
issues out his
Anathema a-
gainst all that
observe them.

[2.] *Id. ib.*
The Pope re-
commends
him to the
Care of the
Abbot of *Pon-
tigny*, who
provided for
him for two
years.

[3.] *Id. ib.*
K. Henry seizes
the A. Bp's
Revenues.

[4.] *Dr. P's Chr.*
The *South-
Welsb.* under
the Conduct
of Prince *Rees*,
invaded the
Lands of the
E. of *Glocester*.

Took great
store of Plun-
der from the
Flemmings.
And resolved
to cast off the
Norman Yoke.

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[5.] *C. G. Col.*
1398.
The K. ba-
nishes all the
A. Bp's Kin-
dred and
Friends.

But they are
well receiv'd
in *France*.

[1.] *R. D.*
Reginald A. Bp.
of *Cologne*, as
Ambassador
from the Em-
peror *Barba-
rossa*, desires
Mathilda, the
King's Edlest
Daughter in
Marriage for
the D. of *Saxony*.

The E. of *Lei-
cester* refuses
him the Kiss,
and why.

there present, He damn'd them for ever, and issued his *Anathema* against all those who should for the future dare to observe them; and not long after He issued out his Bull to that purpose, a Copy of which *Speed* has given us in his Chronicle from an Original then in the *Cotton. Library*.

[2.] These things being thus transacted, the Pope recommended the Archbishop to the care of the Abbot of *Pontigny* in *Burgundy*, (who was then present) to provide for him, not splendidly, but according to what was fitting for one who was banish'd for *Christ's* sake, (as it was then esteem'd) so the Archbishop going along with that Abbot was by him provided, with all things necessary for the space of two Years ensuing. But it is now time to look back and see, what the King did in *England* the mean while.

[3.] The King being very angry that his Ambassadors had receiv'd a repulse in his desires, both from the Pope and the King of *France*, to be revenged on the Archbishop, seized upon the Revenues of the Arch- bishoprick, but did not as yet convert them to his own use, and so things remain'd all the rest of this Year.

[4.] I find nothing else to have happened in *England* worth noting, only that the *South Welsb* encouraged (as I suppose) by these Do- mestick disturbances, under the Conduct of their Prince *Reese* or *Ryse*, invaded the Lands of *Roger de Clare*, Earl of *Glocester*, (because by his means the Prince's Nephew *Encon* had been lately murther'd) and took divers Castles, and razed them to the ground, and so in short time he brought all *Caerdigan* under his subjection; from thence he made many Inroads against the *Flemmings*, and got great store of Plun- der in their Country: then all *Wales* resolv'd to agree to cast off the *Norman Yoke* (as they call'd their Subjection to the King of *England*) and only to obey Princes of their own Nation: But tho' King *Henry* was sufficiently incens'd at this Rebellion, yet it being now late in the Year, he was forc'd to defer his Revenge till the next Spring.

[5.] The King began this Year with a very severe (if not cruel) pro- ceeding, for he now banish'd out of *England* all the Relations and Friends of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, sending them over to him into *France*, even so much as the old Men, Women, and Infants; but He was there- by so far from straightening the Archbishop, that they were all there kindly received, and found Quarters either in the Monasteries, or else with People of the best Quality. *Roger Hoveden* places this Action under the ensuing Year, but I rather chuse to follow *Gervase's* Chro- nicle, whom I look upon to be more exact in his account of this matter.

[1.] About this time the King continuing still at *Westminster*, *Re- ginald* Archbishop of *Coloign* arrived in *England* as Ambassador from the Emperor *Frederic Barbarossa*, to desire *Mathilda* the King's Eldest Daughter in Marriage for the Duke of *Saxony*, who was then highly in the Emperor's favour: But when all the Great Men of *England* so- lemnly receiv'd the said Archbishop, *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, the King's Justiciary, was the only Person who refused to afford him the Kiss, (the common Salutation among the Great Men in those times) be- cause he was then, as well as the Emperor his Master, excommuni- cated by the Pope; and after his departure out of *England*, all the
Altars

Altars on which either He or his Chaplains had celebrated Mass, were demolished; so great an influence had the Pope's Authority then in *England*: but this Match between the Duke of *Saxony* and this Princess was not consummated until two or three years after; for she being now but 11 years old, was not thought mature enough for it.

[3.] In *Lent* the King passed over into *Normandy*, and presently after *Easter* went as far as *Gisors*, and there had a Treaty with the King of *France*, concerning divers matters of moment; the particulars of which are not (as I find) specified.

[4.] Not long after this the King, being allarm'd by the Insurrections of the *Welsh*, who, taking advantage of his absence, presumed to invade *England*, *David ap Owen* Prince of *North-Wales* having destroyed all *Flintshire*, then part of the King's Dominions, and carried all the People and Cattle away with him to *Dyffryn Clwyd* (now call'd *Ruthyn*;) the King, I say, return'd out of *Normandy*, and levied an Army with all speed, and came to their succour as far as *Ruthlan-Castle*; and after he had lain before it Three days, and saw he could do no good, he return'd to *England*, where he gather'd another Army of chosen Men through all his Dominions in *England* and *France*, sending for Succors from *Flanders* and *Bretagne*, and then march'd towards *North-Wales*, resolving utterly to destroy all the People he could meet with; and coming to *Croes Oswalt*, (now call'd *Oswaldstre*) he there encamp'd: On the other side, Prince *Owen* and his Brother *Cadwalladar*, with all the Power of *North-Wales*, and the Lord *Rees* with the Power of *South-Wales*, and *Owen Cyueliot*, and the Sons of *Madoc ap Ednerth* with the People betwixt *Wye* and *Severne* gather'd together, and came to *Corwen* in *Edeyrneon*, resolving to defend their Country.

[5.] But the King understanding that they were so nigh, and being mighty desirous of a Battle, came to the River *Ceireoc*, and caused the Woods to be cut down; whereupon a great number of *Welshmen* well knowing the Passage, met with the King's Out-Guards, (who were there placed) being the Flower of all his Army, and began a hot Skirmish with them, where divers Brave Men were slain on both sides: But in the end the King gained the Passage, and came to the Mountain of *Berwyn*, where he lay encamped for some days; and so both the Armies stood in awe each of other, for the King kept the open Plains, and was afraid of being caught in the Straits of the Mountains; but the *Welshmen* watched for the advantage of the Place, and kept the King in so narrowly, that neither Forage nor Victuals could be brought to his Camp, neither durst any Souldier stir abroad; and to augment these Miseries, there fell such great Rains, that the King's Souldiers could scarce stand on their Feet upon those slippery Hills: In Conclusion, the King was forced to return home ingloriously with vast Loss both of Men and Munition, besides his Charges: therefore in a great Rage he caused the Hostages to be gelt, and their Eyes put out: which were *Rees* and *Cadwalhon*, the Sons of *Owen*, and *Cynwric* and *Meredyth*, the Sons of *Rees*, and others.

This Action, tho' perhaps justifiable by the Laws of War, was certainly one of the most cruel of this King's Reign, since it is always counted a great piece of Cruelty to exercise the utmost severity upon innocent Persons, especially Women and Infants.

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[1] *Id. Chron. Nic. Trivet.*
K Henry goes as far as *Gisors*, and had a Treaty there with the K of *France*.

[4] *Id. P's Chr.*
The K. upon the News of the *Welsh* Insurrection, & destroying of *Flintshire*, returns out of *Normandy*.

And comes with an Army to succour his People as far as *Ruthlan-Castle*.

Then goes into *England* and raises another Army, and with that marches towards *North-Wales*.

The Princes of *North* and *South-Wales* with their Forces resolve to defend themselves and Country.

[5] *Id. ib.*
A hot dispute on both sides, but at last the K. gains the Pass, and encamps by the Mountains of *Berwyn*.

The *Welsh* straiten the K. so close, that no Forage or Victuals could be brought to his Camp.

And so he was forc'd to return ingloriously home. He causes thereupon the Hostages to be gelt, and their Eyes put out.

This, one of the Cruellest Actions of his Reign.

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The K. in the Skirmish had been shot, if the Constab. of Colchester had not come between, and saved his Life, with the loss of his own.

The K's gratitude to his Daughters for his Loyalty.

[1.] C. M.

The Death of Malcolm K. of Scotland, who is succeeded by his Brother Alexander.

[2.] R. H. p. 284, b.

The K's severe Edict against the Pope and the A. Bp.

[3.] Id. ib.

The Contents of it.

But I cannot omit a passage, which tho' related only by *Ralph of Cogshal*, yet seems very likely to be true; which is, That in the above-mention'd Expedition, the King in a Skirmish near a Bridge was in great danger of his Life; for one of the *Welshmen* shooting directly at him, had pierc'd him through the Body, if *Hubert de St Clare*, Constable of *Colchester*, perceiving the Arrow coming, had not cast himself between the King and it; whereby, tho' like a Loyal Subject he saved the King's life, yet he lost his own: but the King in gratitude highly preferr'd his Daughters, by marrying them to Men of great Estates.

I find nothing else considerable to have happen'd this Year on this side of the Sea, [1.] but that *MALCOLM* King of *Scotland*, a Prince of great Virtue and Chastity, died unmarried, as having vowed perpetual Continence, and was thence called the Maiden: and *Alexander*, his Brother, a Prince of great Valour, succeeded him.

[2.] The Ecclesiastical Affairs of this Year do also deserve our Notice; for the King, so soon as he arrived in *Normandy*, made a very grievous Edict against the Pope and Archbishop: the Contents whereof were these.

1. If any one [3.] should be found bringing Letters or Mandates from the Pope or Archbishop, containing an Interdict of Christianity, (that, is the Use of the Service, Sacraments and Holy Rites) into *England*, he should be taken, and speedy Justice executed upon him, as a Traytor to the Kingdom.

2. Also no Clerk, Monk, or other Religious Person, should be permitted to pass beyond Sea, or return into *England*, unless he had a Pass-port from the Justices for his going out, and the King's Letters for his return; and if any one did otherwise, he should be taken and imprisoned.

3. Also all Men were thereby prohibited from bringing any Command or Message from the Pope or Archbishop; And whoever did, was to be taken and detain'd in Prison: Also it was forbidden in general, That any Man should appeal to the Pope or Archbishop; or for the future should receive any Message or Commands from them, or hold any Plea by their Order or Command; and if any Man did contrary to this Prohibition, he was to be taken and imprisoned.

4. Also all Bishops, Abbots, Priests, Monks, Clerks, or Laymen, that should comply with, or submit to the Sentence of an Interdict, they and their Kindred should forthwith be banished the Nation, and not suffered to carry any thing along with them, but their Goods and Estates should be taken into the King's hands.

5. Likewise all Clerks that had Rents and Estates in *England* should be summon'd to Return to them within Three months; and if they did not, their Goods and Possessions should be seiz'd to the King's use.

6. Also that the Bishops of *London* and *Norwich* should be Summon'd before the King's Justices to make satisfaction; for that contrary to the Statutes of the Realm, they had Interdicted the Lands of *Hugh*, Earl of *Chester*, and pronounced Sentence against him.

7. And lastly, That the *Peter-pence* should be gather'd, and safely kept for the King's use, and no longer paid to the Pope.

When

When the Archbishop found the King thus resolute, and that his Patron the Pope could by no means prevail with him to revoke the Statutes of *Clarendon*, and recall him from his Banishment, he was forced then to spend his time in writing of Letters, either to the King or the Bishops of *England*; some of which are of great moment for the better understanding of what had already passed between them.

[4.] For the King now holding a great Council of his Bishops at *Chinon* in *Tourain*, the Archbishop wrote the King a long Epistle.

But before I give you any Account of its Contents; give me leave to observe, That [5] tho' *Roger Hoveden* represents it as a Speech made there by the Archbishop to the King, yet it plainly appears from *Rad. de Diceto* (with whom also *Quadrilogus* agrees) that he was all that Time at *Pontigny*, and sent the King (who was then at *Chinon*) the above-mention'd Epistle, to this effect.

[1.] "First he sets forth the distinction between the Ecclesiastical and Civil State, with the several Orders and Degrees in both; then he lays down this as a Fundamental Principle of the Papal Power (which was now at its full Growth;) that because it was certain, that Kings receive their Power from the Church, and not the Church from them, but from Christ, therefore he had nothing to do to command Bishops to Excommunicate or Absolve any one, or to force Clerks into Secular Courts, or Judicatures, to Judge of Tithes, of Churches, to prohibit Bishops that they should not intermeddle with Transgression, or Breach of Faith, or Oath; and many other things, which were written to this effect, among those late Customs which the King calls antient. And then after a Citation of Scripture out of the Prophets, *Wo be to those that make unjust Laws, &c.* He proceeds to advise him to have no familiarity for the future with **Schismatics*; and then putting him in mind how devoutly he had receiv'd Pope *Alexander*, and how much he had honour'd him in all things, he desir'd him, as he wish'd the health of his Soul, not to subtract any ways from the Church that belong'd to it, but that he would let her enjoy the same Liberties in his Kingdom, as she did in others; That he would be mindful of the Oath or Profession he had made before the Altar at *Westminster*, when he was Anointed King; That he would restore to the Church of *Canterbury* the State and Dignity she enjoy'd in the Times of his Predecessors, and also restore wholly to himself the Possessions and Lands which belong'd to the Church, which the King had given away to Others at his pleasure; and lastly, that if he would permit him freely and in peace to return to his See, then he would be ready most faithfully, and with all respect to serve him as his most dear Lord and King in all things he could, *saving the Honour of God, and the Roman Church, and his own Order*; or that otherwise the King would certainly feel the Divine Severity and Vengeance.

[2.] "About the same time also he sent another Epistle to his Suffragans in *England*, directed to the Bishop of *London*; wherein he blames them, that they had not joyn'd with him in opposing the King, and reclaiming him from his perverse Purposes; yet that having first invoked the Grace of the Holy Spirit, he had not only

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The A. Bp perceiving the K's resoluteness not to revoke the Statutes of *Clarendon*, is forc'd to write Letters to him and the Bishops here.

[4] R. H. p. 285. a.

[5.] Id. ib. p. 586.

[1.] Id. ib. R. D. Col. 541, 542.

In his Epistle to the King, the A. Bp. declares that Ks. receive their Power from the Church, and not the Church from them.

And tells him in what things he had nothing to do.

*That is, *Frederic* the Emperor, and such as adhered to Pope *Victor*, and rejected *Alexander*.

[2.] Id. ib. p. 286. a.

His Epistle to his Suffragans. Wherein he blames them that they had not joined with him in opposing the King, &c.

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He cassates the
K's Laws, and
Excommuni-
cates all the
Observers of
them.

As also several
Others by
name for par-
ticular mat-
ters.

And tells his
Suffragans
that he had
hitherto de-
ferr'd pro-
nouncing
Sentence a-
gainst the K's
Person, and
why; but was
ready to do it.

[3.] *Id.*
The K. sends
a severe Edict
into England
to have the
Ports watch'd.

And what to
do with any
that should
bring in Let-
ters of Inter-
dict, &c.

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William K. of
Scots comes
into England,
and did his
Homage to
K. Henry.
Upon the de-
manding Nor-
thumberland as
his antient
Right, the K.
answer'd, It
could not be
aliened with-
out the Con-
sent of his
Great Men.

condemn'd that Writing, in which the King had publish'd his Customs, or rather *Pravities* (as he call'd them,) but had also Excommunicated all the Observers, Advisers and Defenders of them, and absolved all his Suffragans, by God's, and his own Authority, from the Observation of them; also that he had Excommunicated *John of Oxford* (afterwards made Dean of *Salisbury*) and *Richard of Ilcester*, for joyning with Archbishop *Reginald*, and the *Germans*, (as has been said before;) as likewise *Richard de Lucie* and *Jocelin de Bailol*, and *Rainulph de Broc*; the Two former for the Reasons already set down; and the latter, because they were Partakers with *Hugh de Clare*, and *Robert Fitz Bernard*, in taking and detaining the Goods of the Church without his consent, as also for divers other Causes, needless here to be repeated.

Lastly, He further signified to them, that he had hitherto deferr'd pronouncing Sentence against the King's Person, to see whether he would repent or not; which if he did not quickly, he was ready to do it, and commanded their Fraternity, by virtue of their Obedience, That they should esteem as Excommunicated, the before-mention'd persons, and cause them to be denounced such, injoyning the Bishop of *London* to show this Epistle to all his Brethren and fellow Bishops of his Province; and so takes his leave as becomes an Archiepiscopal Metropolitan.

I thought fit to give you the substance of these Letters, because it shews the Arrogance and Presumption of this Haughty Clergyman, who still took upon him to do as much as the Pope himself could pretend to.

[3.] Upon these high Proceedings of the Archbishop, King *Henry*, being still in *Normandy*, sent his Precept or Edict into *England*, that all the Ports should be most strictly watched, lest Letters of Interdict should by any means be brought in; and if any one brought them, he commanded that his Feet should be cut off; but if he was a Clerk, no less than his Eyes and Genitals; if a Laick, to be hang'd; if a Leper, to be burnt; and if any Bishop fearing such Interdict, would depart the Nation, he should carry nothing with him but his Staff. He also order'd, that all Scholars should return into *England*, or be deprived of their Benefices; and such as remained abroad, should never return. The Priests likewise that would not chant or sing Mass, he order'd to be gelt; and all such as were Rebels to him, were to loose their Fees or Livelihoods.

These are the Heads of this Edict which *Hoveden* has given us in short; but the Author of *Quadrilogus* hath it more at large, and thither I refer my Reader, if he please to consult it.

About the beginning of this Year (as *Buchanan* and *Polydore* relate) *William King* of the *Scots* came into *England*, and did his Homage to King *Henry*, (as his Ancestors had done before;) but when he demanded *Northumberland* of the King as his antient Right, his Answer was, That he could not alienate it without the consent of the Great Men of his Kingdom, and so put him off to the next Common-Council; which the *Scottish* King not able to contradict, was forced to comply with: But we do not find that ever that County was restored to him by King *Henry*; and therefore having no Authority from any of our *English* Writers concerning this matter, I leave the Reader to deter-

determine as he thinks best about it: Yet thus much is certain, [4.] that King *William* not long after followed the King into *Normandy* upon his Summons; and the Chronicle of *Mailrofs* says, That it was about the great Affairs of King *Henry* his Lord; and having shewn his Courage in certain Martial Atchievements, he then return'd home.

But [5.] King *Henry* (it seems) stay'd longer in those Parts to settle his own affairs; and there also at the request of the King of *France* he agreed to grant Four pence upon every Hyde of plough'd Land throughout all *England* towards the Relief of the *Holy Land*.

But notwithstanding this pious Act of the King's, Archbishop *Becket* was highly incens'd that the King had seized upon his Temporalities, and still put in execution the Statutes of *Clarendon*; but tho' He would not hitherto pronounce any Sentence against the King's Person, [1.] yet he did against several of those about him; for now going from the Abbey of *Pontigny*, to the City of *Vizelay*, upon Ascension-day, there getting up into the Pulpit, he, in the presence of a Great Assembly, Excommunicated with lighted Candles all the Observers, Defenders, and Promoters of those Customs which in *England* were call'd Antient; as by name *Richard* of *Poitou*, *Jocelin* de *Bailleol*, *Alan* de *Nevil*, and divers Others; but they being absent, and neither cited nor convicted, upon the News hereof, sent Messengers to the Archbishop to appeal from his Sentence to the Pope, and in the mean time did not refrain coming to Church.

[2.] Not long after this, the Pope remaining still in *France*, (tho' he return'd not long after into *Italy*) sent Two Cardinals, *William* of *Pavia*, and *John* of *Naples*, as his Legates, who cited the King and the Archbishop to meet them at *Montmiral* in *Champaigne*, which they both did accordingly; and tho' the Archbishop found them more favourable to the King's side than he would have had them, yet he consented to submit to their Judgment on this condition, That there should be first an entire Restitution made both to Himself and his Followers of all that had been taken away from them; to which when the King would not agree, nor the Archbishop (being the loser) would not upon other terms submit, and they having no power to compel him, left this business undispatched, and so returned to *Rome*, having only absolved those, whom the Archbishop had before Excommunicated; and indeed the Archbishop shewed himself very subtle in this Transaction, for could he have gain'd the point of Restitution, he had made the King confess himself in the wrong, and yield up the Cause before it came to be heard: But to return to Civil affairs.

[3.] King *Henry* finding the Nobility of *Main* and *Bretaign* disobedient to the Orders of Queen *Eleanor*, (whom he had left Regent in his absence) and showing some inclinations to rebell, he was resolved to humble them; and therefore marching into those Parts with an Army, he took in their Castles as he pleased, and demolished the strong One of *Fulgers*, for that, it seems, had made a more obstinate Resistance than any of the Other.

Then [4.] *Conan* Earl of *Bretaign* and *Richmond*, being not able any longer to withstand the King's Power, thought it best to make his peace with him as well as he could; and therefore agreed that his only Daughter *Constance* (tho' not as yet old enough for Marriage) should be betrothed to *Geoffry* the King's third Son, settling upon them the

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[4.] C. M.
K. *William* follows the K. into *Normandy* upon his Summons.

[5] C. G.
K. *Henry* grants 4 d. upon every Hyde of plowed Land, for the Relief of the *Holy Land*.

Thomas Becket is highly incensed against the K. for seizing his Temporalities.

[1.] R. H. Id.
He solemnly Excommunicates all those that observed the Statutes of *Clarendon*, and such and such by name.

But they sent to let him know that they appealed from his Sentence to the Pope.

[2.] Id. ib.
The Pope sends Two Cardinals as his Legates, to make up the business between the K. and the A. Bp.

But they not being able to reconcile them, return'd to *Rome*, after having absolved those whom the A. Bp. had Excommunicated.

[3.] Id. ib. N.T.
K. *Henry* marches into *Bretaign*, and reduces the Country to his Obedience.

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[4.] *Id. ib.*
Conan makes
Peace with
him, by offer-
ing *Constance*
his only
Daughter to
be betrothed
to *Geoffrey* the
K's 3d Son,
settling on
them the Earl-
doms of *Bri-
tain* and *Rich-
mond*.

The K. imme-
diately takes
possession of
the Country.

[5.] *R. H. p.*
236. a.

K. *Henry* re-
turns to *Eng-
land*, and by
his Edict ba-
nishes all the
A. Bp's Rela-
tions.

Who go over
into *France*,
and are there
hospitably re-
ceived.

The K. forbids
all persons to
hold any cor-
respondence
with, or so
much as to
pray for the
A. Bishop.

[1.] *F. S. G. C.*
And forces
him to leave
the Monastery
of *Pontigny*.

* *i. e. Cistercian.*

The K. of
France there-
upon sends
him to the
Abby of *St. Columbe*, and
honourably
maintains
him there.

[1.] *R. D. Col.*
544.

The Birth of
Earl *John*, the
K's youngest
Son.

[3.] *P. 286.*
The Substance
of the Pope's
Letter to K.
Henry, in fa-
vour of the
A. Bp.

Earldoms of *Bretaign* and *Richmond*, reserving only to himself *Guing-namp*, which descended to him by Earl *Stephen* his Grandfather; King *Henry* highly approving of this Match, presently took possession of the Country, and went a Progress to the Cities and Castles of the chief Barons and Knights.

I have been the more particular in this Transaction, because tho' it be mention'd by *Nicholas Trivet*, yet it is omitted by *R. Hoveden*: But *Walter Hemingford* and *Brompton's* Chronicle do both give some account of this matter, however they falsely suppose this Match not to have been made till after the Death of Earl *Conan*, who survived indeed divers years, as you will find hereafter; but the Authority of these Writers hath (as I suppose) led *Polidore Virgil*, *Daniel*, and *Dr. Brady*, into the same mistake.

[5.] When King *Henry* had met with this good success, he return'd into *England*, and soon after his Arrival issued forth a severe Edict, whereby he banished all the Kindred and Relations of Archbishop *Becket* out of all his Dominions, not excepting Women, Sucking Infants, or Aged persons; but they going over into *France*, were all there kindly received, and by the King's Order, quarter'd with such Noblemen, Bishops and Religious Houses, as were willing to receive them, where they were plentifully maintained till the Archbishop's return into *England*; nor did the King's severity stop here, but he also forbade all persons to assist the said Archbishop with Money, or to hold Correspondence with him by Letters, or so much as to pray for him in the Churches; all which had only that success, as such severe and cruel Actions commonly meet with, to render the King more odious both at Home and Abroad.

[1.] And to be further revenged of the Archbishop, who had been now scarce Two years at the Abby of *Pontigny* (in the Confines of *Champaign* and *Burgundy*) with Abbot *Warin* and his Monks, to whom Pope *Alexander* had recommended him; King *Henry* sent word to that Abbot, That if he shelter'd any longer the Archbishop of *Canterbury* in his Monastery, he would forthwith banish all the Monks of his * Order out of *England*; which the King of *France* hearing, came of himself to *Pontigny*; and lest any thing might be done by King *Henry* to the prejudice of the *Cistercian* Order, he took the Archbishop along with him as far as *Sens*, and from thence sent him to the Abby of *St. Columbe* not far off, where he allowed him a handsome Maintenance, and paid him frequent Visits, till he return'd into *England*.

[2.] Nothing further remarkable happen'd this year, but the Birth of Earl *John*, the King's youngest Son, call'd at first in Raillery *Sans Terre*, because his Father settled no Lands, nor Principalities upon him, as he had done upon his three Elder Brethren; yet he was afterwards created King of *Ireland*, and Earl of *Mortaign*, and after the Death of his Elder Brother King *Richard*, succeeded to the Crown of *England*.

As to the Archbishop's concerns, I find nothing more done this year, only sometime after his removal from *Pontigny*, [3.] *R. Hoveden* gives us a choice Collection of Letters written by the Pope to the *English* Bishops, and also by the Archbishop himself: That which Pope *Alexander* wrote to King *Henry* on the behalf of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, is to this effect: "That as Seculars were distinguished in their way of Life and Habit from Clerks or Ecclesiasticks, so
" their

“ their Courts were quite *different*; yet that the King had perverted
 “ this course by his preposterous Orders, having usurped those things
 “ which belong to Christ, by making new Laws according to his
 “ own Will, to the Oppression of his Church; and then exhorts him
 “ to permit every Body to enjoy their own Rights and Liberties, and
 “ to leave Ecclesiastical Matters, especially such as were Criminal,
 “ about Breach of Faith, or Oath; as also those Causes that concern
 “ the Goods and Possessions of Churches, to be discuss’d by Ecclesia-
 “ stical Persons, because it was neither expedient, nor became his
 “ *Serenity* thus to * confound the Secular and Ecclesiastical Govern-
 “ ment.

[4.] “ The Pope also about the same time wrote to *Gilbert* Bishop
 “ of *London*, to perswade the King to be kind to the Church, and
 “ receive the Archbishop into favour.

[5.] “ Then follows the Bishop of *London*’s Answer to the Pope,
 “ wherein he lets him know, That he had taken to his assistance
 “ *Richard* Bishop of *Hereford*, and they had both urged the King ac-
 “ cording to the Instructions already received from his *Holiness*, in
 “ this as well as in other Epistles, and told him, The King received
 “ his Reproofs very thankfully, and with great temper of Mind, mo-
 “ destly answering to every point.

“ As first, That he had no aversion to his *Holiness*’s Person; but
 “ that, on the contrary, whilst he shewed him his paternal Grace and
 “ Favour, the King would love him as his Father, and honour and
 “ cherish the *Roman* Church as his Mother, and would humbly obey
 “ his Commands, *saving his own Regal Dignity, and that of his King-*
 “ *dom*. That if at any time he had been deficient in his Reverence
 “ towards him, it was because his *Holiness* had given a denial to every
 “ one of his Requests, notwithstanding when his *Holiness* was in the
 “ greatest streights, he had cordially espoused his Interest; That He
 “ would hinder no man from Appealing to his *Holiness*, yet affirm’d,
 “ that in all Appeals, according to the antient Constitutions of his
 “ Kingdom, no Clerk ought for any Civil Cause to go out of his
 “ Kingdom, before he had tried whither by his Authority and Pre-
 “ cept he could obtain Justice, or no; which not being granted, any
 “ one might and should Appeal to him; in which Act, if he did any
 “ ways prejudice his *Holiness*’s Right or Dignity, he would amend it by
 “ advice of the Church of his own Kingdom: He farther asserts, That
 “ he never banish’d the Archbishop out of his Kingdom, but as he
 “ went of his own accord, so he might freely return again to his
 “ Church whenever he pleased; on condition to observe those Royal
 “ Prerogatives he had sworn to, tho’ now he calls them *wicked and un-*
 “ *just*; and that if any Church or Ecclesiastical Person could shew
 “ themselves grieved by him, or any of his, he was ready to make sa-
 “ tisfaction according to the Judgment of the whole Church.

“ These (they said) were the King’s Answers, and therefore they
 “ beseech his *Sublimity* to consider, what issue this affair was like to
 “ have, since the King seem’d only so much to justify himself, as
 “ that he submits in all things to the Counsel and Judgment of the
 “ Church of his Kingdom, whether the Archbishop might return up-
 “ on the Conditions before express’d; and so they supplicate his Ex-
 “ cellency (as they term him) to act mildly, and not to pronounce

“ sen.

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Advising him
not to con-
found the Ec-
clesiastical &
Secular Power
and Rights.

* *Regnum &
Sacerdotium
confundere.*

[4] R. H. p.
287. a.

The Pope
writes ano-
ther Letter to
the Bp. of *Lon-*
don in behalf
of the A. Bp.
and the
Church.

[5.] *Id. ib. b.*
The Bp’s An-
swer to the
Pope.

Telling him
how thank-
fully the K.
receiv’d his
Reproofs.

And what
compliance
he yielded to
all his Propo-
sals.

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The K's Mother and the A. Bishop of Rouen write to the K. to be reconcil'd to Thos. Becket.

His Answer to them.

[1.] R. S.

Bp. of Salisbury bestows the Deanry of that Church on John of Oxford, against the Pope's Prohibition.

Upon which the A. Bp. excommunicates the Bp. with divers others.

[2.] R. H. p. 291. a

The Bps. of the Province of Canterbury write to the A. Bp. in favour of the K.

Telling him, the K. caused him to be elected A. Bp. contrary to his Mother's advice, & the Opinion of the whole Kingdom.

And that he only insisted to have those Prerogatives allowed him, which his Predecessors had enjoyed.

They demand of him by what Right he could thus oppose the King.

Or suspend & condemn the Bp. of Salisbury, without first hearing him.

“ sentence of Interdict or Excommunication against the King, lest he
“ should force Him, and with Him much People, and innumerable
“ Churches from his Obedience.

About this time also (according to the Author of *Quadrilogus*) the King's Mother and the Archbishop of Rouen wrote to him to be reconciled to the Archbishop; but all the Answer he would return, was, That as he had gone away of himself, no body forcing him, so he might return as he came, if he pleased: but it seems this general Answer did not satisfy; for by being reconciled, was meant, that the King should yield to all the Archbishops demands, as he was at last forced to do, tho' much against his will.

[1.] This year also the King having been displeased with Jocelin Bishop of Salisbury, he, to regain his favour, bestow'd the Deanry of that Church upon one John of Oxford the King's Chaplain, altho' he had been by the Pope's Letters forbidden so to do without the consent of his Chanons, most of whom were now in Exile with the Archbishop, who thereupon by the Pope's Command excommunicated the Bishop, with divers others, without so much as hearing what they had to say for themselves.

[2] Whereupon all the Bishops of his Province now wrote to the Archbishop a large Epistle, which was to this effect; “ That they
“ had hopes that those things which by his unexpected departure
“ were put into confusion, might by his prudence have been reduced
“ to their former peaceable condition; but that to their great grief
“ they heard, he threatned the King with an *Interdict*, and to cut him
“ off from the Church; then they urged to him the Inconveniences
“ of such proceedings, and the Conveniences of a peaceable and quiet
“ Temper; and desir'd him to remember, that the King, contrary
“ to the Advice of his Mother, and the Opinion of the whole King-
“ dom, caused him to be elected Archbishop, in hopes He might Reign
“ happily, and enjoy greater quiet and security by his Council and
“ Assistance. They told him farther, That the King being appointed
“ by God to that end, had provided for the Peace of his Subjects in
“ all things, and preserved it to the Churches and People committed
“ to his Charge; That he only insisted on the Prerogatives which
“ were his due, at least which were yielded to all Kings before him,
“ that those might be allowed and yielded to him: about which, if
“ there were any Controversy between the King and himself; yet
“ when he was lately admonished by the Bishops of London and Hereford, by Directions from the Pope, he had answer'd humbly and meekly, (as has been already related) and that in very Deed he was then ready to perform, and give satisfaction for any injury done.
“ Then they demand of him by what Right, Law, or Canon, he could thus oppose the King, or how he could cut him off from the Church.
“ Then they gently reprove him for several preposterous, new and unwarrantable Actions, as condemning and suspending the Bishop of Salisbury, before he was accused, or heard; which new way of Judging, to condemn first, and hearing the Cause afterwards, they hoped was not to be found amongst the Ecclesiastical Canons; yet lest he might attempt to exercise and extend it against their Lord the King, or his Kingdom, or against them, and the Churches committed to them, to the Prejudice of the Pope, and the Disgrace and
“ Detri-

“ Detriment of the Holy *Roman* Church, and the Increase of his own
 “ Confusion; they opposed against him the Remedy of an Appeal,
 “ and now Appeal’d the Second time to the Pope in writing, and
 “ assign’d next Ascension day for the time of prosecuting this Ap-
 “ peal.

“ [3.] Much such another Epistle, and to the same effect, the said
 “ Bishops also wrote to the Pope in behalf of the King, in which they
 “ excuse him as before, and commend his compliance and obedi-
 “ ence, and inform the Pope, that was no need of an Interdict,
 “ Threatnings or Curse, to force him to make satisfaction. Then
 “ they assign for the ground and cause of this Controversy, the Ex-
 “ travagancies and Excesses of certain insolent Clerks, and the manner
 “ and place of punishing their grievous Crimes and Enormities:
 “ They blame the Archbishop for threatening to excommunicate, and
 “ Interdict the Nation; and say, it was neither like the Devotion or
 “ Patience of a Father, or Archbishop: They farther acquaint the
 “ Pope, that he had excommunicated (and that without any Citation,
 “ or hearing their Defence) some of the King’s Servants, and Chief
 “ Men of the Kingdom, by whose special Assistance and Council
 “ the great affairs of the Kingdom were mainly directed; and this
 “ (as they said) without proofs of guilt, or being convicted, or ha-
 “ ving confessed any fault; And then laying before him the Incon-
 “ veniences and ill consequences of such his extravagant actions,
 “ they make their Appeal to the Pope, and propound the day of Ap-
 “ peal as before.

“ Not long after Archbishop *Becket* wrote an Answer to the for-
 “ mer Epistle, sent him by his Suffragan Bishops which being very
 “ long, I shall refer the Reader to it as it stands in *Quadrilogus*;
 “ yet will give you the Sum of it from [4.] *Dr. Brady’s History*. In
 “ the first place, he indeavours through the whole to draw a paralel
 “ between the Sufferings of our Saviour Christ and himself; tells them
 “ they wrote not that Epistle by common advice and prudence, it con-
 “ taining more of Sharpness and Disobedience than Comfort or Cha-
 “ rity; and after that wonders why they should be so unkind to him
 “ who never did them any Injury; and exhorts them to lay down
 “ their lives with him to free the Church from the yoke of secular
 “ Servitude. Next he affirms the injury done to himself, the Church
 “ of God, and that of *Canterbury*, was the cause of his Appeal, and
 “ That the Cause of his Recess. He accuseth the Bishop of *London*,
 “ Archbishop of *York*, and *Rich. de Ivelcester*, for dictating the Sen-
 “ tence against him; and particularly the Bishop of *London*, for re-
 “ ceiving the Money of the Church of *Canterbury*, and applying it
 “ to the use of his own Cathedral. He affirms, he ought not to fear
 “ any punishment or ill consequences, for standing out against the
 “ King: He also exhorts the Bishops not to confound the Rights of
 “ the Church and Kingdom which were distinct powers, of which
 “ the one received its Authority from the other. He farther says,
 “ the Bishop of *Salisbury* admitted *John of Oxford* to be Dean of *Salis-*
 “ *bury* against the Pope’s and his Prohibition, which was a manifest
 “ disobedience, and therefore there was no Solemnity required in the
 “ Process against him, and cites some Canons to make good his Af-
 “ sertion. Then he argues against their Appeal; and asserts that le-
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And lest this power might be extended against the K. &c. they appeal a Second time against him to the Pope.

[3] *Id.* p. 293. b. 293. a.

They write to the same effect to the Pope in behalf of the King.

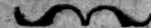
And assign for the ground and cause of this Controversy, the Extravagancies and Excesses of Insolent Clerks, and the manner of punishing their Crimes.

The Archbi-
shop’s Answer
to this Epistle
of the Bi-
shops.

[4] p. 399.
See it in
Latin in his
Appendix.
N. 56.

“ gally

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The Arch-
bishop certainly
mistaken in
affirming, that
his Election
was without
contradiction.

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[5.] C.N. 1166.
Prince Henry
goes from
England to
his Father in
Poitou.

The King
marches with
an Army to
Auvergne, to
assert the Right
of his disinhe-
rited Nephew.

[1.] C. G. Col.
402.

The War is
again renew'd
between the
Kings of Eng-
land & France,
and on what
Occasion.

England is
much alarm'd
at the News
of an Invasion
from Flanders.

But being
well defended
by its Militia,
those designs
come to no-
thing.

gally and Canonically they could not Appeal ; and affirms, it would be no Injury to the King, to smite him with Excommuni-
cation ; and as for his being made Archbishop against the opinion
and good liking of the Kingdom, he appeals to the form and man-
ner of his Election, and endeavours to make what they say im-
probable, from the number and quality of the Persons there present ;
and for that the King himself wrote for his Pall ; So that his Election
was made without any contradiction. He then takes notice, that
they had reported him an inconsiderable fellow, and of mean Pa-
rentage ; his Answer was, *That though he descended not from Kings,*
yet he chose rather by the greatness of his mind, to Raise a Family,
than by his negligence to render one Degenerate. He tells them they
talk of the Danger of the Roman Church, and the fear of the
King's and his People's recess from it, as also of his own danger,
and of those that belonged to him ; but they thought not all this
while of the loss of Souls. Lastly, that the Suffragans of his Church
ought all to be of his opinion, and to suffer and dye with him.

This Epistle, though long, is very well worth reading, since the
Archbishop hath therein exerted his utmost Skill and Eloquence, ac-
cording to the way of writing in those times ; yet however he was
certainly mistaken, (whither wilfully, or through forgetfulness, I
will not determine) when he there tells the Bishops that this Electi-
on was without contradiction ; for the Author of *Quadrilogus* owns,
that the Prior and Monks of *Canterbury* were at first much against chu-
sing a meer secular and military Man for Archbishop ; and the Bishop
of *London* opposed it to the last. I have been more particular in the
Extracts of these Letters, because they are the most exact pieces of
History in their kind ; and shew us more of the Inside of Affairs than
any other Relations.

[5.] About *Christmas* this year Prince *Henry* the King's Son went
from *England* to his Father in *Poitou* ; then after *Easter* the King
marched with an Army into *Auvergne*, and wasted the Lands of
Earl *William*, who thereupon engaged his Faith to stand to the King's
Arbitrement in relation to his Nephew the young Earl of *Auvergne*,
whom he had disinherited ; but he broke his Faith, and went over to
the King of *France*, and raised new Discords between them.

[1.] So that now the Peace was again broke, and the old Quarrel
renew'd between the Kings of *France* and *England* about the City of
Tholose, and other matters ; but chiefly (as it was believed) because
of Archbishop *Becket*, (whose Quarrel King *Lewis* now espoused) :
then the County of *Eu* and the *Veuxin* were miserably harrass'd by
Plundering and Burning ; for the *French* King invading *Normandy*
on that side, stay'd there with his Army four days ; in the mean
time *England* was much alarmed by reason of a Report, that *Matthew*
Earl of *Bologne*, being highly displeased at the King, because he had
stopt certain Revenues he received from hence, had furnisht his Brother
the Earl of *Flanders*, with 600 Vessels to invade this Kingdom ; and
presumed the more, because the King was now engaged in a War with
France ; But all the Earl's endeavours were frustrated by the care of
Richard de Lucy, Justiciary of *England*, who guarded it so well with its
own Militia, that no Foreigners durst approach. From whence we may
observe, that in those days, the Militia of *England* consisting of *Tenants*
by

by Knights service, as also by other Tenures, was so considerable, that without any standing Army, it was able to be a Terror to its Neighbours: But to return to *France*.

[2.] On Trinity Sunday the Two Kings meet in the French *Vexzin*, where they treated of a Peace; but the Noble Men of *France* exasperating their King against King *Henry*, nothing was done at that time; whereupon both sides fortified their Castles, and brought together what forces they could. Then King *Lewis* burnt many Villages between *Mante* and *Pacey*, at which King *Henry* was much provoked, and in requital burnt the strong and Noble Castle of *Chau-mont* near *Gisors*, (which was the K of *France* his Magazine for Arms, and other warlike provisions, and where also lodged his Money to pay his Soldiers) and likewise divers Villages thereabouts. This so enraged King *Lewis*, that he marched straight into *Normandy*, and burnt several Towns and Villages, and among others the good Town of *Andeli Sur Seine*, which belonged to the Archbishop of *Roüen*, with divers other places; and all that King *Henry* was able to do, in the mean while was to take a strong Castle called *Finnel* by storm.

This is the same Action that *Hoveden* places under the Year following, but not truly; for both *Gervase* and the *Norman Chronicle* place it more rightly under this.

In *August* there was a Truce made, and Sworn to by both Kings to continue until *Easter*. Then King *Henry* went into *Bretaign*, and brought under his Subjection all the *Bretaigns*, and those of *St. Paul de Leon*; for *Guihomar*, Son to *Henry*, Viscount of that Town, gave pledges, and submitted to the King, being much surpriz'd to see his strongest Castle burnt, and his other best places either easily taken, or as easily surrender'd.

While the King was thus busied in *Bretaign*, a Messenger came to him with the news of the decease of his Mother the Empress, who dyed the 10th of *December* at *Roüen*, and was buried at the Abby of *Bec*. Her Son distributed her Treasure (which was very great) to Churches, Monasteries, Lepers, and other poor people, for the good of her Soul; she herself had built three Monasteries in *Normandy*, and given a great Summ of Money towards building the Stone-bridge at *Roüen*, which she had already begun.

Now it may not be amiss here to give some Character of this Princess, who being the Daughter of a Great King, and the Mother of a Greater, was of a Masculine, but haughty and turbulent Spirit: for thinking the Earl of *Anjou*, her Second Husband, too mean a match for her, she had at first frequent Disputes with him, which ran so high that they parted; but being again reconciled, she had several Children; yet with so little fondness on his side, that she continued four Years in *England* without his ever seeing her, though he had been often desir'd to come over. She was also very ambitious of Governing, as appears by her indefatigable pains to obtain the Crown of *England*, and very vigorous in setting up arbitrary power, which lost her the hearts of the *Londoners*, and of the rest of the Kingdom; and which made them so afraid of a Female Government, that in the Agreement between King *Stephen* and her Son *Henry*, she was wholly put aside, and the Crown settled upon him immediately after the Death of that Prince: so that (laying down that pompous Title of her being Lady of the *English*) she remain'd in a private condition

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until

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[2.] C. N.
The two
Kings treat of
peace but
without any
effect; where-
upon they
burn each o-
thers Towns
and Castles.

Id. ib.
A Truce made
between the
Two Kings.
K. Henry sub-
dues Britain.

Id. ib.
Maud the Em-
press, her
Death.

Her vast Treas-
ure distribu-
ted to Mona-
steries. &c.

Her Character.

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R. H. p. 289.
b. 293. b.

The A Bp.
spends most
of his time in
writing Let-
ters to the
Pope, the K.
and Bp. of
London, and at
last Excom-
municates
him.

[3.] F. S.
But the Bps.
and rest of the
Clergy eluded
it, by appeal-
ing to the
Pope.

[4.] R. H.
p. 293. b.
And com-
mands the
Dean and
Clergy of his
Diocese to a-
void the Com-
pany of all
those he had
excommuni-
cated.

And informs
that at such a
time he would
excommuni-
cate others, if
in the mean
time they
made not sa-
tisfaction.

[5.] Id. p. 294. a.
In another
Letter he gives
the Bp. of
Hereford notice
of all those
whom he had
excommuni-
cated.

And also all
those who had
receiv'd Ec-
clesiastical Be-
nefices from
Laymen's
hands.

Upon this the
Bp. of London
declines en-
tering into any
Church, till
he was absol-
ved.

[1.] Series cau-
sa inter Hen.
Regem & Thom.
Archiep. Dec.
Scriptor. c. 716.

until the day of her Death : This Character we may gather from her Actions, for I do not find any given of her by the Historians of that Age.

As for the Archbishop's affairs, this Year produced no great Alteration in them, and therefore he chiefly spent his Time in writing Letters to the Pope and the King, as also to *Gilbert* Bishop of *London*; in the last of which he laid to his charge the long abuse of his patience, and the refusal both of the Pope's and his own admonition, and pronounced him excommunicated, and cut off from the Body of the Church; commanding him by virtue of his Canonical Obedience, that he should abstain from all Communication with faithful believers, till he had made sufficient satisfaction, [3.] but the Bishops and the others of the Clergy for the present eluded the force of this Excommunication, by appealing to the Pope, and so prolonged the matter for near a year longer.

[4.] He wrote also to the Dean and Arch-Deacon and Clergy of the Diocese of *London*, that by virtue of their Obedience, and as they tender'd their Salvation, and Order, they should avoid the Company of their Bishops, and likewise of all other persons excommunicated; and there he named at the end of this Epistle, *Jocelin* Bishop of *Salisbury*, *Earl Hugh* (I suppose of *Chester*), with divers others, who need not be here set down; and then farther informed them that on *Ascension day* ensuing he would Excommunicate divers others, whom he had cited, if in the mean time they did not make satisfaction; namely *Gilbert*, Arch-Deacon of *Canterbury*, and *Robert* his Vicar, *Richard de Lucy*, with several others, and all such as by the King's mandate, or their own rashness, had seized his Goods, or those of his Clerks; also those by whose assistance or advice the King's mind was set against the Liberty of the Church, and by whose Instigation he had proscribed, and spoiled the Innocent; and lastly, all those who had hindered the Pope's Commissioners and his from pursuing the Business of the Church.

[5.] He then also gave *Robert* Bishop of *Hereford* notice by another Epistle, that he had excommunicated the Bishop of *London*, and *Gilbert* Arch-Deacon of *Canterbury*, with the rest of the Persons already mention'd in his last Letter to the Clergy of *London*; and those who had received Ecclesiastical Offices or Benefices from the hands of Laymen, contrary to the Canons, or had usurped them by their own Authority, &c. And then he commanded him by the Pope's Authority, and his Own, that they should be declared excommunicate throughout his Diocese.

Not long after the Bishop of *London*, (although (in the opinion of some) he was thought safe from the above said Excommunication of the Archbishop by the late Appeal, which he had made to the Pope, yet, it seems) his Heart now failed him, and so patiently submitting to it, he forbore entering into any Church, till he was absolved. *Roger of Hoveden* hath placed these Letters under the following Year, but I rather choose to follow [1.] *Rad. de Diceto*, who sets them down under this, and that in my Judgment with much greater reason; for it is not likely, that the Archbishop would let all this Time slip without doing any thing against the Bishops that opposed him, and who still persisted in doing so after the Pope's and his Admonitions to the contrary.

Nor

Nor can I here omit, what the Author of *Quadrilogus* relates to have been done this Year, (*viz.*) That the King sent *John* of Oxford and *Richard* of *Ivelcester* his Ambassadors to the Emperor, with offers to join with him in the Renouncing of Pope *Alexander*; and that they on the King's behalf actually join'd with the Emperor, and the Archbishop of *Cologne* in the Abjuration of that Pope's Authority, and in the acknowledging the Anti-Pope, whom the Emperor had then set up against him; and that upon the return of these Ambassadors, King *Henry* made all the People of *England* abjure Pope *Alexander*; now this is a false and malicious Representation of this matter. For all that the King did then (as *Matt. Paris* relates) was to send his Letters to the Archbishop of *Cologn*, setting forth, "That he had for a long time waited for an occasion to quit Pope *Alexander*, and his perfidious Cardinals, who had presumed to maintain that Traytor *Thomas* of *Canterbury* against him; and therefore that by the advice of the Bishops and Barons of his Kingdom, to wit, the Archbishop of *Tork* and others there named, he was resolved to send to *Rome* to let the Pope know from him, that he should no longer uphold his Traytor against him; but rid his hands of him, that so he might by his Clergy's consent appoint another for the Church of *Canterbury*, and that he should confirm his antient Laws and Prerogatives; which if he refused to do, neither himself, his Barons, nor Clergy, should yield him for the future any Canonical Obedience; and further, that he would openly resist him and all that belonged to him; and whoever should be found adhering to the Pope, should be expel'd the Kingdom; and then desires him to send *Arnald* a Knight Hospitaller with all speed, who should have the Emperor's and the King's safe conduct. This is all I can find the King acted in relation to the renouncing Pope *Alexander*, that the Author of the *Quadrilogus*, either ignorantly, or wilfully, mistakes for the King's absolute Renunciation of him; which I must confess I cannot find the King ever did: *Matt. Paris* indeed places this Letter under the next Year, in which perhaps it was sent, tho it might be written in this.

[2.] I find nothing during this Truce between the two Kings to have happen'd considerable in *France*, only *Conan* Earl of *Bretaigne* deceased and left his only Daughter *Constantia* his Heir, whom he had by the Sister of the King of *Scots*; this young Lady was not long after married to *Geoffery* second Son to King *Henry*, who being now desirous to keep that Province in Peace, gain'd the Affections both of the Clergy and Laiety, by gracious and popular Actions.

I do not find any thing done farther this year, concerning the Archbishop's affairs, [3.] more than that the Pope sent Two Legates, (*viz.*) *William* of *Pavia*, and one *Otto*, into *France* to consult with the Archbishop of *Sens*, how to procure peace between the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the King; They attended on him indeed, but to no purpose, for they found him obstinate in his first Resolutions: yet that they might do their utmost, they also met the Archbishop of *Canterbury* between *Gisors* and *Try*, where discoursing with him, and founding his mind by divers questions for the peace of the Church, as whither he would renounce his Archbishoprick, if the King would give up his Customs? he refused that offer, saying, *That the King*

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The K sends Ambassadors to the Emperor, offering to join with him in renouncing Pope *Alexander*.

And they actually join with him and the Bp. of *Cologne* in Abjuring that Pope's Authority, & acknowledging the Anti-pope.

All the people of *England* abjure *Alexander*.

But *Matt. Paris* gives a quite different relation of this matter.

[2.] R. D. Col. 548.

Conan Earl of *Bretaigne* dies, leaving one Daughter, whom the K. married to his Son *Geoffery*.

[3.] C. G. Col. 1401.

The Pope sends two new Legates to the A. Bp. of *Sens*, to see how to reconcile the K and A. Bp. but all to no purpose. They meeting with the A. Bp. found him about Renouncing his A. Bp. shoprick, if the K. would give up his Customs; but he refuses that offer.

was

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And so they
return to
Rome.

The first Oc-
casion of the
Conquest of
Ireland.

A fit opportu-
nity is now
offer'd for
that design,
which was af-
terwards im-
proved by K.
Henry and K.
John.

[4.] *Hiber. Ex
pug. l. 2. c. 1.*
Five petty Do-
minions in it
under one Su-
preme Lord.
[5.] *Id. ib.*
*Annal. Hib. ad
fin. Camdeni.*
Britan. Dermot.
Mac-Morrough
Prince of
Leinster, a
cruel Tyrant.
Debauches the
Wife of Oro-
ric Prince of
Meth, in his
absence, and
carries her
away with
her own con-
sent.

[1.] *Id. ibid.*

Ororic, by the
Assistance of
the K. of Con-
naught, makes
Dermot fly to
K. Henry then
in France.

was bound for the good of his Soul to renounce those customs, but he could not renounce his Archbishoprick, without betraying the honour of his Church; since it was never heard, that any of his Predecessors had ever done so; therefore the Legates finding him wholly immoveable, and not at all willing to agree with the King upon the Terms they proposed, as being thought subdolous and insnaring, they return'd again to Rome.

Having thus put together all that concerns the affair of Archbishop Becket, and which was transacted this Year in *Normandy*, I shall now take notice of what was done in *Ireland*, which about this Time began to be invaded, and in part conquer'd by the *English*, under the Authority of a general Order or Commission from King *Henry*: I have already given the Reader an account of the King's Title and pretence to that Kingdom, and the great desire he had from his first coming to the Crown to add *Ireland* by force of Arms to the rest of his Dominions; and that the better to countenance and strengthen his claim, he had near fifteen Years since, obtain'd the Pope's Bull for the total Conquest thereof under his Obedience, as has been before related.

But though King *Henry* thought it not fit then to make use of this Grant from the Pope, yet about this time a fair Opportunity offer'd it self of bringing the *English* into *Ireland*, which this King and his Son *John* improved, to the reducing good part of that Island under their Dominion, tho I confess, a larger share long after remain'd under the Government of its own Princes: which was the reason why none of our Kings, till *Henry* the VIII. stiled themselves by any higher Title than Lords of *Ireland*.

As to the State of the Island at this time, [4.] *Giraldus Cambrensis* tells us, that there were then no less than five petty Dominions in it, the Princes of which were often stiled Kings, though they were all as it were Feudataries under one Supreme King, or Lord, who was at that time named *Rodoric K. of Connaught*; [5.] one of those five Princes called *Dermot Mac-Morrough* (in *Irish*) or *Fitz-Murchard* (in *French*) was then Prince, or King of *Leinster*, who from his first coming to his Kingdom, was an Oppressor of the Nobility, and a cruel Tyrant over his other Subjects: To this ill Treatment of his People, he also added another crime, for taking advantage of the absence of his next Neighbour, *Ororic* Prince of *Meth*, who was then gone on progress to the farther Parts of his Kingdom, and had left his Wife *Omachla* behind him, safe as he thought in an Island, within a Bog; but *Dermot* and this Princess having before held a secret Correspondence, he came speedily thither, and not only debauched her, but carried her away by her own consent.

[1.] Prince *Ororic* (as he had reason) being highly provoked at this outrageous Indignity, resolved to revenge it; and gathering together what Forces he could, brought also *Rodoric* King of *Connaught* to his assistance; whereupon the People of *Leinster*, considering to what streight their Prince was now reduced, began to discover their private Resentments for the Injuries they had received at his hands, and both the great Men as well as the Common people left him, and joined with his Enemies. *Dermot* finding himself thus forsaken by them, after many conflicts with unequal force, having been always worsted,

took

took shipping, and fled to King Henry of England then in France, engaged in reducing *Aquitain* to his Obedience. King Henry received him kindly, and having heard the cause of his Exile, and coming to him, after he had taken an Oath to be his faithful Vassal (though unable at present otherwise to assist him) he granted him his Letters Patents, whereby he gave notice to all his Loving Subjects, *English, Normans, Welsh and Scots*, and to all Nations under his Dominions, that having received *Dermot* Prince of *Leinster* into his Protection, whosoever would had free licence to aid and assist the said Prince for the restoring him to his Kingdom.

[2.] Having obtain'd these Letters, he went for *England*, and stayed some time at *Bristol*, where he could receive the best Intelligence of the state of his Affairs at home; and during his stay there, he often caused the King's Letters to be read before the People of that City and the Neighbouring places that resorted thither, but all in vain, till at length *Richard* Earl of *Striguil* (now *Chepstow* in *Monmouthshire*) surnamed *Strong-Bow* came thither, to see and discourse with him; and it was at last agreed between them, that the Earl should next Spring assist him in the recovery of his Country, and that *Dermot* should give unto him his Eldest Daughter in Marriage, with his Kingdom after his Decease.

[3.] This Agreement being thus concluded, *Dermot* was very desirous to see his native Country, and forthwith went to *St. Davids* in *South-Wales*, which was the nearest passage into *Leinster*, where Prince *Rice* or *Reese ap Griffin* then governed, as Feudatary to King Henry; and *David* the 2d was then Bishop of *St. Davids*; these both commiserated his condition, but either would not, or could not do him any other service at this time, than by permitting *Robert*, surnamed *Fitz Stephen*, Constable of *Abertivie*, (now *Caerdigan*) Cozen-German to Prince *Reese* by *Nesta* his Father's Sister, to go along with him, who, being some years before taken Prisoner, had been lately released by his Cozen Prince *Reese*, upon condition that he should take up Arms with him against King Henry; but *Robert*, having no mind to fight against his own Prince, desired rather to make his fortunes abroad; therefore by the Mediation of his Half-Brothers, the Bishop of *St. David's* and *Maurice Fitz Gerald*, he obtained a licence of *Rees* or *Rice*, to go over into *Ireland*; whereupon by their Mediation he made a Contract with King *Dermot*, That provided he would grant the City of *Wexford* in Fee, with two Cantreds (or Hundreds) adjoining, to himself and to *Maurice Fitz-Gerald* his Brother, they would both assist him with Men the next Spring; which being agreed on, King *Dermot* soon after embarking at *St. Davids*, arrived in *Ireland*, and coming to *Ferns*, (not far from *Wexford*.) remained there Incognito with the Clergy of that place all that Winter, which he spent in privately carrying on his intended design of recovering his lost Dominions.

But I find nothing to have been done in *England* this Year worth our noting; [4.] unless that the King being solicited to send his Daughter *Mathilda* to her Husband the Duke of *Saxony* (to whom she had been affianced near Two years before;) to this end wrote for the Queen his Wife, and said Daughter, to come over into *Normandy*, which order they immediately obey'd.

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K. Henry receives him kindly; and having first taken his Oath to be his faithful Vassal, gives him his Letters Patents for all his Subjects that would, to assist him to recover his Kingdom.

[2.] *Ibid.* Cap. 2. *Dermot* goes for *England*, lands, & stays at *Bristol* for some time, where he caused these Letters to be read, but all to no purpose.

At length *Richard Strong-bow* agrees to assist him in the following Spring, and *Dermot* to give him in marriage his Eldest Daughter, with his Kingdom after his Death.

[3.] *Id.* *ibid.* *Dermot* goes to *St. Davids* in *South-Wales*, the nearest passage into his own Country.

Prince *Rees* & *David* the Bp. there, pity his condition.

Fitz-Stephen has leave to go into *Ireland* to assist K. *Dermot* rather than fight against K. Henry.

[4.] R. D. Cal. 547. C. N.

The K. sends for his Queen and Daughter into *Normandy*.

[5.] The

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[1.] G.N. 1d. 1b.

[1.] Dr. Powell's
Chron.

The Princes
of North and
South-Wales
bring an Ar-
my into Powis-
Land against
Owen Cyvelioc,
and win all
his Lands.

Owen Cyvelioc
in some time
after besieges
Caerneon, takes
it, and burns
it to the
ground.

Owen and Rees
besiege Ruth-
land, and take
it; as also Pre-
stetyn, and
bring all Ti-
gengel under
Owen's Sub-
jection.

[1.] G.C. 1b. c. 3.
Annal. Hiber.
Robert Fitz-
Stephen goes
into Ireland
to assist King
Dermot.

Fitz-Stephen at-
tacks Wexford,
but is repul-
sed.

[5.] The King now kept his *Christmas* in his new Hall, or Palace at *Rowen*, and then he sent his said Daughter with a Numerous Retinue and great Portion to the Duke of *Saxony* her Husband, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Striguil*, and several other Noble Men attending her: tho' it is improbable the Marriage was then consummated, she being as yet too young, not full Eleven Years of Age.

But before I return to the War in *France*, give me leave to look back into *England*, where all things continued quiet, [1.] except in *Wales*, where *Owen* Prince of *North-Wales*, *Cadwaladar* his Brother, and *Rees* Prince of *South-Wales*, brought an Army into *Powis-Land* against *Owen Cyvelioc*, Lord of that Territory, and won all his Country, and drove him out of it, and gave a great part of it, called *Caerneon* to *Owen Vacban*, the Son of *Madoc ap Meredyth*, to hold of Prince *Owen*; and the Lord *Rees* had *Walweren*, because it stood within his Territories; but in a little while after, *Owen Cyvelioc* returned with a great number of *Normans* and *Englishmen* to recover his Country, and laid Siege to the Castle of *Caerneon*, and taking the same, burnt it to the ground. Also the same Year the aforesaid Princes *Owen*, *Rees*, and *Cadwaladar* laid Siege to the Castle of *Ruthland*, which King *Henry* had lately built, and fortified; and though the Garrison defended it stoutly for a long time, yet these Princes would not depart until they had taken it, which was after Two Month's Siege, and then razed it; they got likewise the Castle of *Prestetyn*, and destroyed it, and brought all *Tigengel* under Prince *Owen's* Subjection; who then return'd into his Country with Great honour.

I shall now proceed to relate the mighty Success of a handful of *English* this Year in *Ireland*: [2.] for about this time *Robert Fitz-Stephen* being not unmindful of his late engagement to King *Dermot*, to come over to his Assistance, embarked with Thirty Knights, Sixty Esquires (or Men of Arms) on Horseback, and Three Hundred Archers on Foot, in three Ships, and landed about the first of *May* this Year at *Bannough-Bay*, not far from *Waterford*, and the next day *Maurice de Prendergrast*, a Brave Souldier, following *Fitz-Stephen* on the same design, set sail from *Milford-Haven*, and landed at the same place, with Ten Knights and a great number of Bowmen, whom he transported in two Ships; but not thinking themselves safe in the small Isle of *Bannough* where they lay, their landing being now known to the Country; they presently dispatched Messengers to King *Dermot*, who forthwith sent his natural Son *Donald* with Five Hundred Men to receive them, and follow'd him in person with all speed; where, renewing their former Agreement, and confirming it with their Oaths, they join'd their Forces, and marched towards *Wexford* about Twelve Miles from *Bannough*. Upon their approach the Town's-Men, to the Number of about Two Thousand, marched forth with an Intention to give them Battle; but when they saw the unexpected Numbers, with the Order and Discipline of the *English* Forces, such as they had never known before, they were greatly dismayed, and burning the Subburbs, retir'd into the Town. Upon this *Fitz-Stephen* prepar'd to storm it, and having caused the Ditches to be filled, his men made a vigorous assault, but being repulsed by the Citizens, they were forced for the the present to sound a Retreat.

But

[3.] But when they saw that he was preparing for another Assault the day following, they despaired of defending their City, and so desired a Treaty; the Issue whereof was, the Surrendering of the Town, and the delivery of four Hostages to King *Dermot* for their future Fidelity; who so soon as he was possessed of the City, gave it, with the whole Territory, to *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, and *Maurice Fitz-Gerald*, according to the Agreement he had before made with them.

Wexford being thus reduced, King *Dermot*, by the addition of many of the Inhabitants of that Place, [4.] now made up an Army of about Three thousand Men, with whom he marched against *Donald* King, or Prince, of *Offery*, who of all his late Vassals, was now his greatest Enemy. This Army advancing to the Skirts of the Country, entred a little way into it; but finding the Passages through the Woods and Bogs so well fortified, and stoutly defended by the Natives, that they could not without great hazard assault them, King *Dermot* retreated into the Plains; and this so encouraged the *Offerians*, thinking their Enemies had turned their backs through fear, that they sallied out of their Fastnesses, and persued them into the Champaign Country.

[5.] Upon this *Robert Fitz-Stephen* taking the advantage, faced about with his Horse, and charged them furiously, and making a great slaughter of them with his Lances, totally routed them; and then entering into the most inward Parts of the Country, he ruined it all with Slaughter, Rapine and Burning: So that the Prince of *Offery*, by advice of his Council, desired Peace, gave Hostages, and again swore Fidelity to King *Dermot*.

[1.] The *Englisch* Confederates becoming formidable by this Success through the whole Island, *Roderic* King of *Connaught*, and Monarch of *Ireland*, by his Messengers called together all the Princes or Chief Men of the whole Nation; who upon consultation unanimously agreed to rise against *Dermot*, and to that end brought vast Forces into the Province of *Leinster*, whereupon most of his pretended Friends forsook him, not regarding their Promises or Oaths; only *Fitz-Stephen* and his Men, with some few others, stuck close to him; and in a place not far from *Ferns*, surrounded with thick Woods, Steep Mountains and Bogs, (by Nature and Scituation almost inaccessible,) they secur'd themselves by cutting down Trees, and therewith making such a Fort as was capable to receive their Friends, and keep out their Enemies.

[2.] King *Roderic* thereupon sent to *Fitz-Stephen*, and endeavour'd to perswade him by great Promises and Gifts to depart the Country, but could not prevail; the Messengers then turning to King *Dermot*, endeavour'd to perswade him to join his Arms, and drive out the Strangers, with a full assurance, that he should peaceably enjoy all *Leinster*, with the friendship of *Roderic* his Sovereign Prince; but he would not hearken to any such Overtures.

[3.] Yet at length, by the Mediation of Friends, a Peace was made on these Conditions; That *Dermot* should quietly enjoy *Leinster*, acknowledging *Roderic* as Chief King and Monarch over all *Ireland*; and, that it might remain firm and lasting, he delivered his Son *Cnut* to him as an Hostage. This Agreement was publish'd and confirm'd by mutual Oaths; and it was further privately agreed between them,

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That

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But the *Wexfordians*, upon his preparing for another Assault, surrender'd the Town, giving four Hostages to *Dermot* for their future Fidelity.[4.] *Id. cap. 4.*
Dermot marches to *Offery*.

But finding the Passages so well fortified against him, he makes a Retreat.

[5.] *Id. ib.*
Fitz-Stephen totally routs the *Offerians* with his Horse.And the Pr. of *Offery* swears Fidelity to *Dermot*.[1.] *Id. ib. cap. 5.*
Roderic, by advice of his Council, resolves with all his Force to oppose *Dermot*.[2.] *Id. cap. 6.*
Roderic solicits *Fitz-Stephen* to leave the Country, but could not prevail.[3.] *Id. ib. c. 10.*
A Peace concluded between *Dermot* and *Roderic*.

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[4.] *Id. Cap. xi.*
Maurice Fitz-
Gerald Lands
at Wexford
with a great
Force.

Dermot mar-
ches towards
Dublin, and
destroys al-
most the
whole Coun-
try with Fire
and Sword.

[5.] *Id. ib.*
Roderic in-
vades Limerick
upon a Quar-
rel between
Him, and Do-
nald Prince.
But is van-
quished, and
forced to
withdraw
with disgrace.

Dermot pro-
jects the ob-
taining the
Sovereignty
of Ireland, and
imparts the
Secret to Mau-
rice and Fitz-
Stephen.
They think it
easy to effect,
if they could
get more
Forces from
England.

Dermot writes
to the E of
Striguil to
make good his
Agreement.

[1.] *Id. ib.*
E. Striguil goes
to K. Henry,
and desires
him either to
give him his
Estate again,
or let him go
seek his For-
tune abroad.

He sends some
Forces first in-
to Ireland, to
keep up their
Spirits till he
could follow
them.

[2.] *C. N. B.*
Poissou and A-
quitain rebel
against K. Hen.

That Dermot should call no more Strangers into Ireland, and that such as were there should be sent away.

[4.] Immediately after this Agreement Maurice Fitz-Gerald (above mention'd) Half-Brother to Fitz-Stephen, a Person of great Courage and Conduct, came with Ten Knights, Thirty Horsemen, and a Hundred Archers of Foot, in two Ships, into Ireland, and Landed at Wexford. Dermot was so enraged at his Arrival, that forthwith raising an Army, he marched toward Dublin, which was then in Rebellion, Maurice being made General, (while Fitz-Stephen was busied in building a Castle upon a Rock called *Karrec*,) and in a little time the whole Territory adjoining to the City was almost destroyed with Fire and Sword; whereupon the Citizens desiring a Peace, surrender'd the Town, and gave good Security to their Prince for their future Fidelity.

[5.] In the mean time there happen'd a Quarrel between Roderic King of Connaught, and Donald Prince of Limerick; Whereupon Roderic with an Army invading the Country of Limerick, Dermot sent Fitz-Stephen with his Troops to the Aid of his Son-in-Law, Prince Donald, by whose Assistance he obtained the better over them in every Conflict; inso much that Roderic withdrew himself from his Government with disgrace. King Dermot being encouraged by this Success, and having now regain'd his Country, propounded to himself nothing less than the subduing of all Connaught, and thereby obtaining the Sovereignty of Ireland; which Secret he imparted to Maurice and Fitz-Stephen, who thought it might be easily accomplish'd if he could procure some greater number of English Forces, and therefore earnestly desired him to send for them; whereupon he wrote to Richard Earl of Striguil to mind him of his Promise, and to let him know, that the Year was already near spent without seeing him, or receiving any assistance from him; and therefore desired him to make good his Agreement lately made in England.

[1.] The Earl upon receipt of these Letters went to King Henry, then in Normandy, and earnestly intreated him, either to restore his Hereditary Estate, which he had formerly taken from him, or give him leave to make his Fortune in some other Nation. Then he having received from the King a seeming, rather than a Real Licence, (and that by word of mouth only) resolv'd on an Expedition into Ireland so soon as he could raise sufficient Forces for that purpose, and in the mean time would send thither a small Body of Men (to keep up their spirits) till his Arrival, which he promised to be the Spring following, as you will find under the next Year.

But it is now time to look back into France, and see what has been doing there all this while, where I find no great Action; only that this

[2.] Year great part of Poissou and Aquitain rose up in Rebellion against King Henry, being headed by the Earl of Angouleme, Amery de Lasignan, and others. So that he was thereupon forced to march into their Country, where he destroyed their Towns and Villages, took their Castles, and put Garisons into them; then leaving those Countries to the Care of his Queen, and Patrick E. of Salisbury, he went to meet the King of France, eight days after Easter, between Mante and Pacey, to expostu-

late

late with him concerning the Injuries he had lately received at his hands; for the *Poictovins* had now applied to the King of *France*, and put themselves under his Protection, and given Pledges for their Fidelity, notwithstanding they were King *Henry's* proper Subjects. The two Kings had a long and sharp Debate about this matter; however the King of *France* would not deliver up his Hostages, though they were received contrary to Justice; and therefore the Truce was only prolonged until eight days after *Midsummer*, and then the War broke out afresh between them.

[3.] About this time also *Patrick* Earl of *Salisbury* was slain by the Treachery of the *Poictovins*, or rather of Earl *Guy* of *Leziniam*, who murth'ed him in his return from a Pilgrimage he had made to *St. James's* in *Spain*; but Earl *Guy* for this Offence was driven by King *Henry* out of *Poictou*; and so he went from thence into the *Holy-Land*, where he died Governor, during the minority of King *Baldwin* the Younger, whose Mother he had married.

[4.] In the mean while (I suppose towards the end of this Year) the Duke of *Saxony* (the King's new Son-in-Law) with the Archbishops of *Mentz* and *Cologne*, and Bishop of *Leige* (all Chief Princes of the Empire) came to the King (being then in *Normandy*) on an Ambassy from the Emperor; the Intent of which was, To promise the King a powerful Assistance against *France*, yet with a design (on that Condition) to draw him in to joyn with them in their present Schism against the Pope; but the King not being resolved wholly to break with him, though he received these Ambassadors with great outward Respect, yet he put them off with fair Words and general Promises, and so sent them away well enough satisfied with the noble Presents he made them, notwithstanding he did not comply with their desires.

[5.] About the same time also some of the Nobility of *Bretaign* rebelled, against whom King *Henry* presently marched; and beginning with the Head of them, (*viz.*) *Eudo* Viscount of *Brogaret*, or *Porhoët*, took his chief Castle, which he presently burnt; and wasting all his Territories, despoiled him of the whole Country of *Brogaret*, (from whence He had his Title) together with the City of *Vannes*, its Metropolis. After this he marched into the Country of *Dinan*, and took that, and all the Fortresses round about it into his possession.

[1.] Then eight days after *Midsummer* the Two Kings met again at *Ferte Bernard* (a Castle in *Main* near the Edge of *Perche*) to treat of Peace, but still, as before, parted without Success; for the *Bretaigns* and *Poictovins* when they gave Hostages to the King of *France*, he Covenanted with them, that he would make no Peace with the King of *England* without their consent. Hereupon both sides fortified their Borders, and continued Skirmishing in small Parties until *Advent*, (*i. e.* until a Month before *Christmas*) when King *Henry*, by the Assistance of *Matthew* Earl of *Boloign*, march'd into the Country of *John* Earl of *Ponthieu*, and burnt above Forty of his Towns and Villages, because he had refused Earl *Matthew's* Forces a passage through his Country; so that he was obliged to convey them into *Normandy* by Sea. In the mean while the *French* King burnt the Castle of *Brucroles*, and wasted almost the whole Country of *Perche*.

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He meets the K. of France to treat with him about the Injuries he had received at his hands.

For the *Poictovins* had apply'd themselves to that King.

Tho they were K. H. Subjects. The Truce prolong'd till 8 days after *Midsummer*.

[3.] R. H. p. 294. b. *Patrick* E. of *Salisbury* slain by the *Poictovins*, or rather by *Guy* E. of *Leziniam*.

But *Guy* was for it driven out of *Poictou*, and governed for some time in the *Holy-Land*.

[4.] C. G. Col. 1403. The Emperor sends divers Noble Ambassadors to K. Hen. who does not think fit to comply with their Proposals.

[5.] C. N. 16. The Nobility of *Bretaign* rebel against K. Henry.

He reduces them by Fire and Sword.

[1.] Id. ib. Another Treaty between the Two Kings, but without Effect.

They both fortify their Borders.

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[2.] C. G. Col.
1404.

A Peace agreed on between the two Kings, by the Mediation of certain Religious Men, friends to them both.

Which is concluded at Mont-Mirail.

[3.] C. N. ib.
Prince Henry does Homage to the K. of France for the Earldoms of Anjou & Main.

He is made Seneschal of France.

And at Paris waits on the K. at his Table by virtue of that Office.

[4.] Id. ib.
Prince Richard is affianced to Alice, the K. of France his Daughter, and does him Homage for the Duchy of Aquitaine.

The Poitevins and Bretaigns comprized in this Peace.

[5.] C. G. Col.
1405.

K. Henry and the A. Bishop brought together in the Presence of the K. of France, and the A. Bp. offered to put the Controversy to the Arbitration of that King, saving the Honour due to God.

This Salvo mightily incenses the K. Yet makes a fair Offer to the A. Bp.

[2.] Thus the War continued very sharp between the Two Kings till near *Christmas*, and then by the Intercession of certain Religious Men, who wish'd well to both Parties, there was a Peace agreed upon; for the confirmation of which, an Enterview also was appointed at the Feast of *Epiphany* then next ensuing.

At which time the Two Kings, with the Great Men of both Kingdoms, met at *Mont-Mirail* to conclude the aforesaid Peace; and it being at length finished, King *Henry* spoke thus to the King of *France*: *My Lord the King, This being the Day on which the Three Kings offer'd Gifts to the King of Kings, I likewise commend my Sons and Territories to your Protection.* To whom the King of *France* thus answer'd; *Since the King of Kings did now, as on this day, graciously receive those Gifts, let your Sons afford us their Presence, and they shall from us receive the Territories they would possess.* [3.] Then came *Henry* the King's Eldest Son, and received from the King of *France* the Earldoms of *Anjou* and *Main*, doing him Homage for them; but as for the Dukedom of *Normandy*, he had done Homage before.

At the same time also King *Lewis* his Father-in-Law made him *Seneschal* of *France*, which Office had long before belong'd to the Earldom of *Anjou*; and at *Candlemas* following, Prince *Henry* went to *Paris*, and there waited on the King of *France* at his Table, by virtue likewise of that Office.

[4.] Some short time after, *Richard* the King's Second Son was affianced to *Alice*, Second Daughter of the King of *France*, and being then by him Invested with the Duchy of *Aquitain*, did him Homage for it: the *Poitevins* and *Breitaigns*, who had taken part with the King of *France*, were also comprized in this Peace, and all seemingly reconciled to the King.

[5.] Not long after this Enterview, the King and Archbishop *Thomas* were brought together in the Presence of King *Lewis*, when the Archbishop offer'd to put the whole Controversy between them to that King's Arbitration, *saving the Honour that was due to God*: Which last words, when K. *Henry* heard, he was very angry at, and reproached him for them; to whom the Archbishop answer'd very calmly and gently; but the King observing that he gained upon the Auditory, interrupted him, and said to the King of *France*; *Pray see, Sir, the cunning Evasions of this Man; for whatever displeases him, he presently cries, 'Tis contrary to the Honour due to God; under which pretence he would dispossess me of all my Rights.* Yet that he might not seem to derogate from the Honour of God, He said, "That there had been many Kings of England before him, some of greater, and others of less Power than himself; and that there had been also many Archbishops of *Canterbury* before *Thomas Becket*, Great and Holy Men; Let him therefore (says he) do what the greatest and most Holy of his Predecessors did to the least of mine, and I will acquiesce in it; and added, *That He drove him not from the Kingdom, but he himself fled away privately, no man compelling him*: Yet he now insinuates to the King of *France* and his Nobility, that he only defended the Cause of God's Church; as for his own part, he always desired, and now granted, that the Archbishop should enjoy his Church, and Govern it with the same Liberty that any of his Predecessors had done before.

[1.] Then

[1.] Then it was agreed by all there present, that the King had yielded sufficiently, and the King of *France* himself seeming much moved against the Archbishop, asked him, "Whither he would be greater than the Saints, or better than *St. Peter*? The Archbishop replied, He would willingly enjoy his Church in the same Liberty his Predecessors had done; but those Customs, which were contrary to the Institutions of the Holy Fathers, he would never receive; the Mediators then advised him to submit to the King, and give him his due Honour: He replied, *Our Fathers suffer'd, because they would not deny the Name of Christ, and should I for the Favour of Man suppress the Honour of God?*

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[1.] *Id. ib.*
Which was approved by the
K. of *France*.

[2.] At which all the Great Men of both Kingdoms rose up unanimously against him, saying, His Arrogance was the main Obstacle of Peace; and because he so obstinately opposed the Pleasure of both Kings, he was unworthy of the Assistance of either of them; and being banish'd *England*, he ought not to be received in *France*. King *Henry's* Courtiers further told him to his face, *That he was always Proud, and only wise in his own Conceit.* Hereupon the King of *France's* Countenance seem'd changed towards him for some days, and did not visit him as he was wont, nor afford him his usual Supplies. Though this fit did not last very long, for he sent again for him; and when he came, he found the King sitting with a melancholy Countenance, not rising up to him as he used to do; but on a sudden, fetching a deep Sigh, he threw himself at the Archbishop's Feet, saying, *Thou only hast a discerning Spirit; and repeating those words with a Sigh, Verily Thou only hast a discerning Spirit, we were all blind who Counsell'd thee against God, and that for the favour of Man thou shouldest be silent in a matter so nearly concerning God's Honour: I repent, I repent; Father, pardon me, I beseech you, and absolve me from this fault; and from this hour I offer you my Self and Kingdom.* Then the Archbishop rais'd up the King and Absolved him.

[2.] *Id. ib.*
The Great
Men both of
England and
France rise up
against him,
condemning
his Arrogance.

The King of
France altered
towards him
for a while,
but it was all
Trick and
Hypocrisy.

The Monkish Writers of this Man's Life make this sudden Change of the *French* King's Mind a wonderful Miracle; but though the true Cause thereof be not expressly mention'd by them, yet we may guess by Circumstances at the Reason of it; for it seems very likely that the Archbishop had given King *Lewis* private notice, how but a few days before, King *Henry* had broken all the Articles of the Agreement which he had made with the *Poictovins* and *Bretaigns* in the Treaty of *Mount-Mirail* by his Mediation; whereupon [3.] *Gervase* tells us, that at the publick Receipt of this News, he again highly magnified Archbishop *Becket's* foresight of what he had told him concerning the King of *England*; who now hearing what had happen'd, sent to him to let him know, "That he much wonder'd he should keep the Archbishop in his Country, who had so contumaciously refused the Peace and Reconciliation lately offer'd unto him: but the King of *France* bad his Envoys tell their Master, That seeing he stood so much upon those Customs, (which he called Antient) he would not abate any thing of that Old Liberty the Kings of *France* had always taken; which was, To relieve all oppress'd and exil'd persons, especially Ecclesiasticks.

The Design
discover'd.

[3.] Col. 1407.

Thus

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[4] R. H. p.
295. a.

K. Henry again
and again Ap-
peals from the
A. Bp. to the
Pope.

And sent two
Arch-deacons
to Rome, desir-
ing that Le-
gates might
come hither
to Absolve his
Excommunicated
Servants
and to settle
Peace.

The Pope
complies with
the King, and
stops the A.
Bp's *Excommu-
nication*.

'Tis agreed at
Rome, that two
Legates should
be sent to the
King.

They fear a
fallacy in the
King's Promi-
ses, and there-
fore would
not be oblig'd
to stand to
theirs.

The Arch-
deacon of *Pa-
via* narrowly
escapes hard
Usage from
the King.

Gratian in
haste returns
to Rome, and
leaves *Vivian*
behind him.

[5.] *Id ib.*
K. Henry, to ap-
pease the K. of
France, pre-
tends to be
reconciled to
the A. Bp.

Therefore
goes in Per-
son to *France*
under pre-
tence of a Pil-
grimage, and
there a Peace
is mediated
for the A. Bp.

Thus we see this cunning Prince either frown'd, or smil'd upon the Archbishop, as he found it most conducing to his own present Interest, and the perplexing of King *Henry's* Affairs, and then pretended a divine Impulse for it.

[4.] About this time the King finding that most of those about him stood *Excommunicated* by the Archbishop, with the Pope's leave, and at the Intreaty of some of the Bishops, as well as of the Chief Men of the Kingdom, who were afraid of being involved in the like Sentence, He appealed again and again from the Archbishop to the Pope; and not able to endure the Condemnation of those about him, sent two Arch-Deacons to *Rome* to complain of the Injury done him, and to desire that Legates might come forthwith to Absolve his *Excommunicated* Servants, and to settle Peace, lest he should be otherwise compell'd to provide for his own Honour and Security by some other way.

This Request of the King, the Pope presently complied with, and prohibited the Archbishop from issuing out any Sentence of *Excommunication* against Him or his Servants, whom he also promised to Absolve by his Legates, as appears by his Letter to the King in the same Author. And although the Archbishop sent his Messengers to oppose and obviate the King's designs, yet at last it was agreed at *Rome*, that *Gratian*, the late Pope *Eugenius* his Nephew, and *Vivian*, an Advocate of the *Roman* Court, Persons of great Wisdom and Eloquence, should be sent to the King to perswade him to be reconciled to the Archbishop; and they soon after coming into *Normandy*, and discoursing with him about it, he readily consented that the Archbishop might return into *England*, and enjoy his Archbishoprick in peace, *saving to the King the Honour of his Kingdom*. Hereupon they being overjoyed with these Concessions, resolved, that *Vivian* should go over into *England*, and there Absolve the *Excommunicated* Bishops, whilst *Gratian* should stay behind to perfect this Reconciliation. But the next day, when the King was gone away, they fear'd there was some fallacy hidden under his fair promises, and therefore they would not stand to theirs, but sent after him, *Peter* Arch-Deacon of *Pavia*, to sound him further. This so provoked the King, that the Arch-Deacon narrowly escaped very hard Usage; therefore *Gratian*, who was a brisker Man, and more severe to the King than his Colleague *Vivian*, ceased not most confidently to importune, nay even to reprove Him about the Archbishop, and, despising all the Presents he offer'd him, return'd in great haste to *Rome*, leaving *Vivian* behind him.

[5.] But the King grew very Jealous of this sudden Departure of the Legate, and perceiving the King of *France* highly provoked by the late Breach of the Articles of Peace, he began to consider by what means he might appease him; therefore thought best to seem, as if he desired to be thoroughly reconciled to the Archbishop, lest he should be compelled to it against his Will; whereupon he seemed very sorry that he had not sooner granted the Archbishop what he had so long required: So that without desiring any further Interview with King *Lewis*, he so far condescended, as to go into *France* in Person, under a pretence of a Pilgrimage to the Shrine of St. *Denis*; and being there honourably received, the Two Kings met again at *Mount-Martre* near *Paris*, and discoursed concerning the restoring of the Archbishop; who though he did not appear in Person, yet was not far off.

[1.] But

[1.] But when it had been long debated concerning the best means of making a Reconciliation between them; and that it seem'd hard to find out an Expedient how to do it, without injuring the Rights of the Church on the one hand, or those of the King on the other: At last it was agreed by the Advice of the King of *France*, as also of his Bishops and Nobility, That the Archbishop should reduce his Demands into writing, and deliver them to King *Henry*; which was done accordingly, being to this effect.

Anno Dom.
MCLXIX.

[1.] R. D. Col.
550. A. 1119.

The King orders the Archbishop to put his Demands into writing.

1. He desired, that the King, for the good of his Soul, would receive him again into his Favour according to the Pope's Command.

2. That he would grant him, and all those who were banish'd the Kingdom on his account, Peace and Security for themselves and their Estates, without any evil (or sinister) meaning.

3. That he should restore to him the Church of *Canterbury*, and all the Possessions thereto belonging, in the same State of Freedom and Liberty as he had ever enjoy'd them, since he was promoted to the Archbishoprick.

4. Lastly, That the King should permit him to dispose of all Benefices and Prebends thereunto belonging, and that had become vacant, since his leaving the Kingdom, as he should think fit.

[2.] The King would not give his Assent to two of these Articles, for he did not think it agreeable to his Royal Dignity to allow the Archbishop any thing by way of Restitution, since He had not driven him out of the Kingdom; neither would He make void the Grants he had made of the vacant Benefices; but that he might shew himself a Prince * obliged to Laws, he there publickly declared before the King of *France*, That he was ready to satisfy the Archbishop in all things, and would stand to the Judgment either of the Great Men of *France* in the Court at *Paris*, or else of the *Gallican* Church, if she would interpose her Self; if not, to such learned Men of divers Provinces, who would impartially examine this Affair: So the King who before had rais'd the Hatred of most Men against him, regain'd their Favour, by this so reasonable and fair an Offer.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

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[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[2.] Id. 16.

[3.] Yet, in the conclusion, the King offer'd, that the Archbishop should return, and enjoy his Archbishoprick with the same Rights and Liberties that any of his Predecessors had enjoy'd it; and besides, promised to give him a Thousand Marks towards the Expences of his Journey home; but he demanded Thirty Thousand for his Losses, saying, That unless the King fully restored what he had taken away, his Sins could not be remitted. Upon this the King of *France* and the Great Men of both Kingdoms perswaded him to quit some part of his Demands, which he at last agreed to; then the Archbishop (by the Pope's Command, as he said) required of the King sufficient Security for the true Observation of the Peace.

[3.] c. c. 11.

The K. promised to give him 1000 Marks towards his Expences.

But the Archbishop demands 30000 Marks.

All things at length are agreed.

[4.] Id. 16.

Osculum Pacis; a Ceremony then used.

But K. Henry denied to give him the Kiss of Peace.

yet

[4.] Then all there present said, That Caution or Security was not to be exacted from a King, and that his Word, with the Kiss of Peace, was sufficient. This being intimated by the King of *France* to King *Henry*, he said he would never willingly grant that, because in a passion he had once publickly sworn, he would never Kiss the Archbishop, although he should be reconciled to him, and receive him into favour;

yet

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MCLXIX.

Fitz-Stephen
gives a different
account
of this meeting.

[5.] In vita
Archiepiscopi
MSS.

The K. offer'd
to refer all
Differences
between him
and the A. Bp.
to the Judgment
of the
Clergy of
France, or to
that of the
University of
Paris.

[1.] Id. ib.
But the A. Bp.
would not accept
the terms
without the
Kiss.

[2.] C. G. Col.
1408, 1409.
The King of
France and A.
Bp. of Sens excite
the Pope
against King
Henry, and the
latter goes in
Person to Rome
to solicit to
have England
under an Interdict.

[3.] of the
Sacraments &
Divine Service.
Upon which
K. Henry sends
a severe Edict
into England
against bringing
any Letters of Interdict
from either the Pope
or A. Bp. and
that all persons
should swear to observe
every Article.

[3.] Id. Col.
1409.
Fitz-Stephen
gives a different
account of this meeting.

yet however he would not retain the least Rancor or Malice against him.

This wilful humour of the Kings proved a great prejudice to his Affairs, as you will find anon. But [5.] Fitz-Stephen gives us somewhat a different Account of this Meeting, as that the Archbishop being now again interrogated about the Articles proposed at the last Meeting, still kept to his former Answer, without any alteration; whereupon King Henry, to satisfy the Audience, offer'd to refer all Differences between them to the Judgment of the Clergy of France, or else to that of the University of Paris, but said not a word of making that Restitution which the Archbishop had hitherto insisted on; so when the King had made this Offer, he left the Assembly, and went to Paris to visit the Queen and the Young Prince Philip; and upon this denial the Treaty breaking off abruptly, the Archbishop went away with higher Resentments than ever against the King.

From whence we may observe the great Obstinacy of this Prelate, who would not refer his Cause to so impartial Judges, nor would be contented with less than all his Demands.

And by this [1.] Author it appears farther, that the King of France and other Mediators suspecting some hidden Reserve under the King's fair Words, only reported them to the Archbishop, without persuading him one way or other; but He would not accept of any Terms, unless they were confirmed by the Kiss; whereupon all Parties went their ways without concluding any Peace, and that only for want of this Ceremony: [2.] Then the King of France sent his Letters and Messengers (together with those of the Archbishop) to the Pope, beseeching him that he would no longer delay the Sentence against King Henry; nay, the Bishop of Sens went in Person to prevail with the Pope to issue out his * Interdict upon England, unless Peace was speedily restor'd to the Church; But King Henry having notice of it, sent into England a severe Edict, or Precept, against bringing any Letters, or Mandates from the Pope or Archbishop, making all Persons swear to the Observation of every Article therein contained; which since they are long, I shall here abridge.

The [3.] First Injunction was, That if any person whatsoever, after the Feast of St. Denis, was found bringing over, or publishing the Pope's, or the Archbishop of Canterbury's Letters, or any Command on their behalf, containing an Interdict, he should be seized, and Justice done upon him, as a Traitor to the King and Kingdom.

2. If any Bishops or Abbots, or any Clerk or Layman, should observe the Sentence of this Interdict, they and all their Kindred should be immediately banished the Land, and all their Chattels and Estates confiscated to the King's use; and that all Clerks, who had Estates either within England or without, should be Summon'd through all Counties, That if they return'd not by the Feast of St. Hilary, all their Revenues should be seized into the King's hand.

3. No Appeal was to be made to the Pope, nor the Archbishop of Canterbury, nor any Plea to be held by their Command; and if any one after the Feast of St. Denis should be found guilty of this Offence,

he

he should be secur'd, and all his Chattels and Possessions taken into the King's hand, of what Order or Condition soever he were.

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MCLXIX.

4. If any Clerk, Chanon or Monk of any Order whatsoever, came from beyond Sea, he should be searched; and though nothing were found upon him, unless he have the King's Pass, he should not go any farther, but return as soon as possible; and if any such forbidden thing as aforesaid were found about him, he should be taken and imprison'd.

5. The Fifth absolutely Prohibits all Clergymen from coming over into *England* without the King's Pass.

6. If any *Welsh* Clerk Landed in *England* without the King's Pass, he was to be seiz'd and put in Prison, and all *Welshmen* in *English* Schools (or Universities) were to be banish'd.

Further, the Sheriffs of *England* were to Summon all Knights and Free-Holders, and all those of Fifteen years old, in their several Counties, to appear at the County-Court, to be there Sworn to the said Articles; as also throughout all Cities and Burroughs, that they should keep all these Injunctions on pain of Life and Members; and that sending their Officers over all the Villages of *England*, they should make all those Swear, who did not come to the County-Court, to observe these Articles, as well as others; Whereupon all Persons throughout *England*, from the very Boy to the Old Man, were forced to renounce their Obedience to Pope *Alexander* and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, (as our Author calls the King's Assertion of his Right, in order to his own Preservation.) But the Bishops being assembled, and asked to confirm this Oath of the People by their own Authority, utterly refused it, being restrain'd through meer Shame, as *R. Hoveden* will have it.

I shall conclude this Year with an Account of the further success of the *English* Arms in *Ireland*; I told you under the last, that *Richard* Earl of *Striguil*, looking upon himself as sufficiently authorized by the King's verbal License, or Commission, resolved to go over into *Ireland* the next Summer; in order to which [4.] about the beginning of *May*, he sent over a young Gentleman of his Retinue called *Raymond*, Nephew to *Maurice* and *Fitz-Stephen* by their Elder Brother, who with Ten Knights, or Men at Arms, and 70 Archers, Landed in *Ireland* under a Rock called *Dundolf*, four Miles from *Waterford*, where they built a small Castle of Wood and Turf.

This news the Citizens of *Waterford* no sooner understood, but gathering together a Body of Three Thousand Men, they passed the the River *Swere*, and marched towards the Fort, with a design to assault it; at whose coming *Raymond* was so far from being daunted, that he and his Men sallied out upon them; but being oppressed with their Numbers, they were forced back to the Castle, and their Enemies pursuing, enter'd with them: *Raymond* seeing in what danger he was in, by a lucky presence of mind boldly faced about upon them, and with his Sword cut them down one by one as they entered, and then with a great Outcry calling back his Men to his Defence, he struck such a Damp and Terror into his Enemies, that they gave way, and fled in so great confusion and disorder, that *Raymond* and his Men in the pursuit killed above Five Hundred of them.

[4.] c. 6. l. 1.
13. *Anal. Hib.*
Raymond sent
by *R. Richard*
with Forces
into *Ireland*.

He obtains a
great Victory
over the *Irish*.

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MCLXIX.

Several of the
Citizens of
Waterford taken Prisoners,

And are barbarously destroyed.

[5.] *Id. ib.*
Annal. Hib.

Earl Richard
lands near
Waterford.

Obtains a
Bloody Victory, and
takes Mac
Laghlin, Pr.
of Ophaly Prisoner.

Dermot, according to the
Contract, gives
Eva his D. in
Marriage to
E. Richard.

[1.] *Ibid.*
Dublin assaulted
and taken.

[2.] *C. G. ib.*
Roderic, much
concerned at
this, sends
Dermot word,
that if he
would not
hinder his Foreigners from
making these
Excursions,
he would cut
off his Son's
Head, and
send it him.

And being exasperated at
Dermot's Answer, he did
put his Son to
Death.

K. Henry recalls
his English Subjects out of
Ireland.

By this Victory they had taken Seventy of the Chief Citizens of Waterford Prisoners, for whom they might have had very considerable Ransoms, or perhaps have obtain'd the City it self. But, contrary to the opinion of *Raymond*, by the advice of *Harvey* of Mount Maurice, (who had brought in with him a few Men at his first Landing) they rather chose to satisfy his cruel humour, and so cast them headlong into the Sea, which was certainly a horrid piece of Barbarity: but our Author excuses it by telling us, that *Harvey* did this to strike a Terror into the *Irish*; so that though they were many more in number, yet should not dare for the future to oppose them: and he gives us two long Speeches, which he supposes *Raymond* and *Harvey* to have made on this occasion.

But I wish he had rather told us, what these *Englishmen* did for two or three Months following, [5.] till about the end of *August*, when Earl *Richard* (commonly called *Strongbow*) Landed near *Waterford* with 200 Horsemen or Men at Arms, and about 1000 Others; and within Two days after assaulted the Town; but though they were twice repuls'd by the Citizens, yet upon the Third Attack they enter'd and killed very many in the Streets, and obtained a Bloody Victory: they took *Mac Laghlin* Prince of *Ophaly*, and one *Reginald*, Prisoners; but by the Mediation of King *Dermot* they had their Lives saved: with him came *Maurice Fitz Gerard*, *Robert Fitz Stephen* and *Raymond*, who joined their Forces with Earl *Richard*, to whom *Dermot* then gave his Daughter *Eva* in Marriage, according to the contract formerly made between them.

This [1.] Solemnity being over, they all marched together in a Body to besiege *Dublin*, and had not long sat down before it, but *Raymond* and *Miles Cogan*, with a select Company of Valiant young Men assaulted, and soon made themselves Masters of it, and kill'd many Citizens therein: But the Governor, *Hasculf* (a *Norwegian*) with the better part of the Garrison and Inhabitants (taking with them all their Money) got out of the other side of the City, and recovered their Ships then lying in the Road, and so sailed to the *Northern Isles*. *Roger Hoveden* puts this Expedition of Earl *Richard Strongbow*, under the former Year, but I rather follow the *Irish Annals* which place it under this.

[2.] *Roderic* King of *Connaught* was much concern'd at these proceedings of *Dermot*, and sent to him to let him know that he had broken the Peace between them, by calling so great a number of Strangers into the Island, and that he neither was mindful of his Oath, nor of the Life of his own Son, (then a Hostage with *Roderic*) and gave him also notice, that if for the future he did not restrain these excursions of his Foreigners, he would cut off his Son's Head, and send it him; but to this *Dermot* answered, that he would never desist from War until he had subdued *Connaught*, and made himself Chief King of all *Ireland*: *Roderic* provok'd with this reply, immediately took *Dermot's* Son, and made him shorter by the Head.

But the late success of Earl *Strongbow's* Arms now met with a great Check; for King *Henry* hearing of it, and being afraid he should grow too great for him, did put forth an Edict, by which he prohibited all his Subjects from carrying any thing by Sea into that Nation, and also at the same time recalled all the *English*, appointing

pointing them to return by *Easter* upon pain of being disinherited, and living in perpetual Exile. Upon this the Earl sent *Raymond* to the King then in *Aquitain* with a Letter, in which he put him in mind, that he had his License to go and assist his Vassal *Dermot*, telling him farther, That as whatsoever he had acquired proceeded from his Munificence, so it was all at his Command, and that he would return Home whensoever he pleased. Wherefore little was attempted further all that Winter, till the next Year, when you will find more of them.

But before we end this, I must take notice, [3.] that *Owen Gwyneth* Prince of *North-Wales*, after he had Governed that Country worthily, for many years with great Valour and good Success, now deceased, leaving divers Children behind him by several Women whom he kept, besides his Wife. But his Eldest Son *Jordwerth Drwydden* being counted unfit to govern, because of a great Scar he had on his Face, *Howel* a Base Brother of his took upon him the Government; but *David*, another Brother lawfully begotten, thinking himself more fit for it, gathered what Forces he could, and coming against *Howel*, slew him in Battle, and so held the Principality till *Llewellyn* his Brother *Jordwerth's* Son came of Age, who deposed his Uncle, as you will hear in due time. But we shall here conclude this Year, and return to King *Henry* whom we left in *France*.

At [4.] *Christmas* following, the King kept his Court at *Nantes*, together with his Son *Geoffrey* Earl of *Bordeaux*, and after the Festival-Solemnity He and his Son went about to all the Castles of that Province, taking the Oaths of Fealty and Allegiance from the Barls, Barons and Freemen of whom they had not received them before, and afterwards returned into *Normandy*; where having put all things in good Order as well as in his other Dominions, about the Beginning of *March* he took Shipping with design to sail for *England*; but there arose so Violent a Storm, that many of his best Vessels were lost, and he himself narrowly escap'd: In one of these perish'd his chief Physician and several Persons of Quality, with other of his Domestick Servants, to the number of about Four hundred Men and Women.

[5.] Not long after the King's arrival, he held his Court at *Windsor* on the *Easter* following, where were present *William* King of *Scots*, and *David* his Brother, with almost all the Bishops and Great Men of *England*: when the King also appointed certain Earls, Abbots, Knights, and Clerks to go as Commissioners through the whole Kingdom, giving them Instructions in writing what they were to do; our Author has given us the names of some of them for one of these Circuits, which are needless to be mentioned, and therefore I shall only recite you their Instructions; and they were to this Effect.

[1.] These Itinerant Barons were to exact Security or Pledges of all Sheriffs, who were made so since the King went last into *Normandy* (being about the space of four years,) and of all who during that time were their Bayliffs, or Ministers, whatsoever Bayliwick or Charge they had under them, and of all those who had the *Hundreds* of Barons in any Counties, whither they had them in Farm or not, that they should appear before the King at a day by them appointed, to do such Right to him, and his Subjects, as they ought; and if the Sheriffs could not come before them in person, they were to send

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Z z z

such

Anno Dom.
MCLXIX.Raymond
pleads for
their Continuance there.[3.] Dr. P.
Chron.Owen Gwyneth,
Prince of
North-Wales,
his Death.His Eldest
Son put by
the Govern-
ment for a
defect in his
Face, and a
Base Brother,
takes it upon
him.But he is slain
in Battle by
Prince David,
another Bro-
ther.Anno Dom.
MCLXX.[4.] R. D. Cal.
550. B. A.K. Henry keeps
his Court at
Nantes, taking
the Oaths of
Fealty and
Allegiance of
all those that
had not as yet
swore to him.Then returns
to Normandy.
And some-
time after sails
for England;
but met with
so violent a
Storm, that
he lost seve-
ral of his best
Ships, and a-
bout 400
Souls.[5.] C. G. Cal.
411.At Easter he
keeps his
Court at Wind-
sor.He appoints
several Com-
missioners to
go through
the Kingdom
with Instru-
ctions what
to do.

[1.] Id. ib.

The Sum of
those Instru-
ctions.

Anno Dom.
MCLXX.

[1.] *Ed. Col.*
1412.

14. June, the
K. held a great
Council at
London, of all
the great Men
of the King-
dom, who ap-
peared with
their *Fide-jus-*
sors or Sure-
ties.

And that day
he knighted his
Son *Henry*, and
commands
him then to
be anointed
and crowned
King.

[3.] *R. H. 396.*
A. Bp. of *York*
order'd to per-
form the Ce-
remonies.

New K. by his
Father's com-
mand receives
the Fealties of
the K. of *Scots*,
and all the
Earls and Ba-
rons.

This Corona-
tion proved
afterwards ve-
ry unfortu-
nate to his
Father, and all
the Bps. that
had any hand
in it.

The Reason
which indu-
ced the K. to
let his Son in-
to so great a
share of Pow-
er with him.

No Law then
established in
England, of
Entailing the
Crown on the
next Heir by
Blood, with-
out consent
of the Com-
mon-Council
of the King-
dom.

[2.] *Wid. Mox-*
ley's Hist. of
France, Vol. II.
in the Lives of
these Kings.

such in their steads, as should be answerable for them, who were to give Security and Pledges, as well for themselves, as the Sheriffs that they would do before the King what the Sheriffs ought to do at the day appointed. Also these Commissioners were to make Inquiries upon divers other Articles, which being very long, and now obsolete, I shall only tell you in General, they were for the Discovery of the Frauds, Extortions and Misdoings of Sheriffs, their Bayliffs, and others, the King's Officers, since his last going over into *Normandy*: But because these Articles contain divers things, which may give us a great Light into the Ministerial Part of the Law in those times, I have added them at large among the Laws at the end of this King's Reign for the satisfaction of those that are curious Inquirers into the ancient Laws and Customs of this Kingdom.

[2.] The above-mention'd Inquisition, (which if duly executed, would have punished the Disorders and Injustice of all sorts of Officers) being finished, all Parties concern'd in it were commanded to appear before the King at *London* on the 14th of *June*; upon which day he also held a Great Council of all the Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Sheriffs, Bayliffs and Aldermen of *England*; who appeared with their *Fide-jussors* or Sureties in great fear, for they knew not what the King design'd by it: And on that very day he Knighted his Son *Henry*, (who was newly come out of *Normandy*, not above a week before,) and the King then commanded him to be anointed and Crowned King at *Westminster* on the day last mentioned; the Clergy, and Laity there present assenting to it; yet all Persons were astonish'd and wonder'd at it, as having never seen, nor heard of the like before in *England*.

However [3.] the Archbishop of *York* was order'd to perform the Coronation Ceremonies, the Bishops of *London* and *Darham* assisting him, divers other Bishops being also present; which being ended, the day following the new King by Command of his Father received the Fealties of *William* King of *Scots*, and *David* his Brother, and of all the other Earls and Barons of the Kingdom; and thus being rid of their fear, they all departed to their own homes.

This Coronation of Young King *Henry* proved very troublesome and unfortunate not only to the King his Father, but to all the Bishops who had any hand in it, as you will find in due time; but lest it should seem strange and unaccountable to the Reader, why so Wise a Prince, and so jealous of his power as King *Henry* was, should now resolve to let his Son, an active young Prince, and of a High Spirit, participate any of it; to take off this Wonder we may observe, that the King considered, how notwithstanding the Oath of Fealty that had been made to his Mother the Empress by all the Clergy Nobility and People of *England*, they had yet set her aside, and chosen *Stephen* for their King; and though the very same Orders of Men had also lately taken the like Oath to *Henry* his Son, yet they might after his decease have set him aside if they had so pleased, as they had done his Grandmother, there being then no Law established in *England*, whereby the Crown was entail'd upon the next Heir by Blood, without the advice and consent of the Common Council of the Kingdom. There might be also this further motive for the King to act thus; He had heard, or observed, [4.] that both

Robert

Robert and Lewis the Grosse, late Kings of *France*, had done the same thing, and caused their Sons to be crowned during their own lives, without feeling any ill effects from it.

But it is Observable, that this new King *Henry* was so far from being sensible and grateful to his Father for this great Kindness and Trust he repos'd in him, that (as *Polydore* relates) at his Coronation-Feast, when the King himself, in Honour to his Son, would needs carry up the first Dish, the Archbishop of *Tork*, who at the same time stood by the young King, taking notice of it, and gravely telling him how much he was obliged to his Father for that Favour; he scornfully reply'd, *That it was no such great Condescension in his Father who was only the Son of an Earl, to perform that Service to him, who was the Son of a King.*

Nor can I here omit mentioning what Abbot *Benedict* further relates, (though after a more concise manner,) that in this Council above mention'd, the King turned out of their Offices most of the Sheriffs of *England* and their Bayliffs for abusing his Subjects, and obliged them in Sureties to † make satisfaction to Himself, and them; and to that end made all the Men of his Kingdom, as well Earls, Knights, Barons, Franc-Tenants, as the * *Countrymen* in every Shire, to swear upon the Holy Gospels, how much the Sheriffs and their Bayliffs had taken of them, and what by Judgment of the County or Hundred, and what without it, and for what forfeitures: yet this Inquisition (which without doubt was taken in several Counties) as also its return, seems in this Author to have been taken at *London* at one and the same time; whereas indeed the Inquisition had been before made in the several Counties, upon the return whereof at this Council those Officers abovementioned either were, or at least ought to have been punished.

[5.] The Coronation being over, on *Midsummer-day* King *Henry* the Father went to *Portsmouth*, from whence he sail'd into *Normandy* because King *Lewis* of *France* was so very much displeased, that his Daughter *Margaret* was not Crowned with the young King her Husband, but left behind him in *Normandy*, that he thereupon threatened War there: The King at his departure granted his Son Power in his absence to do all Men Right and Justice, by a new Seal which he commanded to be made for him; then on the Twenty Second of *July* (presently after King *Henry's* arrival in *France*) the Two Kings met at *Vandeure* in *Main*, where upon a Conference, they again adjusted all Differences between them.

[1.] King *Henry* being return'd from this Enterview into *Normandy* about the Feast of *St. Laurence* (i.e. the Tenth of *August*) fell into so violent a sickness, that it was commonly reported in *France* that he was dead; during this Extremity, he divided his Kingdom and Lands among his Sons; to *Henry* the Eldest, he left the Kingdom of *England*, with the Dukedom of *Normandy*, and Earldoms of *Anjou* and *Main*; and recommended his Youngest Son *John* to be provided for, and maintained by him; but [2.] *Roger Hoveden* with more probability says, he bequeath'd unto *John* (before nick-nam'd *Sans Terre*) the Earldom of *Mortaign* in *Normandy*; and to his Son *Richard*, the Dukedom of *Aquitain* with it's Appurtenances, to be holden of the King of *France*; and to his Son *Geoffry*, the Earldom

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The Young King's great Ingratitude towards his Father.

K. Henry in this Council turns out most of the Sheriffs of England, and their Bayliffs, for abusing his Subjects.

† Ad refectionem.

* Villani.

And obliges them to make satisfaction.

Every Man in the Kingdom to swear how much had been taken from them, and by what means.

[5.] *Id. ibid.*

K. Henry the Father goes into *Normandy*, for the K. of *France* threatened him with a War.

The New K. made Vice-Roy, and a new Seal order'd to be made for him.

K. Henry and the K. of *France* meet at *Vandeure*, and there adjusted all differences between them.

[1.] *Id. ibid.*

K. Henry at his return falls desperately ill.

And then divides his Kingdom & Lands among his Sons by Will.

[2.] *P. 296.*

of

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The K. recovers, and the Will signifies nothing.

[3.] 149. 298.

New Discord between K. Henry and the K. of France, about the A. Bishoprick of Bourges.

The former enters Berry with an Army. But at last the Quarrel ends in a Truce.

[4.] C. G. Col. 1411, 1412.

The Pope sends the A. Bp. of Rouen and Bp. of Nevers to the K. to be reconciled to Bachel, and make him full Restitution, upon pain of an Interdict against England.

Vid. Quadrilogus.

[5.] 14. 15.

They acquiesce the K. by Letters with the Pope's Commands.

He stays them beyond Sea, and promises to come over to them and make Peace.

[1.] 14. 16. B. A.

A new Occasion of Quarrel between the King, the Pope, and the A. Bp. about Crowning the King's Son.

The Pope prohibits the A. Bishop of York, and all the Bps of England to do it, without the Consent of the A. Bp. whose Right it is to consecrate Ks.

of *Bretaign* with the Daughter and Heir of Earl *Conan*, to be holden by the like Tenure; but the King soon recovering from this short, (though violent) Indisposition, this Testament signified nothing; for so soon as He was well again, he went on Pilgrimage to the Shrine of St. *Amator*, there to pay his acknowledgments to that Saint for his Recovery, from whence he came back again into *Anjou*.

[3.] Some time after this there happen'd a new occasion of Discord between him and the King of *France*, concerning the Archbishoprick of *Bourges*, which King *Henry* claimed as belonging to the Duchy of *Aquitain*, and which King *Lewis* denied: whereupon the former entered *Berry* with an Army; but the King of *France* coming likewise with another into the same Country, prevented his design, and at last the quarrel ended in a Truce until the Feast of St. *Hilary* following.

[4.] But it is now time to look back to the old difference between the King and the Archbishop, which still remain'd undetermined; for immediately upon the King's last arrival in *England*, lest the Church should receive any further prejudice by the Archbishop's absence, the Pope renewed his Mandate to the Archbishop of *Rouen* and Bishop of *Nevers*, commanding them again to admonish the King to be reconciled to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; the Sum of which Mandate was, that if the King would not make full Restitution to the Archbishop of his possessions, and also give him the kiss, or if he used any Trick or Shuffling in the matter, then they were by St. *Peter's* and his own Authority, to pronounce the Sentence of *Interdict* against *England*, without any Appeal, and to prohibit the Celebration of all Divine Offices, except the Baptism of Infants, and Penance to dying People; and if the Archbishops and Bishops did not observe this Edict, and cause those under their care to observe it, they were to suspend them, and upon obstinacy to excommunicate them: this Bull bears date the 10th of *May*.

About the middle of *June* the Legates being ready for their Journey, sent the King Letters, wherein they acquainted him with the Commands they had received from the Pope; but he wrote back desiring them not to expose themselves to the danger of the Seas, promising that he would suddenly be with them, and consent to a Peace with the Archbishop by their Advice; upon which they remained in *Normandy* expecting the King's coming over.

[5.] In the mean time there happen'd a new occasion of Dispute between the King, the Pope and the Archbishop, upon the account of the late Coronation of the King's Son: which though his Father had kept very private, yet it seems the Pope had some way or other got Intelligence of; (for there wanted not then as well as now those that betrayed the Secrets of their Princes;) therefore in *April* the Pope wrote to the Archbishop of *York* and all the Bishops of *England*, That if any such Coronation was offer'd, they should not perform that Ceremony without the Consent and Privy of the Archbishop whose Right it was to consecrate Kings: but notwithstanding this Admonition, the Young King was Crowned by the Archbishop of *York*, (as you have already heard) without the License of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who immediately after complained to the

the Pope not only of him, but also of these Four Bishops; viz. *Hugh of Durham, Walter of Rochester, Gilbert of London, and Jocelin of Salisbury*, who had assisted at the Coronation: whereat the Pope being incensed, and looking upon what had been done as a Contempt of his Authority, *Excommunicated* the three last Bishops, and only suspended the Archbishop of *Tork*, and the Bishop of *Durham*, and wrote to these two last a long Epistle, wherein he accuseth the King for depressing and diminishing of the Churches Liberties; and that under pretence of preserving his Royal Prerogatives, he destroy'd them, contrary to the Canons; then he tells the Bishops how much he had been sollicit to confirm his Usurpations (meaning the statutes of *Clarendon*) and that he had sent some Cardinals and others to soften him, but that he still grew more obstinate, and would not abate in the least the Rigor of his perverse Laws; that he had seized the Rights of the Church of *Canterbury* contrary to her antient Dignity; that his Son *Henry* had been Crowned by the Archbishop of *Tork* without any Caution, or Reservation made by him, for preserving the Liberties of the Church, and that he had promised by his Oath that he would maintain all those Customs of the Kingdom which they call Antient, by all which the Liberties of the Church were much in danger; and concludes, that for these Considerations he now suspended the said Archbishop of *Tork* and Bishop of *Durham* from the Exercise of their Episcopal Function.

[1.] Now also *Lewis* the French King with the Archbishop of *Sens*, and the rest of the Archbishops, Bishops and Great Men of his Kingdom, concerned themselves so far on the behalf of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that they earnestly sollicit the Pope, not to permit the King of *England* to make any farther delays in receiving him, as he loved the Kingdom of *France*, and the Honour of the Apostolick See: and the Archbishop of *Sens* went to *Rome* on purpose about it; upon which the Pope resolved, that unless the King presently made peace with the Archbishop, his Kingdom should be anathematized, and put under an *Interdict*; when (says the Historian) at this Juncture of Time it pleased God so to change the King's Mind, that by the paternal Admonition of the Pope, and the Mediation of the King of *France*, with the advice of several Bishops and noble Persons, he at last was pleased to be reconciled to the Archbishop, and restore him to his Church.

Abbot Benedict relates it thus, that the peremptory day for the Sentence being at hand, so that it could no longer be deferred, the King of *England* was forced by these Canonical severities to embrace a Peace, and to that end came to *Amboise* near *Tours* on the Twelfth of *October*, with some of the Bishops and Great Men, where he met *William* Archbishop of *Sens*, and *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, and most of the Bishops and Noblemen of *France*, who brought with them Archbishop *Thomas*; and the next day, by the Mediation of King *Lewis* (who yet appear'd not there in Person) and by the Command and Admonition of Pope *Alexander*, the King receiv'd the Archbishop into his Grace and Favour, as well as all those that were with him in Exile; promising entirely to restore to him all the Rights and Possessions of the Church of *Canterbury*, as he held them the year before he left *England*.

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The A. Bishop complains to the Pope of the A. Bp of Tork, and those Bishops that assisted him at the Coronation.

Whereupon the Pope Excommunicates three of the Bps. and suspends Tork and Durham, and writes a long Letter to these two, to tell the reason why he suspended them.

He accuses the K. of depression and diminution of the Church's Liberties.

[1.] R. H. B. K. Lewis, his Archbishops, Bps, and Great Men of his Kingdom, sollicit the Pope in behalf of the A. Bp. of Canterbury.

The Pope resolves, if the K. doth not presently comply to receive him, to put the Kingdom under an Interdict.

The K. is reconciled to the A. Bp.

[2.] In

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[1.] R. H. p.
297. b.

[3.] *Quadril.*
l. 5.

The K. in writing signifies to his Son Henry here, that the A. Bp. had made Peace with him.

[4.] F. 3.

Thomas Becket complains against the A. Bp. of York for his crowning the Young K. out of his own Province.

The K. leaves it to him to take what Satisfaction he would of that A. Bp. and the Other Bps.

The great Civilities that upon this passed between them both.

It was a strange easiness in the K. thus to give up the A. Bp. and Bps. to the Pope's and Becket's Indignation, as well as great rigidity in them, so severely to prosecute those Bps.

[5.] *Id. ib.*

There had been late Examples of the A. Bishops of York's crowning our Kings.

[2.] In short, the King there agreed to all that the Archbishop would or could reasonably demand of him; most Authors agree about the matter of this Treaty, but differ about the Time and Place; *Hoveden* and *Abbot Benedict* both say it was on the fourth of the *Ides*, or 12th of *October* on a Hill between *Tours* and *Amboise*; but *Quadrilogus*, *Fitz Stephen* and *Gervase of Canterbury*, place it on *St. Mary Magdalen's* day, or the 22d of *July*, at *Freteville*, between *Chartin* and *Main*, in a Meadow called the *Meadow of Traitors*.

[3.] The King and Archbishop being thus outwardly reconciled, the former wrote into *England* to his Son *Henry* to let him know that the Archbishop had made his peace with him; and therefore Com-manded, to let him and all that accompanied him have and enjoy all things as they did Three Months before he went out of *England*, as appears by his Writ or Letter, which you will find in *Quadrilogus*, and *Gervase of Canterbury*.

[4.] After he had made this Peace with the King, the Archbishop in a set Speech told him, That amongst all the Evils he had sustained by his Indignation, as Banishment, and the Spoiling and Oppression of the Church of *Canterbury*, &c. there was one thing which he neither ought nor could leave unpunished, and that was the Archbishop of *York's* Crowning the young Son out of his own Province, and by the King's causing him to do it, had thereby robbed his Church of that Honour, which amongst all her Dignities she had peculiar and proper to her self ever since the time of *St. Austin*; then after some further discourse of this matter, the King left it to him to take what satisfaction he pleased of the Archbishop of *York* and the other Bishops for the Injuries done to the Church of *Canterbury* and himself.

The Archbishop seemed so sensible of the King's unexpected Con-cession of so great a Point, that He presently alighted from his Horse, and went to throw himself at his Majesty's Feet; but he also presently alighting, took him up and embraced him; and when he mounted again, held his Stirrup: yet notwithstanding all these mutual Civilities, [the Archbishop still kept his former Resentments, being (as he thought) slighted by the King in his not deferring his Son's Co-ronation till his return: but why could not that Omission have been passed by, as well as others for Peace sake?

And I cannot tell which to admire the most, the King's easiness in thus giving up the Archbishop of *York* and the rest of the Bishops to the Pope and his Favourite's Indignation without any conditions made on their behalf, (since they had served him faithfully, and acted according to his Command) or the Pope's and the Archbishop's im-prudent rigidity in their severe prosecuting of those Bishops when indeed it had been the wisest course to have composed all differences by accepting of their acknowledgments, and desires of pardon for their fault, if it were one; because there had been, as the King himself then urged, late Examples of the Archbishop of *York's* Crowning and anointing our Kings, as appears by *William* and *Henry the First*, who were both consecrated by the Archbishop of *York*, though there were Archbishops of *Canterbury* then living, as the Reader may observe in the Reigns of those Kings. And this was also con-fessed by Archbishop *Becket*, only he excused it in the First In-stance,

stance, by reason that *Lanfranc* had not then his Pall from the Pope; and in the Second, because of Archbishop *Anselm's* Exile beyond Sea, which (admit it were unjust) made the case the same.

[1.] After all this, the Peace had like to have broke off at last; for the King having sworn not to do it, refused now to give the Archbishop the Kifs of Peace, though the Pope had before absolved him from that rash Oath, and enjoin'd him to do it; yet the King put it off, saying, *In my own Territories I will kiss him (nay his very Hands and Feet) a Thousand times, let him only defer it now, that it may appear to be done out of my meer Grace and Good-will, and not by Constraint.* With which Answer, by the Advice of all there present, the Archbishop appeared satisfied, and so there was great Joy at this seeming Reconciliation; and the King and the Archbishop went apart, and discoursed some time in private together; and then taking his Leave, the Assembly broke up, and the Archbishop returned Thanks to all his Benefactors in *France*, and received the King's License to return home; But he still delaying his Journey, the Pope began to grow jealous, and hastened his Return into *England* by his Letters.

Then [2.] the Archbishop having taken his Leave of the King of *France*, went to do the like of King *Henry* at *Tours*; who, for all that he was now in his own Dominions, yet still defer'd giving him the Kifs of Peace, though he might very well have done it at *Mais*: But he put it off by the Advice of *Nigel de Salsaville*, a Clerk, and Keeper of his Seal, who having one of the Archbishop's Livings bestowed upon him, did not desire their Agreement. This Repulse was taken notice off by the Archbishop and all that were there present.

But though he had neither That, nor yet his Debts paid, nor the Archbishop of *Rouen* appointed to conduct him over, as the King promised; (for he only sent *John* Dean of *Salisbury* to wait upon him) yet being pressed by the Pope's Letters, he resolved to make what haste he could into *England*.

[3.] For the Pope had sent a Messenger expressly to exhort him to return to his Church; by whom he also received Letters, which gave him notice of the Suspension of the Archbishop of *Tork* and Bishop of *Durham*, and the Excommunication of the Bishops of *London*, *Rochester*, and *Salisbury*.

But I cannot here forbear to observe the Pope's strange partiality in only Suspending the Archbishop of *Tork*, and Bishop of *Durham*, though the former had himself Crowned the New King, and the Other assisted at the Ceremony, the very same fault, for which the rest of the Bishops were Excommunicated.

[4.] The Archbishop set sail from *Whisand* and Landed at *Sandwich* on the first of *December*; where so soon as he arrived, he pronounced the Sentence of Suspension and Excommunication against all the said Bishops, [5.] at which those Officers of the King that came to meet him were much troubled, and asked him, Why at his first coming into *England*, he would in Affront to the King offer to suspend and excommunicate those Bishops, and withal threatned him with the King's displeasure thereupon; but the Archbishop answered them, That the King ought not to be offended, because it was done with his permission: Then the Bishops being at *Dover*,

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[1] *Id. ibid.*
The Peace like to be broke off, for want of the King's kissing the A. Bishop, which he had sworn not to do.

The Pope hastens the A. Bishop's return into *England*.

[2] *Id. ibid.*

[3] *Id. ibid.*
And sends pressing Letters to him about it, &c.

The Pope's strange partiality.

[4] *Id. ibid.*

The A. Bishop Lands at *Sandwich*, and pronounces the Sentence of Suspension and Excommunication against the Bishops.

[5] C. G. Col. 1413.

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The Bps. desire Absolution of him.

He offers to do it, upon caution to stand to the Judgment of the Church.

The Bishops of London and Salisbury are willing to submit, but York would by no means hearken to them.

[1.] E. S.

They apply to the King, and complain that this was an ill Peace for them.

The A. Bp. of York exasperates the King against Becket.

[2.] C. G. Col. 1415.

The K. in a Passion upbraids the Cowardice of his Servants, that none would dare to vindicate him.

Cutlerii:
Non, Fitz-Stephen calls those Knights, Barons.

Four of his Knights resolve to murder the A. Bp.

[3.] Id. ib.

The young K. durst not see nor speak with the messengers the A. Bp. sent to him, but he is resolved to go to Court.

And first to London, and why.

sent to the Archbishop, so soon as he came to *Canterbury*, very earnestly desiring Absolution of him, but He still said, they were bound by a Superior Judge, and though it was not in his power to release a Sentence given by the Pope's Order, yet he would so far presume upon his Clemency as to Absolve them, if they would give caution to stand to the Judgment of the Church, (i.e. of the Pope) concerning those things for which they were excommunicated; but it seems the Messengers declined that, and uttering some high Words against the Archbishop's proceedings, returned to those who sent them, and gave them an account of all their Negotiation. Hereupon they consulted what was next to be done; and the Author of *Quadrilogus* says, That the Bishops of *London* and *Salisbury* were at first willing to submit to the Archbishop's Offer, but the Prelate of *York*, would by no means consent, but perswaded them to the contrary, saying, That he had still 2000 Marks by him, which he would spend to the last Farthing, but he would humble this Haughty Primate.

[1.] Immediately upon this publication the suspended and excommunicate Bishops went over to the King into *Normandy*, and throwing themselves at his Feet, told him, He had made a very ill Peace for them, since they and all those who had assisted at the Coronation of his Son were Excommunicated by the Pope; and the Archbishop of *York* told the King, That so long as *Thomas Becket* was alive he would never enjoy happy Days, nor a peaceable Kingdom. At which words the King fell into such an Indignation, that he presently shew'd it by his Countenance and Gesture.

But [2.] *Gervase* of *Canterbury* is more particular in this Relation, and tells us, the King was now so highly provok'd, that in a great passion He cried out aloud, He was a miserable Man, that had fed so many traitors and cowardly Fellows, none of whom durst vindicate him from the Injuries he suffer'd at the hands of one Priest. At which words Four of the King's Domestick Knights or * Bed-Chamber-men (as the *Quadrilogus* calls them) who were of great Reputation both for the Nobility of their Birth and Military Exploits; namely, *Reginald Fitz-Orse*, *William de Tracy*, *Richard de Brito*, and *Hugh de Morville*, bound themselves by a Solemn Oath to revenge the King's Quarrel; and to that intent they presently stole away from Court, having already sworn the Archbishop's destruction.

[3.] He being newly arriv'd in *England*, was joyfully received by the Clergy and People of *Canterbury*, from whence he presently sent a Messenger to the Young King to give him an account of his late Proceedings against the Bishops, and how it was done by the Pope's positive Command, and the King his Father's Permission; but the Young Prince being awed by those Counsellors his Father had set over him, durst not see, nor speak with this Messenger; but yet for all that the Archbishop resolved to go to Court, and take *London* in his way.

However, this could not be the cause of his going thither, since the Young King was then at *Winchester* (as *Fitz-Stephen* says) or else at *Woodstock* (as *Matt. Paris* has it) but let him have been at either of those places, it is plain, the City could not lye in his way to Court; and therefore I suppose his Journey to *London* was purely out of vain Glory

Glory to shew himself, and make the People flock out to meet him, as they did in great Numbers, for which Misdemeanor many of the chiefeſt Citizens were ſummon'd afterwards to appear, and give Security to answer it. But to return to the matter; the Young King hearing of his Intended Journey to Court, ſent Two Knights to meet him, to forbid both his coming thither, or going about to Cities; and ordered his ſpeedy Return to *Canterbury*, and to reſide there; which Command he preſently obey'd, and remain'd there with his Family till the day of his Death, which was not long after.

For on [4] *Chriſtmas*-Day following he preached a pathetic Sermon to the People of that City, wherein after he had ſet forth the great Apprehenſions he had of a ſpeedy Suffering, or Martyrdom (as he called it) he then Excommunicated *Ranulph* and *Robert de Broc* (both Brothers) becauſe they, the day before, meeting ſome of his Servants in the High-way bringing Proviſions for his Houſe, did not only beat them, but cut off one of their Horſe's tails; yet however this Excommunication did but exaſperate his Enemies the more againſt him.

For about this Time the Four Knights (above-mention'd) who had ſworn to revenge the King's Quarrel, met with a more ſpeedy paſſage than ſo wicked a deſign deſerved; for having Landed privately near *Dover*, and in the Country thereabouts raiſed a pretty large Company of Men, partly of the King's Officers, and partly of thoſe whom the Archbiſhop had Excommunicated, they made what haſte they could to *Canterbury*, where being arrived on the 30th of *December* in the afternoon, they enter'd the Palace, came into the Archbiſhop's Chamber, and there ſate down without ſpeaking a Word, till the Archbiſhop asking them the occaſion of their coming, One of them (*Fitz-Urſe* by name) told him, That they came from beyond Sea with a Meſſage from the King; upon which the Archbiſhop commanded his Domeſticks to withdraw: but when the Other ſaid, that he deſired all there preſent ſhould hear, they ſtayed in the Room; then *Fitz-Urſe* in the name of the Reſt, deliver'd his Meſſage; but *Fitz-Stephen* makes the Archbiſhop's Servants to have withdrawn by his order during the delivery of it; and that ſo ſoon as it was over, he fearing ſome Violence, called in his Chaplains and Domeſticks, before whom the Knights repeated what they had to ſay; I ſhall not here relate the whole Dialogue between the Archbiſhop and them (as I find it in my Authors) ſince it would be too tedious, and beſides they themſelves differ about what they make the Gentlemen to ſay: but the Sum of what *Fitz-Urſe* told him, was, " That he had as good have taken the Crown from the King his " Maſter's Head, as thus to Excommunicate the Biſhops, and then " reſuſe them Abſolution: But the Archbiſhop ſaid, He was ſo " far from taking the Crown from the King's Head, that he wiſh'd " with all his heart he could put another on, (*God's Honour and his " own Soul being ſtill ſafe*) and that not himſelf, but the Pope had " excommunicated and ſuſpended thoſe Biſhops, and it was not in " his power to abſolve them; They answer'd, It was all one as if " he had done it, ſince it was done by his procurement; To which " the Archbiſhop reply'd, That indeed he was much obliged to the " Pope for thus Vindicating the Injury done to God, as well as to

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The young K.
forbids his
coming to
Court, and or-
ders his return
to *Canterbury*,
which he
obeys.

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[4.] F.S. R.H.
The A. Bp.
preaches to
the People,
and Excom-
municates the
two de Brocs.

The Four
Knights that
had ſworn
the A.Bps.
death Land
near *Dover*.

They come
and deliver a
Meſſage from
the K. to the
A.Bp.

And tell him
He might as
well have ta-
ken the Crown
from the K's.
Head, as thus
excommuni-
cate the Bps.
and reſuſe to
abſolve them.
The A.Bps.
Answer.

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[5.] C. G. col.  
1415.The Knights  
bring their  
Guard into the  
A Bps. Court  
who during  
the Confe-  
rence waited  
at his Gates.The Knights  
get into the  
Church where  
the A.Bp. was,  
and not being  
able to make  
him come out,  
they kill him  
there.

“ himself; then making a large recital of all the Wrongs he had  
 “ receiv'd, he appeal'd to themselves as Witnesses, Whither the King  
 “ had not granted him leave to proceed by Ecclesiastical Censures  
 “ against those who had disturbed the peace of the Church; nor  
 “ could he pass it by without betraying his Pastoral Charge: at  
 “ which they all cryed out, That they were never Witnesses of any  
 “ such thing, and called to the Monks and others there present to  
 “ secure him on the King's behalf, and that if he escaped he should  
 “ be required at their hands; so presently going out, the Archbishop  
 “ following them to the Door of the outward Room, said, *No, I*  
*come not hither to fly, I value not your Threatnings:* To which they  
 reply'd, *They are not bare Threats, and so you shall find.*

[5.] Then going out of the Abbie, they brought those of their  
 Guard into the Court, whom they had before left at the Gates,  
 whilst they talk'd with the Archbishop; But during the time that  
 they were gone away, the Monks hearing that the Knights with  
 their Men were returning, would fain have perswaded the Archbishop  
 (being near *Vespers*) to go along with them into the Church, but  
 he being unwilling to it, they were at last forced to haul, rather  
 than lead him thither, through a private door out of the Cloisters,  
 which was broken open on purpose to let him in: He had not been there  
 very long, and was but just got upon the Steps of the High Altar,  
 when the Four Knights return'd again being now arm'd, and find-  
 ing the Doors of the Monastery shut, they broke a Window, and  
*Robert de Broc* getting in, opened the Doors to them; and he be-  
 ing their Guide, they enter'd the Church by the same way the Arch-  
 bishop had before; yet would not he permit the other Door to be made  
 fast at all, saying, *It was the Church, and all Men were free to enter*  
*into it; God's Will be done.* So soon as they came in they cry'd out,  
*Where is the Archbishop: where is the Traytor?* he coming down from  
 the Steps of the Altar to a Pillar not far off, said, *Here am I; no*  
*Traytor, but a Priest:* then they laid hands on him, to try if they  
 could pull him out of the Church, that (as they afterwards con-  
 fess'd) they might either kill him without, or carry him away Pri-  
 soner: but when they could not easily get him from the Pillar, *Reyn-  
 ald Fitz Urse* came up nearer: to whom the Archbishop said, *I*  
*have done thee many favours, and dost thou (who owest me Faith and*  
*Homage now come to kill me?* Then he laying hold on the Archbishop's  
 Cope, said, *Thou shalt go forth, for that now thou shalt dye,* but he  
 pulling it out of his hand, answered, *I will not go out:* then the other  
 cried, *Fly:* No, reply'd he, *I will never fly; But I command you in*  
*the Name of God, and under an Anathema, that you do none of mine*  
*any harm,* then (as *Edward Ryme* in his Manuscript History relates)  
 the Archbishop thrust that Knight from him, calling him *Pimp;*  
 at which he being much provok'd, stept back, and seeing his Com-  
 panions behind him, he struck at the Archbishop with his Sword,  
 and almost cut off the Arm of this Author, which was then held up to  
 defend his Lord, and at the same time wounded the Archbishop in  
 the Crown of the Head, where it was shaven; who now seeing his  
 time was come, spoke these last words, *Lord, into thy hands I com-*  
*mend my Soul;* or, as *Gervase* and the Author of *Quadrilogus* give us  
 them, *I commend myself and the Cause of the Church of God, St. Mary,*  
*St. Denis,*



*St. Denis, and all the Saints Patrons of his Church:* Then another of the Knights wounded him in the same place to the very Brain; so falling down upon his Face on the Pavement the rest struck him on the Head still in the same place; and one of them, *Richard Brito*, cut off a piece of his Scul, where the rest had already begun; then another of their Followers, called, *Hugh the ill Clerk* (for he was a Sub Deacon) not content with what had been done, set his Foot upon the Bishop's Neck, and with his Sword's point Flung the Brains and Blood about the Pavement, crying out, *Let us now be gone, he will rise no more:* So that all of them hitting Him (which was very strange) in the same place, all his Brains fell upon the ground.

When they saw he was dead, they went out in great Triumph at the same door they came in; and in the mean time their Accomplishes without, breaking open the Doors and Locks, plunder'd the Goods of the deceased Archbishop, together with the Charters and Muniments belonging to the Church. As soon as the People heard of it, they all grievously lamented him, and running thither, desir'd to see his Body, dipping their Fingers in his Blood, and therewith making the Sign of the Cross on their Foreheads; then the Corps was by the Monks laid before the High Altar, where it remain'd all night; but so soon as it was day, hearing that the Murtherers intended to return, and abuse the Body, and fling it into some filthy place or other, they shut up the Church doors, and putting it in a Stone-Coffin, buried it privately in a Vault adjoining to the place where he was killed.

I have given you this large Account of the manner of this Archbishop's Death, as being attested by Two persons, of undoubted Credit, who were then upon the spot, (*viz.*) *Gervase of Canterbury*, and *Edward Ryne* the Clerk, who (as I have said) receiv'd a Wound in his Arm in so stoutly defending his Master; The Manuscript relation of the Life and Sufferings of this Archbishop, written in a Hand of that Age, is preserv'd in the Library of the *Royal Society at Gresham College*.

But [1.] as for those who committed this execrable Murther, they durst not return to the King, but went for some time into the *North* as far as *Knaresborough*, a Town belonging to *Hugh de Morville*, where they remain'd till all Men avoided their Conversation; and that being excommunicated by the Pope, they at length got to *Rome* for Absolution: but he enjoin'd them to go to *Jerusalem*, and afterwards to do Pennance in the black Mountain during life, in the performance of which, they all dy'd; though where this Mountain is our Author does not tell us. This sad Relation may serve for a Warning to Princes, how they Command (or so much as seem to desire) in their Passions any unlawful Action, to be done to please their humour; or how any Persons undertake such unjust Commands, since they often end to the Prejudice, if not ruine, of at least one of them, and sometimes of both.

I shall now conclude this Story of the Archbishop who was not long after by the Church of [2.] *Rome* Canonized for a Saint, with a short account (omitting Legends) of his Birth and Education, and a Character of his disposition from the same Authors.

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The Guards in the mean time plunder his Goods, and carry away the Charters and Muniments of the Church.

His Death much bewail'd by the people there.

He is privately buried in a Vault, adjoining to the place where he was murther'd.

Gryme

[1.] R. H. His Murtherers go first to *Knaresborough*, then to *Rome* for Absolution.

[2.] F. S. G. B. Cal. 1052. The A. Bishop Canonized for a Saint. His Birth, Education and Character.

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Educated at
Paris.

Gets a Place
in the Sheriff's
Court.
Is recom-
mended to
A Bp. Theobald.

His Travels
to Rome, Bene-
dict, and Aus-
terre, to study
the Canon-
Law.

His several
Rites and Pre-
ferments in
the Church.

Is made the
K's. Chancel-
lor.

His Popula-
rity, and En-
tertainments.

The Magni-
ficence of his
Equipage.
His great
Chastity.

They all agree that He was the Son of one *Gilbert* sometime Sheriff of *London*, that his Mother's name was *Mahauld*, whom some that wrote his Life will needs have to be the Daughter of a *Saracen* Admiral, or Commander; and that she fell in Love with this *Gilbert*, who had been some time before taken Prisoner by her Father, and was then a Slave in his house: But this story, since it looks like a Legend, and is neither mention'd by *Fitz-Stephen* nor *Ryne*, who both wrote his Life, I do but just mention.

But his Father had this Son by one *Mahauld* a *Saracen* Woman; he was first put to School at *London*, then by his Father was sent to the Abbie of *Merton* for farther Learning and Improvement, and was afterwards for some time sent to study at the University of *Paris*. Upon his return, he obtained an Office in the City of *London* in the Sheriff's Court, in which he learned some Knowledge of the World, and how to Govern both the Church and State; he was first recommended to *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by Two Fryers of *Bologna*, who had been his Father's Guests and old Acquaintance. The Archbishop (to whom he was also somewhat related) sent him several times to *Rome* about Business concerning the *English* Church, where he soon gain'd favour with the Pope and Officers of the *Roman* Court.

Afterwards, by the Archbishop's leave, he went into *Italy*, and studied the Canon-Law one Year at *Bononia*, and then went to *Auxerre* in *France*.

The first Ecclesiastical Preferment he had, was the Church of *St. Mary* in the *Strand*, (where *Somerset-house* is now built) and also was Parson of *Oxford* in *Kent*. From whence we may observe, that in those days a man was thought qualified for Benefices without being in *Priest's Orders*. Afterwards the Archbishop ordained him Deacon, and gave him in some time the Arch-Deaconry of *Canterbury*, which was then, next to the Bishops and Abbots, one of the most Honourable as well as Profitable Preferments in the Church. And at length by the recommendation and procurement of the Archbishop and the Bishop of *Winchester*, he was made the King's Chancellor, which was accounted in those days the prime Dignity of the Kingdom; and by this Employment he became exceeding popular.

His House and Table were Common to all Indigent persons that came to Court; and there was scarce a day pass'd, but he eat with Earls and Barons; whom he himself invited: He order'd his Rooms of Entertainment to be every day bestrewed with fresh Straw in Winter, and with green Grass, or Rushes, in Summer; that those many Knights or Military Gentlemen, whom the Seats or Benches could not receive, might sit down upon a clean Floor, lest their fine Cloaths and Shirts should be sullied. During this time, he did all he could to conform himself to the King's humour, and endeavour'd to please him in Trifles as well as in Serious Matters, delighting himself in all Country Recreations; being highly pleased with popular Applause. He exceeded divers Earls in the Magnificence of his Equipage, having his Horse's Bits and Stirrups of Silver: But amongst all these outward Poms he still retain'd a wonderful Chastity, if the *Monkish* Authors may be credited, whose Relations alone are now left us of his Life and Actions; though it might seem very strange, that a person, not overstrict in other things, and who liv'd high, and

and convers'd in a Court where he saw so many loose Examples, should be strictly stanch as to Women: But these Authors make him no more moved with them, than if he had been made of Brass or Marble.

[3.] But this seems more certain, that the Great Men of *England*, as well as neighbouring Kingdoms, sent their Sons to him, from whom they receiv'd Ingenious Education, and (being often Knighted) were sent back to their Parents with Honour; nay, the King himself placed his Eldest Son *Henry* with him, and recommended to him his Education. He had besides many Sons of Noblemen, and their Tutors and Servants, whom he treated with all due Respect.

[4.] To him also many Noblemen and Knights did Homage, which he receiv'd, *saving their Faith to the King*; and there was scarce a day in which he did not give some large Boons, as Horses, Hawks, rich Cloaths, also Gold or Silver Utenfils, or else Money; in short, His Bounty and Liberality was such, that he became the Delight and Darling of all sorts and degrees of Men; and what he did at the War of *Tholouse*, shews him to be a Man of great Courage, as well as his Sufferings and Death declare him a Master of great Passive Valour. And certainly nothing but his Extraordinary Endowments both of Body and Mind (being a Tall and Gracious Person, though of a severe Aspect) could ever have recommended one of his mean Birth so highly to the King's Favour, as that he never took greater pleasure than when he was in his Company, either riding abroad, or coming to his House; of which our Author gives us some agreeable Relations; insomuch that the King bestowed no vacant Bishopricks or Abbies but by his Advice.

So that from all the Actions of his Life, we may very well conclude him to have been a Person of a great Genius and large Abilities, though they were alloy'd with much Haughtiness, vain Glory, and Love of popular Applause; and this is not deny'd even by those that have wrote his Life. Besides this, we may also reckon the Prejudices of his Education, and his long Conversation in *Italy*, which perhaps might make him too much devoted to the Power of the Pope and Interest of the Clergy, which they call their Ecclesiastical Privilege and Exemption from Secular Power. These having been not long before establish'd by several Papal Decrees, and generally receiv'd in *Italy* and *France*; no wonder, if that Prelate desired to have *England* brought under the same Yoke that himself had already submitted to; therefore as I cannot join with some Writers, who make this Man to be a meer Hypocrite, since all those who give us an Account of his Life, represent him, as one very Charitable to the Poor, and ready to help those that were oppress'd by the more Powerful, and also to have been very strict in his private Penances and Mortifications, which are no signs of a Hypocrite; so on the other side, I do not allow him to be a Saint or a Martyr; for, as no Man, who was a Hypocrite, would have suffer'd Exile, and the loss of all his Estate, when he might by a soft Compliance with the King (as several of his Predecessors had done) have thereby safely enjoy'd both his Estate and his Dignity; so the Cause for which he suffer'd, being merely Temporal (or at last but Ecclesiastical) and not for any Fundamental Truth of the Christian Religion, though he suffer'd unjustly,

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[3.] *id.*

The K's. and
Noblemen's
Sons com-
mitted to his
Education.
[4.] *id.*
He receives
Homage of
Noblemen.

His Bounty
and Liberality

The K never
so well pleas-
ed as when
in his Com-
pany.

Disposes all
Bishopricks
and Abbies by
his Advice.

The A. H. a
man of a great
Genius, but
haughty, and
vain-glorious.

Too much
devoted to the
Interest of the
Pope.

Very Charita-
ble, and Be-
nevolent.

And very
strict in his
private pen-
ances.

No Saint, nor
Martyr.

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But canonized by the Pope for his pretended Miracles.

The K. from a Persecutor became a Worshipper of him.

[5.] *Quadril.*
The first news of his Death made him very melancholy.

[1.] R. H. p. 299.

The King of France writes to the Pope to unheath the Sword of St. Peter against K. Henry.

[1.] Id. p. 300.
Theobald, B. of Ely writes to him to the same purpose.

Says the King gave the A. Bp. leave to Sentence the Bps. as the Pope and He pleased.

[3.] Id. p. 300.
The A. Bp. of Sens writes two Letters upon the same Subject.

unjustly, yet could he not thereby deserve the Title of a *Martyr*; nor can he any ways be excused from Obstinacy in a false Opinion, or for want of Prudence and Christian Moderation in thus earnestly soliciting the Pope to *excommunicate* the Bishops, who he supposed had affronted him, and by pronouncing the Sentence against them, when he was not at all obliged to have done it. Also his impatient Temper in resenting the least Injuries does further appear, by his Excommunicating *Ranulph de Broc* for only cutting off one of his ordinary Horse's tail. This (if 'tis not too much) may suffice concerning the Life and Character of this Great Prelate, who was not long after Canonized by the Pope, for the many Miracles which his Admirers affirmed (nay swore) had been wrought by him after his Death; (for we cannot find he did any while he lived) And this was no hard matter to bring about in an Age so ignorant and credulous as this, when both the Pope and the People were as ready to believe, as they that promoted it were to Swear it; insomuch that the King himself not long after, from a violent Persecutor, became a zealous Worshipper of this pretended Saint, as you will find anon. Let us now see what sad Effects his Death produced.

[5.] As soon as the King was acquainted with the news of it, he seemed greatly troubled; and it put him into so deep a Melancholly, that for above a Month he scarce dispatch'd any business. But whether this proceeded from a real Grief for the Murder, or only from a high Concern and Fear of the ill Consequences that would attend it, I shall not determine.

[1.] In the mean time his Death was very much resented by those Neighboring Princes and Prelates, who when alive, had espoused his Quarrel. *Louis* King of *France* immediately wrote to the Pope to stir him up to unheath the Sword of *St. Peter* in revenge of this Archbishop's Death, for (as it had been related to him) the Divine Glory had revealed it self in Miracles done at his Tomb, by which it was manifest for whose cause he had contended.

[2.] Likewise *Theobald* Earl of *Bleis* wrote to the Pope, that he was present at the late agreement between the King and the Archbishop and He had complained to the King, he had too hastily, and with too warm a Zeal, caused his Son to be Crowned, for which he promised to do him Right, and give him satisfaction. That the King had given him leave to Sentence those Bishops, who, contrary to the Right invested in the Church of *Canterbury*, had presumed to intrude a new King into the Royal Throne; and farther, had given him leave to sentence them according to the Pope's and his own pleasure. This (he said) he was ready to prove by his Oath, or any other way, and told him the Blood of the Just cried aloud to him for Vengeance.

[3.] But *William* Archbishop of *Sens* wrote Two Letters to the Pope concerning the same Subject, in the Former of which he highly aggravates the Murder of this Archbishop, who had been slain for maintaining the Liberties of the Church, and then beseeches him, that for the Honour of God he would revenge his Death by severe Ecclesiastical Censures; and gives the Pope an account of what had happen'd between the Archbishop of *Rouen* and him, concerning the deferring the Sentence of *Interdict*, which he had lately issued out

out according to his demands upon all the Territories of the King of England on that side the Sea.

" In the Second Letter the above-mentioned Archbishop gives the Pope a large account of the manner of the murder of this new Martyr, much to the same effect as you have already heard, and further gives us a long relation of the Archbishop's appearing to many since his death, of which the Bearers would give him a fuller Account; as also of a Blind Man, who immediately after he had suffer'd his Eyes to be anointed with his Blood, recover'd Sight. But these and divers other Miracles (he says) he received only by Report; and then concludes with earnest desires to him to be pleased to revenge it, aggravating this Action above all the cruelties of Nero, or the Treason of Judas: after which exclaiming against Roger Archbishop of York, and the Bishop's Gilbert and Jocelin (the former of whom he calls a Devil, and the other an Apostate, he excites the Pope to exert his utmost Authority against the King and his Adherents.

[4.] In the mean while Rotrod Archbishop of Rouen, Giles Bishop of Eures, Roger Bishop of Worcester, Richard Barre, and many others of the King's Envoys, (who shall be particularly mention'd by and by,) were by him sent to the Pope, to intercede on his behalf; but the Archbishop of Rouen being very old and infirm, returned back, whilst the others went on their way; and being got to Rome, with great difficulty obtained of the Pope, that Two Cardinals, Theodinus and Albertus should come into Normandy to hear the Cause concerning the Death of the late Archbishop, as also some other Ecclesiastical Priviledges; and to Judge in all these, as God should direct them.

[5.] But I will give you a more particular Account of this Ambassy, from the Letter of the Ambassadors themselves to this effect, viz. That only Four of those that were employ'd in it, went through to Rome (viz.) Robert, Abbot of Valace near Lisibone in Normandy (who was then also Archdeacon of Salisbury) Robert Archdeacon of Lisieux, Robert Barre, and one Master Henry a Clerk: but Richard Barre went before them, and with much trouble and danger arrived at Rome, where he acted prudently and dilligently on the King his Master's behalf, whilst the others were stopp'd in their Journey at Sienna (in Tuscany) by Earl Macharius's command: however they escaped away by night, and going over steep Hills and places almost unpassable, they at last, though in great fear and danger arrived at Tusculum (now Frascati) on Palm Sunday-Eve. But the Pope would not see them, and but few of the Cardinals would vouchsafe them a word. At length, with much importunity, by the mediation of those they thought had any kindness for the King, [1.] or rather by a good Bribe of 500 Marks, which they say they then bestow'd among the Cardinals (according to the Roman custom, as Gervase observes) they obtained, that the Abbot of Valace and Robert Archdeacon of Lisieux might be heard, they two being least suspected; but when they mentioned the King's name, the whole Court cried out, hold, hold, as if it had been a most horrid thing for the Pope to hear it; and so they went from Court: yet in the evening they had a private Audience of his Holiness; wherein they declared their Message from the King, as they did publicly afterwards before the Pope and Car-

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Gives him in the latter an account of the manner of his murder.

Of his appearance to several after his death, and the miracles he had wrought, as he had heard.

Aggravates this action beyond the Cruelties of Nero, or Treason of Judas.

[4] Id. p. 367.

Several Bps. & others sent to the Pope from the King in his behalf.

Two Cardinals are to come into Normandy to canvass this matter, and judge accordingly.

[5] Id. ib.

But only Four got through to Rome and they meet with great difficulty in their passage.

Others are stopp'd at Sienna.

The Pope at first would not see them.

[1] C. G. Col. 1419.

Two at last obtained private Audience.

The whole Court would not indure the King's name to be mentioned.

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They met
with no suc-
cess.

They are in-
formed that
the Pope by
advise of his
Cardinals re-
solves to in-
terdict both
K. and King-
dom on their
Feria quinta
ante pascha.

But at length
by close ap-
plication to
some of the
Cardinals they
get it stop.

[2.] Col. 557.

By which
means the
Ambassadors
avoided the
sentence of In-
terdict against
the King.

[3.] R. H. 2.
301. a.

Two Cardi-
nals at the
same time sent
into Normandy
to threaten the
Interdict.

K. Henry for-
bids all Clerks
or Strangers
to bring any
Bulls from
the Pope to
Normandy or
England.

And goes him-
self for Eng-
land.

dinals, where they were opposed by one *Alexander*, and *Gunter* a *Flemming*, two Clerks of the Church of *Canterbury*. But on *Tuesday* following (as was usual in the *Roman Church*) the Pope was wont publicly to Absolve, or Excommunicate whosoever he thought deserved it; and the Ambassadors being certain there were some designs on foot against their King and his Kingdom, they consulted some Cardinals, whom they thought most inclinable to the King, such as the Bishops of *Portus*, *Pavia*, and *Tusculum* with some few others, to know the Pope's resolutions; and were by them inform'd, that it was the joint Advice of his Cardinals, that he should immediately pronounce the Sentence of *Interdict* against King *Henry* by Name, and all his Dominions, and likewise confirm the late Decree against the Bishop's; upon which, they, being in a grievous strait plied the Cardinals afresh, endeavouring to divert them from this Sentence, or at least to defer it till the Bishops (who were left behind) could arrive; but when they saw they could not prevail by importunity, they at length consulting with some Cardinals, their Friends, had found out a good and secure way for the honour of the King, and safety of the Nation, by which (though they exposed themselves to all the hazard) they averted the danger then impending upon him and his whole Kingdom; and so they conclude their Letter with hopes, that the business would succeed according to his mind, though they knew his ruine had been design'd by that Court, and mightily feared the Custom of that terrible day above-mention'd.

But to add somewhat for the farther Explication of this Letter; what this *secure way* there mention'd means is hard to determine; whether some secret promise of a far greater Bribe among the Cardinals, or whether it were (as [2.] *Radolph de Diceto* relates) that these Ambassadors avoided the Sentence of this terrible *Interdict* by the Intercession of certain Cardinals, who told the Pope, the Ambassadors had received their Kings command to acquaint him, they were ready to swear on his behalf, that their Master should submit to his Holiness's Judgment, and that the King himself would also take the same oath before those Legates, the Pope was now about to send concerning that Affair.

[3.] But whilst these things were transacting at *Rome*, there came Two other Cardinals Legates, *Gratian* and *Vivian*, who had been sent before by the Pope into *Normandy* to enquire into this matter, who mightily perplexed the King, threatening to put Him and his Dominions under the *Interdict*; but He being already forewarn'd of their coming, appealed to the Pope's own person, and so saved himself and his Country from their Sentence: yet he still was afraid of the Pope's severity, and therefore made hast to the Sea-side, and presently passed out of *Normandy* into *England*: However, before he went, he by his Edict commanded all his Justices and Bayliffs of *Normandy*, especially those near the Sea-Coast, by no means to permit any Stranger or Clerk, who brought any Brief or Bull from the Pope, to pass over from *Normandy* into *England*, or from *England* thither, unless he first gave Security, that he would no ways procure any evil or mischief to the King or his Kingdom.

I shall

I shall conclude this year with the Affairs of *Ireland*; whilst the King continued in *Normandy*, I find by the Manuscript Chronicle of * *Robert* Abbot of *Bee*, that he held a Council of his Barons at *Argenton* whither, as they consulted concerning the King's Expedition into *Ireland*, there came over Messengers from Earl *Richard Strongbow* offering to give up to the King the Cities of *Dublin* and *Waterford*, with whatever else the Earl then possessed in that Kingdom in right of his Wife; which offer the King graciously accepted, though this Agreement, between Him and the Earl was not finish'd, till the King's Arrival in *England*, as you will find anon; after which about the beginning of *August* he took Shipping again, and so landed at *Portsmouth*.

[4.] As soon as the King arrived here, in pursuance of his late Resolutions he made great and speedy Preparations for his Voyage into *Ireland*, being (as *Gervase* of *Canterbury* relates) invited over thither by the Kings and other Great Men of that Kingdom, who chose rather to submit to him than Earl *Richard Strongbow*.

But before I relate King *Henry's* Success in *Ireland*, it is fit to give you a short account, of what had been there performed by the *English* Forces this Year, and which mightily facilitated the King's passing over thither.

You may remember, King *Henry* had the Year before put forth a Proclamation to recal all the *English* out of *Ireland*, [5.] which about *Whitsontide* last past had encouraged *Hasculf* a *Norwegian*, late Governor of *Dublin*, to attempt the regaining of that City; and therefore he now sail'd into the River *Liffey* with Sixty Ships filled with *Norwegians* and other People of the *Northern Isles*, and Landing there he assaulted it at the *East-Gate* under the command of one *John* surnamed *The Wood*, (i. e. the wild) but *Miles Cogan*, Governor of the Town, defended it so well, that his Brother *Richard* sailing out by his Order at the *South-Postern*, beat them off with so great a slaughter, that they were forced to fly, and *John* their Captain was there slain; but *Hasculf* being taken in the *Onse*, as he was making to his Ships, was brought before the Governor, and said insolently that in a little time greater Forces should come up; at which *Cogan* was so highly provoked, that he commanded his Head immediately to be struck off, for he was resolved he should never see them.

[1.] Then the *Irish* Princes perceiving that no recruits either of Men or Victuals were like to come from *England* to Earl *Richard*, collected a vast Army from all parts of the Country, and besieged *Dublin*, being instigated thereto by King *Roderic*, and *Laurence* Bishop of that City, who wrote to *Gothred* King of *Man* and other petty Princes of the *Northern Isles*, promising them great Rewards for their assistance; they being thus allur'd, with Thirty Ships full of fighting Men arrived at the mouth of the *Liffey*, blocking up the Town by Water, whilst the Landmen joined with the *Irish* Army.

This Siege continued for Two Months without any relief either by Sea or Land; and when Victuals began to fail among the besieged, to add yet further to their distress, they were at the same time credibly inform'd, that *Robert Fitz-Stephen* was, by the men of *Kensale* (now called *King-sale*) and those of *Wexford*, to the number of Three Thousand besieged in the small Castle of *Karrec*, not far from *Waterford*, and

B b b 2

unless

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Academ. Can-
tabrig.

[4.] Id. ib.

K. Henry invi-
ted into Ire-
land by the
Ks. and Great
Men of that
Kingdom,
who would
rather submit
to him, than
to Strongbow.[5.] C. G. ib.
cap. 21.Hasculf at-
tempts the re-
gaining of
Dublin.But is repul-
sed by *Cogan*,
and taken pri-
soner, and at
last beheaded.[1.] Ibid. Cap.
22.The *Irish*
Princes with
a great Army
besiege *Dub-
lin*.The *Dubliners*
in much want
of Victuals.*Fitz-Stephen*
besieged in
Karrec Castle.

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[2.] *Id. ib.*
Maurice and
Raymond per-
suade the Earl
to sally out,
and attack the
Enemy.

[3.] *Id. C. 23.*

[4.] *Id. C. 24.*
The English
Forces, how
drawn up.

They set up-
on Roderic on
the sudden,
and defeat his
whole Army.

Spoil his
Camp, he
hardly esca-
ping; and re-
turn well pro-
vided with
Victuals and
other Booty.

[5.] *Id. C. 25.*
The Wexfor-
dians take
Fitz-Stephen
by a Strata-
gem.

The Siege of
Dublin raised.

The Town of
Wexford fired.

[1.] *Id. C. 26.*
The E. mar-
ches towards
Wexford to re-
lieve Stephen,
and the English
gain the Pass,
putting divers
of the Irish to
Death.

unless he were relieved within Three days, he must of necessity fall into the Enemy's hands.

[2.] Earl Richard, with Raymond, and Maurice Fitz-Gerard, were then in Dublin, the last of whom hearing of the great Danger his Brother Robert, his Wife and Children were in, by their being besieged in a weak Castle, made up only with Wood and Turfs, Maurice and Raymond did [3.] all they could to persuade the Earl to sally out of the Town, and fall upon the Enemy; who though they appear'd very numerous, were yet raw undisciplin'd and unarm'd Men.

[4.] This being at last agreed on, the Souldiers and Volunteers were divided into Three small Troops; in the first, Commanded by Raymond, were Twenty Knights; in the second, led by Miles Cogan, were Thirty; and in the last, Commanded by Maurice, were Forty, with some other Horsemen and a few Citizens joined to every Division or Troop; with these (leaving enough for the Guard of the City) they marched out, and suddenly, about nine of the Clock in the Morning, set upon the Irish Army of Thirty Thousand Men, (they not in the least expecting them,) and kill'd very many of them, dispersing the rest. King Roderic trusting to the multitude of his Men, and not at all dreaming of such a desperate Sally, was bathing himself, and very hardly escaped: The English pursued their Enemy until the evening, beating off and putting to flight the main Army, as also another consisting of divers Bodies that lay about several parts of the City, under their Respective Commanders; and the next day they returned well provided with Victuals and other good Booty; and having placed sufficient Guards in the City, they marched toward Wexford.

[5.] In the mean while the Wexfordians and Kentslians took Robert Fitz-Stephen prisoner by a stratagem, whom they could not subdue by force, and it was thus; they brought the Bishop's of Waterford and Kildare and other Religious Men before the Castle, who calling to the besieged affirm'd to them (though falsely) that Dublin was taken, and the Earl with Maurice and Raymond and all the English were destroy'd, and that a great force out of Connaught and Leinster was marching down against him, and come very near to Wexford; and to induce him to believe the truth of what they said, they took a voluntary Oath upon certain Relicks which they brought along with them; whereupon Robert Fitz-Stephen too hastily crediting them, surrender'd up himself and the Castle into their hands; but instead of conveying him into Wales, as before they had promised to do, they clapt both him and his men into Prison, killing divers of them, and wounding and misusing the rest most cruelly. But in a very little time after, there came contrary news to them, that the Seige of Dublin was raised, and Earl Strongbow was marching in person toward them: upon which they fired the Town of Wexford, and removed themselves and Goods with their Prisoners into the Isle of Beg, lying at the mouth of the Harbour.

Then the Earl marched with all speed towards the Town, though he was much hindered in his way thither by the Irish, who had fortified a certain pass over a Bog (called Oadon) with sharp stakes; yet notwithstanding this their opposition, the English gained the Pass, putting

putting many of the *Irish* to Death with the loss of but one man on their side.

When they came to the Borders of *Wexford*, they were inform'd of the sad condition of *Fitz-Stephen*, and of the burning of the Town, and received a message from the *Irish* in whose custody he was, viz. that if they presumed to come near, or disturb them, they would cut off all their Prisoner's Heads; at which message being mightily concerned, they directed their course toward *Waterford*, where they found *Harvey* of *Mount Maurice*, (who had been sent on a Message to King *Henry*) newly return'd with Letters from him; in these he commanded Earl *Richard* immediately to attend him, who in all dutiful obedience strait passed over into *England*, and met the King at *Newnham* near *Glocester* where after divers disputes he was by the mediation of *Harvey* (whom he brought over with him) reconciled to the King, on these conditions, that he should deliver *Dublin* into his hands, with all the Cantreds or Hundreds adjoining, as also the *Maritime* Towns and Castles; and in consideration of this he should hold all the residue of his late Acquisitions of the King and his Heirs.

Whilst [2.] the Earl was thus taken up in *England*, *Oroic*, the One ey'd King of *Meche*, taking the advantage of his absence, came in *September* with a great multitude to besiege *Dublin*, and finding but few Men therein, he assaulted the Walls with great Shouts and Outcries; but *Miles Cogan* the Governor and his Men sallying out on the sudden upon them, routed and persued the Enemy with so great a slaughter, that besides many others, the Son of King *Oroic*, a Valiant Youth, was slain on the spot. This was the state of Affairs, when the King was ready to go for *Ireland*.

In the mean time King *Henry* went by Sea to *S. David's*, and from thence to *Pembroke*, [3.] where *Rees* Prince of *South-Wales*, met him; and to mollify the King's Anger for permitting Earl *Richard* to pass into *Ireland*, promised him towards the Conquest of it 300 Horse and 400 Oxen, and gave him 14 Pledges or Hostages; and the King in Return bestow'd upon that Prince all *Caërdigan*, *Stratwy*, *Arusfly*, and *Elnel*. [4.] Then the day after *S. Luke* the King (having left his Son the young King *Henry* to command in his absence) took Shipping at *Milford Haven*, and the same day arrived at a place called *Croch*, about eight Miles from *Waterford*, with 400 Ships, and a great Army of Horse and Foot; and the day following marched to the Town, where he stay'd for some time: during which the Citizens of *Wexford*, under pretence of Obedience and good Service, brought to him *Robert Fitz-Stephen* in Bonds, for that he first of all invaded *Ireland*, without his consent; and the King being then in a great passion, for that rash and unwarrantable attempt, sent him in Chains to *Reginald's Tower*.

[5.] King *Henry* lying now at *Wexford*, there came to him *Dermot Mac-Carty*, King of *Cork*, and of his own accord submitted himself, and swore Fealty, gave Hostages, and agreed to pay a certain Annual Tribute. Then King *Henry* with his Army marched to *Lismore*; and from thence to *Cassiles*; which Places surrender'd upon the same Terms.

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The *Irish* threaten to kill all the Prisoners, if the E. disturb'd them.

The King reconciled to E. Richard, upon his agreeing to deliver up *Dublin* to him.

[1.] *Id. C. 29.* *Oroic* attempts to besiege *Dublin*, but is repulsed with considerable Loss. And *Oroic's* Son slain on the Spot.

[3.] *Dr. Powell's Chron.* *Rees*, Prince of *South-Wales*, meets the K. at *Pembroke*, and promises him his assistance for the Conquest of *Ireland*.

And the K. in return gives him all *Caërdigan*, *Stratwy*, *Arusfly* and *Elnel*.

[4.] *C. G. ib. 30.* The Citizens of *Wexford* deliver up *Fitz-Stephen* to the King. Who sends him in Chains to *Reginald's Tower*.

[5.] *Id. C. 31.* *Dermot Mac-Carty* submits, and swears Fealty to the King. And so do all the *Irish* Princes, except the K. of *Connaught* and *Ulster*.

[5.] Upon

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[1.] *Id. ib.*

*Fitz-Stephen re-
stor'd to his
Liberty.*

[2.] R. H. p.

301. b.
The Irish Cler-
gy swear Feal-
ty to Him and
his Heirs for
ever.

And *Roderic*
with the rest
of the petty
Princes of
those Parts
did the like,
and acknow-
ledged him as
their K. and
Lord.

[3.] *Id. ib. C.B.*

Col. 1071.
The Charters
sent to the
Pope, who
confirms
them.

Many Eccle-
siastical Ca-
nons made
therein.

The K. goes
to *Dublin*, and
causes a Palace
to be built
there for him.

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[4.] R. H. p.

302. a.
The King
goes into *Nor-
mandy*, to meet
two Cardinals
sent to him
from the Pope.

[5.] *R. H. ib. B. A.*
But settles the
Government
of *Ireland* be-
fore his de-
parture.

[1.] Upon this success the King of *Limeric*, the King of *Offery*, the King of *Methe*, with all the Great Men of *Ireland*, submitted themselves to the King except the Kings of *Connaught* and *Ulster*, who lying too remote, did not fear the power of his Arms. Then the King, after he had received the Submissions of these *Irish* Princes above mention'd, returned to *Waterford*, where *Fitz-Stephen* was again brought before him; and inconsideration of his great Merits and Valiant Achievements, back'd with the intercession of divers Eminent persons, he restored him to his Liberty, but took from him *Wexford*, and the Territories thereunto adjoining; which seem'd very hard measure for so great valour in one, who had only acted under the Command of another, who was absolutely pardon'd.

[2.] Then all the Archbishops, Bishops and Abbots of *Ireland* came unto the King of *England* at *Waterford*, and received him as King and Lord of *Ireland*, and swore Fealty to Him and his Heirs; and from every Archbishop and Bishop he received a Charter, by which they acknowledged and constituted him King, and submitted to Him and his Heirs as their King's for ever; and, according to their example, the aforesaid King *Roderic* and many other Petty Princes of those parts received him as King and Lord of *Ireland*, and became his Leige-men, and swore Fealty to Him and his Heirs against all Men.

[3.] These Charters being transcribed, the King sent the Transcripts to Pope *Alexander*, who by his Apostolick Authority again confirmed to Him and his Heirs the Kingdom of *Ireland*, according to the form of those Charters; this you may see in *Holinshed's Chronicle*, and being to the same effect as that of Pope *Adrian* above-mention'd, need not to be here inserted.

But the whole Island being thus settled in peace, the King called a Council or Synod of all the Clergy thereof at *Cassles*, and sent *Ralph* Abbot of *Baldewas*, *Ralph* Arch-Deacon of *Landaff*, *Nicholas* his Chaplain, and other Clerks to assist at it; Here many Ecclesiastical Canons were made, as well for the Reformation of the Religion, as Manners of the People of that Nation, the King's design being to bring the state of the *Irish* Church as near to the form of the *English* as might be; and therefore he confirmed the Decrees of this Council by his Royal Authority.

From *Waterford* he came to *Dublin* about the Feast of *St. Martin*, or 12th of *November*, where he caused a great House or Pallace to be built on purpose for him, of *Wattles*, according to the manner of that Country.

[4.] In this homely Pallace the King kept a magnificent *Christmas*, the *Irish* much admiring his Hospitality and the spendor of his Court; and here he stay'd till the beginning of *Lent*; and then he went to *Wexford*, having sent his Officers and Servants to *Waterford* to embark there. He, receiving Information, that the two Cardinals, *Theodinus* and *Albertus*, who had been sent from the Pope, were arrived in *Normandy*, made haste to go to them, though he left *Ireland* very unwillingly, it not being as yet entirely subdued. However, before he went away, taking advice of his principal Council-lours, he made the best provisions he could for the security of it; [5.] for before he departed, he gave to *Hugh de Lacy* all the Country of

of *Meche*, with the Appurtenances to hold in Hereditary Fee of Him and his Heirs, by the service of an 100 Knights or Horsemen; he also gave him the Custody of the City of *Dublin*, with 20 Knights or Men of Arms, and made him likewise *Justiciary* of *Ireland*: He also delivered to *Robert Fitz-Bernard* the Custody of the Cities of *Wexford* and *Waterford*, with their Appurtenances, and Power to build Castles in them; and he also left there with him *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, and *Maurice Fitz-Gerald*, with other 20 Knights; the former of whom (though the Procurer of all the King's Honour and good Success in *Ireland*, yet) was left without any Reward, except this poor Command.

Having thus settled the Kingdom as well as the shortness of time would permit, he took Shipping in the furthestmost part of the Haven of *Wexford* on *Easter Sunday* before Sun-rising, and landed near *St. David's* in *Wales* the same day about Noon: from thence with all imaginable speed he passed to *Portsmouth*, where the Ships lay ready to transport him into *Normandy*. Indeed his design was to have stay'd in *Ireland* all the Summer, and to have wholly reduced it under his Subjection, had it not been for this sudden avocation into *Normandy* about the business of the late Archbishop, and the differences between him and the King of *France*, that were to be composed and determined by those Two Cardinals, whom the Pope had now sent as his Legates.

[1.] Not long after the King's departure, *Ororic* (Surnam'd the One-eyed King of *Meche*) and *Hugh de Lacy* gave mutual Oathes to each other for their safe going to and from a place called *Ororic-Hill*, where they had appointed to meet, and treat for the better and more peaceable ordering of their Affairs: they were to bring along with them but few Men of each side, and those unarm'd; but *Griffin*, the Nephew of *Maurice Fitz-Gerald*, dreaming a strange Dream of certain wild Hogs and a Boar that fell upon him and *Hugh de Lacy*, and thereby conceiving a jealousy of the Treachery of *Ororic*, brought along with him privately Seven choice Knights or Horsemen of his Relations who lay out of sight; after some time had been spent in discourse by an Interpreter upon several proposals to no purpose, *Ororic* gave the Signal to his Men, whom he had laid in Ambush for the destruction of *Hugh de Lacy* and *Maurice*, and then came up himself to smite *Hugh* with his *Irish Ax*; with which stroke his Interpreter, who interposed himself, had his Arm chopt off, of which Wound he dy'd. Upon this *Maurice* and his Nephew *Griffin* ran presently in to the rescue of *Hugh de Lacy*; which when *Ororic* saw, he intended to fly, but as he was mounting his Horse, *Griffin* charged him so home with his *Lance*, that he killed both Man and Horse, and afterwards Three of his Servants that waited on him; so the Rest fled to the Woods, where several of them were killed in the pursuit, and *Ororic's* Head was sent into *England* to the King. In this conflict *Ralph* the Son of *Robert Fitz-Stephen* deserved Praise beyond all others for his Valour and Conduct.

[2.] But to return to the King, who was now arriv'd in *Normandy* with King *Henry* his Son, and meeting the Two Cardinals at *Caen*, he, by their mediation, made an Agreement with the King of *France* about the Crowning of his Daughter, and a while after by their

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He takes Shipping in the Haven of *Wexford*, Lands near *St. David's*, from thence goes to *Portsmouth*, and so to *Normandy*.

[1.] *L. C. 40.* Counter-Security given between *Ororic* and *Hugh de Lacy* for their safe coming and going to *Ororic-Hill*.

Ororic's Treachery to destroy *Hugh de Lacy* and *Maurice*.

But *Ororic* is kill'd by *Griffin*, Nephew of *Maurice*.

And his Head sent into *England* to the K.

[2.] *R. H. B. A. p. 302.*

By Mediation of the two Cardinals, K. *Henry* makes an Agreement with the K. of *France* about Crowning his Daughter,

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K. Henry his
Son sent back
into England,
to be Crown-
ed anew with
Margaret his
Queen.

And then re-
turn'd into
Normandy.

[3.] *Id. ibid.*

K. Henry the
Father purges
himself by
Oath, that he
neither com-
manded nor
desired the A.
Bp's death.

[4.] *Id. ibid.*

And make the
following
Oath of Satis-
faction and
Penance.

[5.] *Id. ibid.*

And causes his
Son Henry to
do the like.

K. Henry the
Father causes
his Seal to be
fixed to the
writing, su-
peradding to
it the Seals of
the Cardinals.
And so re-
ceives from
them a Char-
ter of Absolu-
tion.

their Advice sent back his Son into England, and with him *Rotrod* Arch-
bishop of *Roïen*, *Giles* Bishop of *Eureux*, and *Roger* Bishop of *Wor-*
cester, to Crown him anew, together with *Margaret* his Queen; which
Ceremony these Bishops solemnly performed at *Winchester* in the
Church of *St. Swithin* on the 27th of *August*; and presently after
the Coronation was over, they all returned into *Normandy*.

[3.] On the 27th of *September*, *Henry* the Father, and the King
his Son, with *Rotrod* Archbishop of *Roïen*, and all the Bishops and
Abbots of *Normandy*, met *Theodinus* and *Albertus* the Cardinals at
Abrincis (now *Auranches*), where the Father in the Church
of *St. Andrew* purged himself by Oath, and asserted his Inno-
cence upon the Reliques of the Saints and the Holy Gospels, that
he neither commanded nor desired that Archbishop *Becket* should be slain,
and that when he heard it he was grieved extremely; but because those
Malefactors who kill'd him could not be taken, and because he was
afraid they might have committed that cruel and wicked Murder
upon the account of their seeing him in a very great passion, he there
made this following Oath for the Pope's Satisfaction.

[4.] First, That he would never quit Pope *Alexander* nor his
Catholick Successours, so long as they acknowledged him a Catho-
lick King.

Secondly, That he would not hinder, nor suffer to be hinder'd
any Appeals, but that they might be freely made from his Kingdom
to the Pope in all Ecclesiastical causes; but with this Caution, that
if any persons were suspected by the King, they should give security
not to do any injury either to Him, or his Kingdom.

Thirdly, That at *Christmas* following, he would undertake the
Crusado, and go to *Jerusalem* for Three years; and in case he should
be diverted by going into *Spain* against the *Saracens*, then he would
give to the *Templers* so much money, as they should in their own
Judgments think sufficient to maintain Two Hundred Souldiers for
One Year, for the defence of the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*.

Fourthly, That he pardoned all Clerks and *Laicks*, who were in
Exile with Archbishop *Thomas*, and granted them free leave quietly
and in safety to return home to their own again.

Fifthly, That he would restore the possessions of the Church of
Canterbury, if any had been taken from it, as fully as it enjoy'd them
a Year before the Archbishop went out of *England*; and that the
customs which were contrary to the Churches of his Land, and in-
troduced in his time, should be wholly laid aside, and abolished.

[5.] All these things the King swore faithfully to observe with-
out any Deceit or Guile, and then he caused his Son *Henry* to do
the like, except in such things as concerned his own person; and
that they might remain in the Registers of the *Roman* Church,
King *Henry* the Elder caused his Seal to be affixed to the writing,
which contained these Articles, or Heads, superadding to his Own the
Seals of the Cardinals; who upon his Purgation, Submission, and
Satisfaction, granted him a Charter of Absolution for the Death of
the Archbishop.

The

The Pope, here you may see, by the aforesaid Conditions, and the Grant of these Articles, not only gained an entire Submission from King *Henry*, with a full Concession of Appeals to *Rome* for the time to come, but also established and enlarged his Ecclesiastical Power to a great degree; so that the King's long and obstinate Opposition, and the Murther of Archbishop *Becket*, proved as advantageous to the Pope's usurped Authority, as Rebellions when quell'd do to the Power of Temporal Princes.

[1.] The next day after, the Cardinals held a Great Council or Synod with the Archbishop of *Rouen*, and Bishops and Clergy of *Normandy*, where divers Decrees were made, and enjoyn'd to be observ'd; but seeing they only concern that Province, and do no ways relate to *England*, I shall refer the Inquisitive Reader to our Authors, if he desires further satisfaction therein.

[2.] We will now see what was doing the mean while in *England*, as to Ecclesiastical Affairs, for want of Civil; and here the Young King, by the Advice of his Governors, commanded *Odo*, the Prior, with the Monks of *Christ-Church* in *Canterbury*, to come to him, and there chuse a new Archbishop: to this they paid a ready Obedience, and coming to Court, the Prior desired they might have (according to custom) a Free Election, which though not absolutely deny'd them, yet it was for that time adjourn'd, and they put off for Three weeks longer, when they might be better prepared by Prayers and good Advice for a new Election; so the Prior and his Monks return'd home, and at the time appointed came up again to Court about *Michaelmas*; yet they still remaining in the same Resolution, the Young King (or rather his Courtiers) flatly denied them their Request, commanding that some of them should go over beyond Sea to the King his Father, to know his pleasure concerning it; the Prior obey'd presently, and there found him in a very humble Temper, rather supplicating than commanding them to elect the Bishop of *Bayeux* Archbishop, for he was afraid they might chuse some severe Man, who would imitate the last Archbishop; but the Prior knowing that Bishop to be but a weak Man, and easy to be drawn aside, utterly refused to name any one without the consent of his Convent: Upon which the King was forced to send the Prior back into *England* with Letters to induce them to consent to his Nomination.

[3.] The Prior being return'd, the Bishop and Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* were summon'd to meet at *London*, and Prior *Odo* was then present among the rest; where after many Debates about an Election, there was no liberty allow'd them of having a Free One; and being thus again frustrated of their hopes, they all return'd home without doing any thing in the matter.

This Transaction, though it had no effect, yet I have here set down, not only to shew the Reader the manner of Electing Archbishops in those days, and the great Solemnity of it; but also to let him see that the King's Desires or Commands for the Election of whom he thought fit, was seldom or never disobey'd; and if they were not comply'd with now, it was because the King had lost his Power with them by the Murther of the late Archbishop: and yet notwithstanding you find they durst not proceed to an Election without his consent.

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By these Articles the Pope's Ecclesiastical Power was greatly enlarg'd.

[1.] *Id. ibid.*
The Cardinals hold a Great Council in *Normandy*, wherein divers Decrees were made.

[2.] C. G.
The Young K. sends for *Odo* the Prior, and the Monks of *Christ-Church* in *Canterbury*, to come and chuse a New A. Bp.

Upon the Prior's desiring a Free Election, they are adjourned for Three weeks. Then come again to Court, but their Request is flatly denied them.

The Prior goes over to K. *Henry* the Father, who desires them to elect the Bp. of *Bayeux*.

The Prior refusing to nominate any without the consent of the Convent, The K. sends Letters to them to comply with his Nomination.

[3.] *Id. ib.*
The Bps and Clergy of *Canterbury* summon'd to meet at *London*.

But not obtaining any Free Election, return home as they came.

[4.] After

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[4.] B. A. R. H.
Ibid.

The Young
K. and Q. go
into Normandy,
and from
thence are
sent to the K.
of France.
But were not
long there be-
fore recalled.

Great Mis-
chiefs arise
from this Vi-
sit.

K. Lewis sets
the Son to
demand of
his Father ei-
ther all Eng-
land or all
Normandy for
his Subsi-
stance.

The Young Q.
suspected to
cause the Di-
vision be-
tween the Fa-
ther and Son.

[5.] B. A.
Adam de Port
Outlaw'd for
Treason, up-
on refusing to
stand to the
Judgment of
the K's Court.

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[1.] Id. R. H.
p. 304.

The K. sends
for his Son to
come to him
to Chinon.

They both go
to Clermont in
Auvergn, to
treat about a
Marriage be-
tween E. John
and Alice, the
Daughter of
the E. of Mau-
rienna.

But she dies
before the
Marriage is
consummated.

[2.] R. H. p.
305. a.

Devenit Homo
utrinusq; Regus.

[4.] After this, about the Feast of *All-Saints*, the Young King, with his Queen, according to his Father's Command, went into *Normandy*; and when they came thither, they were both sent to the King of *France*; who being very desirous to see his Daughter, received them with all imaginable Expressions of Joy and Honour; and they stayed there for some time with him. But King *Henry* suspecting the Fraud and Malice of King *Lewis*, of which he had had so often Experience, and the ill impressions that might be made upon this easy Young Prince, if he continu'd too long there, sent for his Son and Daughter to return into *Normandy*.

This Visit was the Occasion of great Wars and Mischiefs to both Kingdoms; for during their stay there, King *Lewis* (who always bore a secret Grudge against the King of *England*) advised his Son-in-Law upon his return into *Normandy*, to require of his Father, either all *England*, or all *Normandy*, for his Subsistence; and if his Father would not grant either of them, then to return into *France* to Him. Upon this they took their leaves, and about *Christmas* return'd into *Normandy*; soon after which, the Father went into *Anjou*, but his Son and Daughter-in-Law were order'd to tarry behind. *Walsingham* reports, that whilst the King was in *Ireland*, *Hugo de St. Maur*, and *Ralph de Fais*, the Young Queen's Uncle, (and as 'twas said by her instigation) began to alienate the Mind of the Young King from his Father, suggesting that it seem'd indecent and absurd that any Man should be a King without a Territory or Dominion: But since I find it not in any antient Author, I will not warrant the truth of this Relation.

[5.] About this time *Adam de Port*, a Nobleman, was impeached of Treason for Conspiring the Death of the King; and being Summon'd, he refus'd to stand to the Judgment of his Court, whereupon he was Outlaw'd. But this seems very strange, that He alone should be thus punish'd, and none of his Fellow-Conspirators in the least taken notice of.

[1.] The King kept his *Christmas* at *Chinon* in *Anjou* with his Queen *Eleanor*, whilst his Son and the Young Queen remain'd still in *Normandy*: After *Christmas* the King sent for his Son to come to him to *Chinon*, from whence they went together into *Auvergn* to *Clermont*, (though *Hoveden* by a mistake says it was *Mont-ferrat*, which lies in another Country.) The Business they went about, was, to meet and treat with *Hubert* Earl of *Maurienna* (now part of *Savoy*) about a Marriage between the King's youngest Son *John* and his Daughter *Alice* with whom he was to have had the greatest part of her Father's Dominions, in case they had Children. This Treaty is very long and particular in our Author; but the young Lady dying before the Marriage was consummated, it all came to nothing; and therefore it is to no purpose to set it down here.

[2.] From hence both the Kings went to *Limoges*, where *Raymond* Earl of *St. Giles* met them, and became their *Vassal; and also did Homage to *Richard* the King's Son as Earl of *Poitou*, and agreed to hold *Tolouse* of Him in Hereditary Right, by the Service of attending them upon their Summons, and staying with them Forty days at his own cost; but if they would have him stay longer, it was to be at their Charges. The rest of the Conditions being long, and not much to our purpose, I omit.

[3] Now

[3.] Now also arose the First apparent cause of Dissention between King *Henry* and his Son the Young King, and it was upon this occasion; the Earl of *Maurienna* above-mention'd had follow'd King *Henry* to *Limoges* to know what Territories he would settle upon his Son *John* at his Marriage; and when the King offer'd him the Castles of *Chinon*, *Lodun*, and *Mirabel*, the Young King contradicted his Father, and would not suffer him to do it, for he took it very ill that He would not assign him any of his Dominions, which He and his Queen might call their own. For the Earls and Barons of *Normandy* that malign'd his Father, had put him upon asking that Dutchess for his Appenage. From this time the Son sought occasions and opportunity to recede from Him, and would not any more hearken to what he advised.

[4.] The King having dispatch'd his Affairs at *Limoges*, hastened to return into *Normandy*; and taking his Son along with him, came to *Chinon*, where he lodg'd that night; but the Son having (it seems) out-rode his Father, went forward without taking any leave of him, and on the morrow came to *Alençon*, and the next day lodg'd at *Argentom*; (his Father still following him) and that night he came thither, his Father lay at *Alençon*, so that he could never overtake him; for the very night he came to *Argentom*, (being the 8th of *March*) after he had reposed himself for a few hours, he with his whole Family went over to the King of *France*, but left the Young Queen behind him for some time.

[5.] King *Henry* knowing his Son had left him, had sufficient reason to fear the Treachery of the *French*, and therefore with all diligence visited his Castles in the Borders of *Normandy* towards *France*, and manned and victualled them very well; he also strengthened *Gisors* as well as he could: and likewise went to all his other Castles in *Normandy*, and sent his Commands to all his Castellans in *England*, *Anjou*, and *Bretaign*, that they should keep strong Guards, and take care to secure the Castles under their Command; the chief Contrivers of this Treachery were *Lewis* King of *France*, and *Ralph de Faya* above-mention'd: but, what seems more wonderful, Queen *Eleanor* having both her younger Sons, *Richard* Duke of *Aquitain* and *Geoffrey* Earl of *Bretaign*, then with her in *England*, she sent them both over into *France* to the Young King their Brother, that so they might side with him against their Father.

But though it may at first seem very strange (and indeed almost incredible) that this Queen should not only encourage her Son *Henry* against the King her Husband, but should also excite and send over her Two other Sons to join in the same wicked and unnatural War against their Father: Yet it will not appear so strange, when the Reader shall understand, that some time before this, the King had slighted the Queen his Wife, (who was much older than himself) and had fallen into several Amours with divers Mistresses, till at last the Lady *Rosamond*, Daughter to the Lord *Clifford*, got the Ascendant in his Affections; and by her he had several Children, who are mention'd at the end of this Reign: Wherefore the Queen's Jealousy and Rage to see her self thus cast off by a Husband whom she had so highly obliged, so far transported her beyond all the bounds of Reason and Moderation, that nothing less would satisfy her Revenge, than to see him

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[3.] Id. p. 304.
B. A.

The first apparent cause of Dissention between the Father and Son.

The Young K. contradicts his Father. And alienates his Mind from him.

[4.] Id. ib.

And leaves him.

And with his whole Family, except his Q. goes over to the King of France.

[5.] Id. ib.

The Old K. justly fearing Treachery from the French, visits and strengthens his Castles in Normandy, and the Borders of it. The Authors of the Conspiracy against him.

Q. Eleanor sends both her Sons, then with her in England to France, to help their Brother against the K. her Husband. Because she found that the K. had slighted her, and fallen in to several Amours.

Fair Rosamond at last got the Ascendant over them all.

The Queen's Jealousy and Rage put her upon this Revenge.

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[1.] *Id. ib.*
The Young
K's Chancel-
lor brings his
Seal to his Fa-
ther.

He caused all
such as staid
with him to
swear Fealty
to him against
his Father.

[2.] *Id. ib.*
The King of
France receives
the Young K.
and his Bro-
thers very
kindly.

And causes a
New Seal to
be made for
Him.

A Great Coun-
cil held at *Pa-
ris*, wherein
the K. and
whole King-
dom of *France*
swear, to as-
sist the Young
K. against his
Father, till he
got from him
the Kingdom
of *England*.

And his Sons
swear not to
make Peace
with him,
without the
K. of *France*
and his Ba-
ron's consent.

[3.] *B. A. R. H.*
p. 305.
The Young K.
receives Ho-
mage and Fe-
alty from *Phi-
lip E. of Flan-
ders, Matthew
Earl of Boloign,
and Theobald
E. of Blois*, and
what he gave
them in con-
sideration
thereof.
And so like-
wise of seve-
ral Others.

deposed, and her Son placed upon that Throne; of which at present she thought he had too small a share: and this made her to join with the King of *France* who had formerly divorced her, and send over her Sons to his Assistance, though chiefly for the sake of the Young King their Brother, as also to make their own Terms with their Father, before ever this War should have an end, which they all hoped would prove highly to their advantage; but we shall find anon they were mistaken in their Account. But to return to the History.

[1.] Upon this sudden departure of the Young King above-mention'd, *Richard de Bar* his Chancellor return'd to his Father, and deliver'd him the Seal he had committed to his Charge, which he receiv'd, and caus'd it to be securely kept. The Servants also whom he had placed in his Son's Family, return'd to him, and brought with them his Carriages and other Furniture; but his Father would not retain them, but sent them back together with his Horses, Plate and Apparel, commanding them to serve him faithfully; but when they came thither, he caused all such as would stay, to swear Fealty to him against his Father, and would not permit any to stay with him that would not take that Oath, which they all did except *Walter* his Chaplain, *Edward* his Chamberlain, and *William Blound* his Porter; who all came away, and staid with the King his Father.

[2.] In the mean while King *Lewis* seem'd extream kind to the Young King his Son-in-Law, and to both his Brothers, and all those that came with them, and caused a New Seal to be made for him, with which he confirm'd all his Grants and Donations; then the *French* King summon'd *Earl Robert* his Brother, *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, and *Matthew* his Brother Earl of *Boloign*, *Henry* Earl of *Troyes*, *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, with all the Earls and Barons of *France*; and also the Archbishops and Bishops, and all the Clergy and Laity of that Kingdom, and held a Great Council in *Paris*, wherein the King himself swore, That he would according to the utmost of his Power assist the Young King his Son-in-Law to maintain the War against his Father, till he got from him the Kingdom of *England*; the like Oath he caused the Earls and Barons of *France* to take, after they had received the Oaths and Securities of the Young King and his Brothers; that they would never recede from the King of *France*, nor make Peace with their Father, without his Consent and the good liking of his Barons.

[3.] In this Council the Young King received the Homage and Fealty of *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, and gave him for it One Thousand pounds yearly Rent in *England*, and the whole Country of *Kent*, with the Castles of *Dover* and *Rocheſter*; He likewise receiv'd the Homage and Fealty of his Brother *Matthew* Earl of *Boloign*, and for it bestow'd on him the whole Soke or Liberty of *Kirketon* in *Lindsey*, as also the Earldom of *Moreton*, with the Honour of *Haye*. He also receiv'd the Homage of *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, and, in consideration thereof, bestow'd on him Five hundred pounds of *Anjovin* Rent, with the Castle of *Ambois*, and other things, which he claim'd in *France*. He also granted to *William* King of *Scots* all *Northumberland* to be held by Homage, and to *David* his Brother he gave the Earldom of *Huntingdon*, and, as an Augmentation, added all *Cambridgeshire* to be held by the same Tenure; to the Earl *Hugh Bigot* he gave the Honour of

Eye,

Eye, and the Custody of the Castle of *Norwich*, to him and his Heirs for ever. All these Territories, with divers others, he confirm'd to these Princes and great Lords (who all engag'd to take his part) by his Charters under the New Seal which the King of *France* had now caused to be made for him.

[4.] After *Easter* the whole Kingdom of *France* joyn'd with the Young King *Henry*, as did also his Brothers *Richard* and *Geoffrey*, and almost all the Earls and Barons of *England*, *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, *Anjou* and *Bretaigne* took up Arms against King *Henry* the Father; and, wasting his Territories beyond Sea on all sides with Fire and Sword,

[5.] besieg'd and took many of his Castles, though he made the best defence he could; for He had then with him Twenty Thousand *Brabanters*, who served him faithfully, but not without great Pay.

At the same time *Philip* Earl of *Flanders* march'd with a great Army into *Normandy*, besieg'd and took *Albemarle*, and from thence went and besieg'd *Driencourt*, which was soon deliver'd to him. Here his Brother *Matthew* Earl of *Boloign* was shot with an Arrow, of which Wound he died not long after.

[1.] In the mean while the King of *France* and the Young King his Son-in-Law besieg'd *Verneuil*; but *Hugh Lacy* and *Hugh Beaumont* the Constables (or Governors) so stoutly defended the Town, that the King of *France* with his potent Army and Warlike Engines, made but little progress for a whole month that he lay against it. There were within the Town (besides the Castle) Three Burghs separated from each other, and inclosed with strong Walls, and Ditches full of Water; one of them was call'd the *Great Burgh*, against which the King of *France* fix'd his Engines, though without much success; after a month the Besieg'd wanting Victuals, were forc'd to make a Truce with him for Three days, that so they might go to their Lord the King of *England* to desire Relief; and if within that time they failed of it, then to deliver the *Burgh*, and the peremptory day appointed for it was the Vigil of *St. Laurence*; the day before which, at the request of the Besieged, King *Henry* came to relieve the Town, and drew up his Army before it, the Souldiers being all then very desirous to fight: and it was thought to be so near a Battle, that *William* Earl of *Arundel* made the *Norman* Nobility a long Speech to encourage them; but when they were now in the heighth of their Expectations of it, the King of *France* sent to the King of *England* the Archbishop of *Sens*, and the Earls *Henry* and *Theobald*, to let him know, that the next day (which was the Peremptory day for its Surrender) he would have a Conference with him; but he neither came, nor sent, and so by a Trick He had part of the Town surrender'd to him; yet when he had thus got it, he durst not keep it, but plunder'd and burnt it, and presently retir'd, carrying the Burghers Prisoners along with him into *France*; so soon as King *Henry* knew it, he persued the *French*, kill'd many of them, and took more Prisoners, and return'd that Evening to *Verneuil*; and lodging there that night, commanded the Walls that were batter'd down to be repair'd. This Action and shameful Flight of the *French* King happen'd on the Ninth of *August*.

[2.] Next day the King left *Verneuil*, and march'd to *Damvile*, a Castle of *Gilbert de Tilleris*, and took it with several Knights and their Followers. From thence he came to *Rouen*, and sent the *Brabanters*

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And confirm'd all things by his New Seal.

[4.] B. A.
A General Insurrection against K. Henry the Father.

[5.] R. H. p. 305. b.

Albemarle and *Driencourt* taken by the E. of *Flanders*.

[1] R. H. p. 306.
The King of *France* and his Son-in-Law besiege *Verneuil*.

Three Burghs in that Town besides the Castle.

After a month, for want of Victuals, the Besieg'd in the great Burgh made a Truce for three days.

K. *Henry* with his Army comes to their relief.

But the K. of *France* got it by a Trick, plunder'd & burnt it, and then retir'd.

K. *Henry* persues the *French*, kills many, & takes more Prisoners, and returns to *Verneuil*.

[2] *Id. ib.*
He takes the Castle of *Damvile*.

Sends his *Brabanters* into *Bretaigne*.

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The Bretons
vanquish'd in
a pitch'd Field,
and 17 of their
Valiantest Kts.
taken.

1500 Bretons
slain in this
Fight.

[3.] *Id. ib. b.*
The Braban-
ters besiege
Dole.

* *Petraria.*

The Castle
surrender'd,
as also the
Earl of Che-
ster, and those
that were with
him in it.

And so all
Breton is re-
duc'd.

[4.] *Id. ibid.*

[5.] *Id. ibid.*
A Treaty be-
tween K. Henry
and his Sons,
and the K. of
France.

K. Henry's great
Offers to his
Sons.

[1.] *Id. ibid.*

[2.] C. G. Col.
1426.
The E. of Lei-
cester comes
into England
with an Army
of Flemmings.

And besieges
Hagenet-Castle
in Suffolk, and
takes it in
four days.

(in whom he most confided) into *Breton* against *Hugh* Earl of *Chester*, and *Ralph de Fougères* (Lord of a Castle of that name in the Confines of *Normandy* and *Breton*) who had seiz'd upon almost all that Country; then the Earl and this *Ralph* march'd out to meet them in a pitch'd Battle, wherein the *Bretons* were vanquish'd; whereupon these Two Earls and the chiefest of the *Bretons* fled to the Castle of *Dole*. In this Battle were taken Seventeen of the most Valiant Knights, as *Hasculf* of *St. Hillary* and *William Patrick*, besides divers others, whose Names are needless to be recited; there were slain above Fifteen Hundred *Bretons* in this Fight, which happened on the Twentieth day of *August*.

[3.] The next day after this Battle, so soon as the King of *England* had receiv'd the News of it, he forthwith march'd towards *Dole*, (which the *Brabanters* had before invested after the late Victory,) and gave order for his *Petrars* * (which were Engines to cast great Stones into Towns, or to batter Walls) to be fitted and prepar'd, with other Warlike Engines; but the Earl of *Chester* and those that were with him in the Castle not being able to defend it, surrender'd themselves with it on the 26th of *August*, and in like manner all *Breton*, with its Fortresses and Places of Strength, was deliver'd to the King.

[4.] Our Historian here names Four-score Earls, Barons and Great Men that were taken in this Castle, besides many others whom he does not mention; all which are needless to be here recited.

[5.] After these great Successes the King of *France* and his Adherents began to despair, and labour'd all they could to make Peace between King *Henry* and his Sons. The Place appointed for their Meeting and Treaty was between *Gisors* and *Trie*, whither came *Lewis* King of *France*, attended by the Bishops and Nobility of his Kingdom, and brought with him the Young King *Henry*, with the Earls *Richard* and *Geoffrey* his Brothers; King *Henry* the Father came thither also with the Bishops, Earls and Barons of his Dominions; and at this Treaty (which began the 25th of *September*) King *Henry* offer'd the King his Son Half the Rents of his Demesns of *England*, and Four convenient Castles there; or if his Son had rather reside in *Normandy*, he offer'd him half the Revenues of that Dutchy, with all those of *Anjou*, and Three Castles in *Normandy*, besides Three more in *Main*, *Anjou* and *Tourain*: to Duke *Richard* his Second Son, he offer'd half the Revenues of *Aquitain* and Four Castles there: and to his Third Son *Geoffrey*, he offer'd all the Hereditary Estate of Earl *Conan*, if by the consent of the Pope he could marry his Daughter *Constance*; and further he referr'd himself to the Archbishop of *Tarantaise*, and the Pope's Legates, to add to their Revenues what they should think just and reasonable, still reserving to Himself his Royal Justice, Dignity and Power.

[1.] But it was not the Intention of the *French* King that this Quarrel should end so easily, and that the Sons should be so soon reconciled to their Father; and therefore they not agreeing to these reasonable Proposals, [2] the *French* King and King *Henry* the Son sent over *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, a passionate Stickler for that Party, with an Army of *Flemmings*, who landed upon the Coast of *Suffolk* about the Feast of *St. Luke*, and were receiv'd by Earl *Hugh Bigot* into the Castle of *Framingham* in *Suffolk*, where he furnish'd them with all Necessaries; then the Earl besieged *Hagenet*, a Castle in the same Coun-
try,

try, whereof *Ranulph de Broc* had the Custody, and within Four days took it; and proceeding from thence towards *Leicester*, it was told him, there were great Forces got together about *St. Edmondsbury*; and being surpriz'd at the News of it, he return'd to *Framingham*.

[3.] Some time before this *William* King of *Scotland* taking advantage of King *Henry's* being thus engaged in a War with *France*, was resolved to be revenged for his being refused the County of *Northumberland*, which he had lately demanded of Him: so gathering together a vast Army of *Scots* and *Galloway-men*, he march'd into *England*, and passing through the Bishoprick of *Durham*, spoil'd the Country, burnt the Towns, destroy'd the Inhabitants, or carried them away Prisoners: [4] To divert which Invasion, *Richard de Lucy*, Justiciary of *England*, and *Humphrey de Bohun* the King's Constable, march'd about the same time into *Scotland*, and wasted the Dominions of that King: but when they had burnt *Berwick*, and spoil'd the Country round about it, receiving News of the Earl of *Leicester's* approach, who had lately come out of *Flanders* with a great Number of *Normans* and *Flemmings*, they made a Truce with the King of *Scots* until the Feast of *St. Hilary*, and mutually gave and took Hostages for the performance of it.

[5.] This being done, *Humphrey de Bohun* march'd as fast as he could towards *St. Edmondsbury*, expecting the coming of the Earl of *Leicester*, where also to the former's Assistance came *Reginald* Earl of *Cornwall* the King's Uncle, and *William* Earl of *Glocester*: Whereupon the Earl of *Leicester* about the Feast of *All-Saints* came from *Framingham* with his Army, and pitch'd his Camp near *St. Edmondsbury* at a place call'd *Fornham*, in a Marsh or Meadow not far from the Church of *St. Genovefe*; then the Earl march'd forward with a great Army, and *Humphrey* with Three Hundred choice Horse met him, and with the Banner of *St. Edmund* displayed before them, charged that part of the Army in which the Earl of *Leicester* was, and defeated it; so he and his Countess were taken Prisoners, as also *Hugh de Chasteaux* a *French* Nobleman. In this Battle fell Ten Thousand *Flemmings*, and the rest (being *Normans* and *Frenchmen*) were taken Prisoners; the Earl of *Leicester* and his Wife with *Hugh de Chasteaux*, and the better sort of Prisoners, were sent into *France* to King *Henry*, and, together with the Earl of *Chester*, imprison'd at *Falais*: but now let us see what was done at the same time in *Normandy*.

[1.] About *Martinmas*, or Eleventh of *November*, King *Henry* the Father march'd with his *Brabanters* into *Anjou*, and about Eight days after *Geoffrey de Haje* came to him, and deliver'd up the Town and Castle of *Haje*; but the Castle of *Prullie* and the Castle of *Campeni* were surrender'd to Mercy; in which last a great many Knights and their * Dependants, or Tenants, were taken Prisoners. About the Feast of *St. Andrew* King *Henry* came before *Vendosme*, and took it, which *Brachard de Lavardin* (having thence expell'd the Earl his Father) held against the King; from whence he return'd into *Normandy*, and there remain'd all the rest of this Year: which we shall now conclude with some Account of Ecclesiastical Affairs.

[2.] The Church of *Canterbury* had been hitherto vacant, but in the beginning of *June* a Synod of all the Bishops met at *Westminster*, where the Prior of *Canterbury*, with some of his Monks, were present; and

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[3.] B. A.
Wm. K. of Scot-
land with a
great Army
marches into
England, and
spoils *Durham*,
by burning
the Towns &
destroying the
Inhabitants.

[4] R. H. p. 307.
Richard de Lucy,
and *Hum-
phrey de Bohun*,
waste *Scotland*.
But at last
make a Truce
with the K. of
Scots.

[5.] Id. ib.
*Humphrey de
Bohun* with
his Army
marches to-
wards *St. Ed-
mondsbury*,
meets the E.
of *Leicester* &
his Army, and
rouets them.

The E. of *Lei-
cester* and his
Countess ta-
ken Prisoners.

Ten Thou-
sand *Flemmings*
slain in this
Battle.

The E. and his
Lady sent in-
to *France* to K.
Henry, and im-
prison'd at *Fa-
lais*.

[1.] B. A.
Several Castles
in *Anjou* sur-
render'd to K.
Henry the El-
der.

* *Homines*.
Vendosme ta-
ken.

K. *Henry* the
Father returns
into *Normandy*.

[2] C. G. Col.
1425.
A Synod of
Bishops meet
at *Westminster*,
and obtain'd
a Free Electi-
on of an A. Bp.

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The Priors of
Cant. and Dover
pitched
upon, and
the latter
by the com-
mon Consent
of the Bishops
elected A. Bp.

Henry the
Younger by
Letters prohi-
bits his Con-
secration, and
appeals to the
Pope.

The A. Bishop
elect & Prior
and Convent,
write to the
Pope an Ac-
count of the
Election.
And himself
going to Rome,
he obtained it
at last, though
with difficul-
ty.

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[3.] B. A. R. H.
ib.

A Truce con-
cluded on be-
tween the Ks.
of England and
France.

Hugh Bp. of
Durham makes
a Truce with
the K. of Scots,
and what he
gives for it.

[4.] Id p. 308. a.
The K of Scots
enters Nor-
thumberland
with an Army.

[5.] Id ib.
He besieges
Caerlisle, spoils
Northumber-
land, and takes
several Castles
in that and
the neigh-
boring Coun-
tries.

and having at last obtain'd free liberty of Election, to avoid all disputes, they pitch'd upon Two Monks of great Reputation, viz. Odo Prior of *Canterbury*, and Richard Prior of *Dover*; who being both presented to the Bishops, they all with one consent elected the latter for Archbishop; and He being solemnly receiv'd at *Canterbury* by the Clergy and People, was to be consecrated the next day, had there not come Letters from the Young King *Henry* to forbid it, under pretence that the Person elected was not fit for that Dignity; and to make this Prohibition the stronger, he also appeal'd to the Pope; whereupon the Bishops and Clergy not knowing what to do, they all agreed to put off the Consecration. Then the Archbishop Elect, together with the Prior and Convent, wrote Letters to the Pope, giving him a full Account of this Election; but for the confirmation of it, the New Archbishop was forc'd to make a Journey to *Rome*, and there at last he obtain'd it, though not without some difficulty, because of the Opposition made by the Young King's Ambassador, as you will find hereafter.

[3.] The *Christmasts* following King *Henry* spent at *Caen* in *Normandy*, where a Truce was concluded between Him and the King of *France* from the Feast of *St. Hillary* until the Close of, or Eight days after *Easter*. And then likewise *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham* made a Truce with the King of *Scots* at *Revedale* for the same time, and in consideration of it gave him Three Hundred Marks of Silver, to be levied upon the Lands of the Barons of *Northumberland*.

When the Time of this Truce was expir'd, [4.] King *William* (having first collected his Three Hundred Marks above-mention'd) march'd into *Northumberland* with a great Army of *Scots* and *Galloway-men*, and committed such great Slaughters and Barbarities upon the People of all Ages and Conditions, as would seem incredible (as our Authors report them) had we not read of the like committed in the Reign of King *Stephen*; [5.] and then sent his Brother Earl *David* to *Leicester* to relieve that Place; but before he could get thither, the Town was taken by *Richard de Lucy* the King's Justiciary, whilst King *William* was besieging *Caerlisle*: But when he had lain a few days before it, he invested the Castle with some part of his Army, and with the rest pass'd quite through *Northumberland*, spoiling the Country wherever he came.

He took by Storm the Castles of *Burgh* and *Apelby*, then in the custody of *Robert de Stuteville*; as also the Castles of *Werkworth* and *Gerby*, which were all the Kings, and then return'd to his Army before *Caerlisle*, and besieg'd it so long that the Garison began to want Victuals; whereupon *Robert de Vass* the Governor Articled with him, That he would Surrender both the Town and Castle at *Michaelmas* following, if by that time he receiv'd no Relief from the King of *England*; and for performance of this, he gave the King of *Scots* Hostages, and his own Oath besides.

So leaving the Town blockt up, from thence he went with his Army and besieg'd *Prudhou*, the Castle of *Odonel de Unfranvill*, but could not stay to take it, for he heard that a great Force out of *Yorkshire* was coming against him under the Command of *Robert de Stuteville* and his Son *William*, with divers other Gentlemen of that Country; upon which News, the King of *Scots* rais'd his Siege from that Castle,

Castle, and retreating thence besieged *Alnewick*; and whilst he lay before it, sent the Earls *Duncan* and *Angus* with the greatest part of the Army to harraßs, pillage and burn the Country round about, which they executed with the like barbarous and inhumane Cruelty, as they had before done at their first enterance into the Kingdom.

[1.] In the mean time the Commanders of the *Yorkshire* Forces being informed of his Retreat from *Prudhou*, and that he had sent away the greatest part of his Army from him, and lay with the rest before *Alnewick*; they made towards him with all the speed they could, and leaving the Main Body of their Forces behind, *Robert de Stuteville* and *Ranulph de Glanville* resolved to march with a Chosen Party of light Horse early in the Morning to surprize the King in his Quarters; so by Sun-rising they came before *Alnewick*, where they found him secure, and taking the Air in the Morning with about Sixty Horsemen that attended him. At first, when he saw the *English* afar off, he was not at all concern'd, for he thought they had been his own Party, Commanded by Earl *Duncan*, then returned from Plundering the Country; but the *English* presently assaulted this small Party, and him Prisoner without any great difficulty, (he having then but a small Guard about him,) before more Forces could come in to his assistance, though He made the best Defence he could, and had his Horse kill'd under him. Besides the King, there were divers Prisoners of the *Scottish* and *English* Nobility taken, who then sided with him.

But since [2.] *Buchanan* and the rest of the *Scottish* Historians relate this War, with the Occasions of it, after a different manner, it is fit we take some notice of what they say: As first, That the King of *England* being taken up with the *French* War, restored that part of *Northumberland* to the *Scottish* King, which his Great Grandfather had before possess'd: But this is very improbable, since it was not a part, but the whole County of *Northumberland* which that King then held. They say likewise, that the *English*, being very much displeased at the giving up of so great a part of their Country, made frequent Incurßions into *Scotland*; and by refusing to make satisfaction for it, gave fresh Occasions for a War, which their King was then forced to make; and that when he had now entered *England* with a powerful Army, the *English* (having no Forces ready sufficient to oppose them) sent Messengers to his Camp to desire a Cessation of Arms, offering a great Sum of Money for it; which being granted by him, they spent all the time of this Cessation in Warlike Preparations, and in the mean time sent Spies into the King's Camp, where they found all things in great security, as relying on the Truce, and that the King had sent away the greater part of his Army to fetch in Forage and Provisions.

The *English* having received this Intelligence from their Spies, at their return, the Commanders resolved not to lose this advantage, but leaving the greatest part of their Army behind with Four hundred light Horse, they marched away by night, and came near the *Scottish* Camp before Sun-rising, where finding a better opportunity than they could expect for the execution of their design, they (with *Scottish* Arms and Ensigns) set upon the King, who was Riding out early in the Morning with a slender Guard; and before it could be known whither they were Friends or Enemies, surprized, and took him Prisoner.

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And falls up-
on *Alnewic*,
and with his
Army burns
and pillages
the Countries
round about.

[1.] B. A. C. G.
The *Yorkshire*
Men surprize
and take the
K. at *Alnewic*,
with divers of
the *Scottish* and
English Nobil-
ity, Prisoners.

[2.] Lib. 7. Sub.
Rege 93.

The different
Account the
Scottish Histo-
rians give of
this War in
favour of their
own Nation.

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A plausible
Story, if true;
but it is alto-
gether impro-
bable, for the
following
Reasons.

No Truce
made with
the *Scotish* K.
but what was
expir'd before
this Invasion.
The Story of
their K's be-
ing surpriz'd
during the
Truce, a great
mistake.

Their own
Chronicle of
Mailrofs being
against them.

[3] C. M.
The K of *Scots*
first carried to
Richmond Ca-
stle, and kept
close Prisoner
there, till re-
moved by K.
Henry's Order
to *Normandy*.

[4] R. D. Cal.
575.

The E of *Flan-
ders* prepares
to invade

England to re-
duce it under
the Young K's
Obedience.

*Ralph de la
Haye* with 300
Horse join
with E. *Hugh
Bigot*, and
march to *Nor-
wich*, & fire it.

[5] R. H. p.
308. b.

The Souldiers
from *Leicester*
fight with the
Burgesses, Sol-
diers of *Nor-
thampton*, and
beat them.

[1.] B. A. Id. ib.
Geoffrey, Elect
of *Lincoln*, be-
siegues the Ca-
stle of *Lisle* in
the Isle of *An-
bolme*, and de-
stroys it.

*Roger de Mon-
bray* taken Pri-
soner.

This is a very plausible Story if it were all true; but in the first place, as to the Occasions of this War, they are altogether improbable; for is it likely that the *English* should stand so much in awe of the *Scots*, as to deliver up great part of the Country to buy a Peace, and yet should afterwards presume to make fresh Incursions, and not only that, but also deny to make satisfaction for the Injuries they had done, when they knew they were not in a condition to maintain a War? But in Truth there was not any Truce then made with the *Scotish* King, but that which was concluded the last Winter, and expired before this Invasion; nor was part of the *Scotish* Army sent to fetch in Provisions, but to destroy the Country, as all our Historians agree: and therefore there could be no Cessation of Arms at the same time, and consequently all the rest of the Story of this King's being surprized during the Truce, is a great mistake; though that he was taken at unawares, we do not deny, since he did not expect the *English* Army so near him; which, I must confess, was a great oversight in so warlike a Prince, who ought certainly to have had his Scouts abroad to watch the Enemy's motions.

But I shall say no more of this matter, since the Chronicle of *Mailrofs*, which was written for the greatest part by the Abbot of *Dundrai*, and (a *Scotchman*) says expressly concerning this War, That William King of *Scots* hoping to repair old Losses, through evil Counsel began a cruel War against his Cousin and Lord the King of *England*: Therefore I shall leave it to the impartial Reader to judge who best deserves credit, our *English* Historians that lived at the same time, and all agree in this Relation; or the *Scotish* Writers, the earliest of whom lived above an Hundred years after. I thought good to mention this, not so much to vindicate the Credit of our own Historians, as the Honour of our Nation.

[3.] But by what means soever this King was taken Prisoner, thus much is certain, that it was done on the 13th of July, and that he was first carried to *Richmond* Castle, where he was kept close Prisoner by King *Henry's* Order, till he was some time after convey'd into *Normandy*.

[4.] About a month before this Action, the Earl of *Flanders* having lately taken an Oath before the *French* King to invade *England*, he with a powerful Army, presently after *Midsummer*, (in order to reduce it to the Young King's Obedience) had come down to *Whitsand* to pass over, and till his whole Army could be ready, sent before *Ralph de la Haye* with above Three Hundred choice Horsemen, all *Veterane* Souldiers, who, landing in *Norfolk*, joyned themselves to Earl *Hugh Bigot*; and he not long after marched with them to *Norwich*, and fired it; [5.] then *Ansketel Malhore* Constable of *Leicester*, presently after *Whitsun-tide* went with his Forces to the King's Town of *Northampton*, where the Burgesses with the Souldiers within it sallied out upon them, and had a sharp dispute, yet the *Leicestersians* got the better, carrying away with them Two Hundred Prisoners, besides those that were kill'd or wounded.

[1.] In the mean while *Geoffrey*, Bishop Elect of *Lincoln* (the King's Natural Son) gather'd an Army out of *Lincolnshire*, and besieged the Castle of *Lisle* in the Isle of *Anbolme*, which *Roger de Monbray* had fortified; but he going to *Leicester* for Assistance, was taken by the Country-

Countrymen of *Claye*, and there kept Prisoner. As soon as Bishop *Geoffrey* had taken that Castle, he commanded it to be demolished; and going away from thence to *York*, and taking *Roger* Archbishop of that City to his Assistance, he marched with the Militia of that Shire to *Malefarch*, another Castle of *Mowbray's*, which he took in a few days, (with many Knights that were in it) and deliver'd it to the Custody of that Archbishop.

During these Transactions, *Robert* Earl of *Ferrers* taking with him the Garison Souldiers of *Leicester*, march'd one morning early to *Nottingham* (a Town of the King's) of which *Reginald de Lucy* was Governor, and took it without any difficulty, killing several of the Townsmen, and carrying away a great deal of Plunder.

[2.] But some time after, viz. on the 3d of *July*, *Reginald*, Earl of *Cornwall*, and *Richard de Lucy*, chief Justice of *England*, were severely reveng'd on those *Leicester* Rebels, for they march'd with their joyn't Forces against the Town of *Leicester*, and took it, and in the Assault set it on fire, and burnt most of it, except the Castle which they could not take; but the Townsmen, upon payment of Three Hundred pounds, had leave to go away, and inhabit in any Towns they pleas'd then under the King's Obedience.

[3.] Some time after *Midsummer*, *Richard de Lucy* besieg'd *Huntington*-Castle, but the Garison had burnt the Town before his coming; then he built a Fort before the Gates of the Castle, so that those within it could not go out with safety; and by the King's Command he deliver'd that Fort into the hands of Earl **Simon*, who had lately claim'd the Earldom of *Huntington* in the King's Court as his Inheritance, which the King granted to him whenever he could reduce it.

[4.] At *Midsummer* the Young King, and *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, at the Instigation of the King of *France*, and Request of some of the Earls and Barons of *England* of their Party, came with a great Army to *Gravelin* in *Flanders*, where a Fleet lay ready to Transport them into *England*, but they wanted a Wind to carry them over. In the mean while the Old King was with his Army in *Poitou*, and there subdued many Forts and Castles, and at length came to the City of *Xaincts* and took it, with two Towres, whereof one was called the Great One, in which were many Knights and **Esquires*; He likewise besieged the Cathedral which was fortified and victualled against him, but within a few days he possessed himself of it, and there also he took several Knights, with their Followers; then presently returning into *Anjou* about *St. Barnaby*-tide, he took *Ançena*, the Town of *Guinon de Ançena* near *St. Florence*, and built there a strong Fortrefs, and placed a Garison in it: after this he wasted the whole Province, cutting down the Vines and Fruit-Trees, and then return'd into *Normandy*.

[5.] The Young King and the Earl of *Flanders* were all this while detained at *Gravelin* by contrary Winds; during which time, King *Henry* the Father, to oppose and baffle all their designs, went speedily to *Barfleur*, and there taking Shipping, Landed at *Southampton* on the Eighth of *July*, bringing over his Queen and the Earls of *Leicester* and *Chester* Prisoners along with him, besides a great Army of *Brabanters*. From thence he went towards *Canterbury* on Pilgrimage to the Tomb of *Thomas* of *Becket*, who was lately Canoniz'd for a

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Malefarch Castle likewise taken by Geoffrey.

E. of Ferrers with the Garison-Souldiers of Leicester, takes Nottingham.

[2.] Thomas Wikes. Annal de Waverly.

E. of Cornwall and Richard de Lucy, take Leicester, & burnt most of it, except the Castle.

Upon payment of 300 l. the Townsmen had leave to dwell in any Town then under the K's Obedience.

[3.] B. A. R. H. p. 307. 308.

Huntington-Castle taken, and the Town burnt by the Garison.

i. e. Simon de St. Liz.

The Earldom of Huntington claim'd in the K's Court.

[4.] Id. ibid. Young K. Hen. and the E. of Flanders with a great Army come to Gravelin, designing for England.

The Old K. subdues Xaincts, and takes several Forts and Castles in Poitou.

* Servienter.

[5.] Id. ibid. R. H. ib.

And then Lands at Southampton, with his Qu. & Daughter-in-Law, and his Prisoners, the Earls of Leicester and Chester.

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The Old K.
goes on Pil-
grimage to
Canterbury.

And walks 3
miles Bare-
foot to the
A. Bp's Sepul-
chre, and un-
dergoes there
severe Pe-
nance.

Spending all
the day and
next night
at his Tomb
in great De-
votion.

And then sets
forward to
London.

The K. of Scots
taken Priso-
ner.

[1.] Hist. Wal-
ter de Heming-
ford.

At the News
of which, he
with Tears
gives Thanks
to the new
Martyr.

[2.] R. H. p.
308. b.
He with his
Army besie-
ges and takes
Huntington.

[3.] Id. ibid.
He marches
to Framing-
ham.

But E. Hugh
Bigot the next
day makes
Peace, by deli-
vering that &
Bungey-Castle
to him.

The K. of Scots
brought to
him at Nor-
thampton in
disgrace.

Bp. of Durham,
the Consta-
bles of the
E. of Leicester,
and Roger de
Mowbray and E.
Ferrers deliver
up their Ca-
stles to the K.

Saint by the Pope: but so soon as the King saw the Cathedral Church where this new Archbishop *Thomas* was interr'd, though he was then Three Miles off, he alighted from his Horse, and pulling off his Boots, went Bare-foot to the very Sepulchre, and there prostrating himself, received the *Discipline*, or (as *Gervase* more plainly words it) was voluntarily whipp'd by all the Bishops and Abbots there present, as also by every one of the Monks of *Christ-Church*; and then remained in Prayer and Fasting by this (supposed) Martyr's Tomb all that Day and the Night following, neither would he suffer a Carpet or any such thing to be put under him to keep him from the cold Stones. Then after a solemn Procession round about all the Altars of the Upper Church, and the Bodies of the Saints that lay there buried, he return'd again to the Tomb of the New *St. Thomas*; and so having next morning (being the 13th of *July*) heard Mass, he departed joyfully from *Canterbury*, and the next day reached *London*.

Now it happen'd on that very day the King took his Journey from *Canterbury*, that the King of *Scots* was taken Prisoner, which is by our Monkish Writers imputed to the Merits and Intercession of this new Saint, who had the Year before been Canoniz'd by the Pope, as you may find by his Bull recited at large by *Radulphus de Diceto* and *Quadrilogus*, to whom we refer those that are desirous to read it. But of the Translation and Enshrinement of this pretended Saint we shall speake more, when we come to the Reign of King *Henry* the Third.

[1.] As soon almost as the King came to *London*, he received the good News, by a Messenger sent Post on purpose from *Ranulph de Glanville*, of the taking the King of *Scots* Prisoner; which when he heard, he with Tears gave Thanks to the new Martyr *St. Thomas*; and [2.] then on the *Thursday* following, he marched with his Army toward *Huntington*, and besieg'd it, and on the Twenty-first of *July* forced those within to surrender upon Mercy, their Lives and Limbs only preserved.

[3.] From thence the King went with his Army toward *Framingham-Castle*, where *Hugh Bigot* was with a strong Garison of *Flemmings*, and sat down before it; but on the next day (*viz.* the Twenty Fifth of *August*) the Earl being afraid, came out and made his Peace with the King, and deliver'd his Castles of *Framingham* and *Bungey*, upon obtaining from him with great difficulty, that the *Flemmings* might have liberty to depart home. From thence he went to *Northampton*, whither the King of *Scots* was brought with his Legs tied under the Horse's Belly, and presented to the King: there came also to him the Bishop of *Durham*, who then surrender'd that Castle, as likewise the Castles of *Norham* and *Alverton*. And on the same day came to him *Ansketil Mallore* and *William de Diva*, Constables of the Earl of *Leicester*, and render'd the Castles of *Leicester*, *Mont-sorrel* and *Grobby*. The same day also came to him *Roger de Mowbray*, and render'd up his Castle of *Thursk*; and then came in the Earl of *Ferrers*, and deliver'd up his Castles of *Stutesbury* and *Duffelde*; so that within Three Weeks all *England* was at Peace, and all the strong Places were surrender'd into the King's hands.

[4.] While

[4.] While these things were transacting in *England*, the King of *France* hearing of the taking of the King of *Scots*, and the rest of King *Henry's* Successes in *England*, recalled the Young King and Earl of *Flanders* from the Sea-Coast, since he found it was in vain for them to stay there any longer; [5.] and so joyning their Forces with his, and making up a Great Army, they march'd away and besieg'd *Rouen*, hoping to take it before King *Henry* could arrive thither: but they did little against it, for the Barons and Knights of *Normandy* (who had an entire Affection for King *Henry* the Father) put themselves into the City, and courageously defended it.

[1.] This News coming to the Old King's Ears, whose Affairs in *England* were now in a pretty good Posture, he with great speed went to *Portsmouth*, and taking Shipping on the Eighth of *August*, Land- ed at *Barfleur* in *Normandy*, and carried with him (besides his *Braban- ters*) a Thousand *Welshmen*, lately sent him by *David* Prince of *Wales* (now married to *Emma* the King's Natural Sister:) He also carried over with him *William* King of *Scots*, with the Earls of *Lei- ceister* and *Chester*, and first imprison'd them at *Caen*, but afterwards sent them to the Castle of *Falais*.

On *Sunday* following King *Henry* came to *Rouen*; upon the News of whose arrival, the King of *France* was much concern'd; as also at a bold Action of the *Welshmen*, that stole out of the City by Night, and lying hid in a Wood, took Forty Waggon's laden with Wine and other Provisions for the *French* Camp, which by that Loss suffer'd greatly.

[2.] Hereupon King *Lewis* began to think of a Retreat; but the King of *England* opening the Gate which the Citizens had damned up, sallied out of the Town, and marched to the *French* Camp; from whence the Souldiers issued out, and bravely charged the *English*, who took and wounded many of them, and kill'd many more. The next morning *William* Archbishop of *Sens*, and *Theobald* Earl of *Blois* came to King *Henry*, and ask'd his leave that the King of *France* might safely retreat with his Army to a place called *Malauney*, upon condition, that he would come the next day to treat with the King of *England*; and to do this, they both obliged themselves by their Faith and Oaths: Whereupon the King of *France* retreated with his Army to the place appointed, and there pitched his Tents; but about Midnight he caused his Souldiers to march away privately, and never stopped till they came into *France*: King *Lewis* not at all regarding the Faith and Oaths of the Archbishop and Earl, by which they had gain'd so great an Advantage for him. This shameful Retreat, or rather Flight of the King of *France*, happened on the 14th of *August*. From whence we may take notice, that it is no new thing for the Kings of *France* to get those Advantages by Treas- ties, which they never could have gained otherwise.

[3.] But for all this, some days after the same Archbishop and Earl came again to King *Henry*, and propounded a Second Treaty between Him and his Brother of *France* at *Gisors*, upon the Feast of the Na- tivity of the Virgin *Mary*, or Eighth of *September*; at which time they met, but could not agree, because Earl *Richard* would not come to any reasonable Terms of Peace, but continued taking and destroying his Father's Castles in *Poitou*: Wherefore the Two Kings appointed another

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[4.] Id. ib.

The Young K.
and E. of *Flan- ders* recalled from *Gravelini*.

[5.] B. A. R. H.
ib.

Rouen besieg'd by the *French* King;

But is coura-
geously de-
fended by the
Barons and
Knights of
Normandy.

[1.] Id. ib.

The Old K.
Lands at *Bar- fleur*, carrying with him 1000 *Welshmen*, be- sides *Braban- ters*.

Disposes of
his Prisoners
in several Ca-
stles, & comes to *Rouen*.

The *Welsh* take
a *French* Con-
voy of Wine
and Victuals.

[2.] Id. p. 309. a.

The *English*
beat the *French*
before *Rouen*.
The Siege rais-
ed.

The A. Bp. of
Sens and E. of
Blois swear,
that the K. of
France should
come next
morning and
treat with the
K. of *England*.

But K. *Lewis*
march'd away.

[3.] Id. ib.

A 2d Treaty
propounded,
and held at
Gisors, but it
came to no-
thing, by rea-
son of E. *Rich- ard's* Obstina-
cy.

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The K. of
France and
Young King
Henry swear,
not to send
him any Re-
lief.

[4.] *Id. ib.*
Richard E. of
Poitou flies
before his Fa-
ther, leaving
his Castles and
Fortresses.

At last throws
himself at
his Feet,
begs pardon,
and obtains
it.

The Three
Sons submit
to their Fa-
ther's mercy.

another Treaty on *Michaelmas*-day following between *Tours* and *Ambois*, upon this Condition, that in the mean while the King of *England* might march into *Poitou* to reduce his Son *Richard* to Obedience, the King of *France* and the Young King *Henry*, both swearing, that neither of them, nor any of their Party should give or send him any Relief: But what should be the reason why they thus deserted Earl *Richard* I do not find, unless it were, that he had not stuck so close to them, as they would have had him in this War.

[4.] As soon as King *Henry* came into *Poitou*, his Son *Richard* durst not stand him, but fled from every place to which he was like to come, and left the Castles and Fortresses he had formerly taken; but when he had heard the King of *France* and his Brother had made a Truce with his Father, and excluded him, he was mightily concern'd at it, and immediately came, and with Tears threw himself at the Old King's feet, and begg'd his pardon; who being moved with a natural compassion, kiss'd him and receiv'd him again into his Favour. This Peace was made between the King and his Son on the 23d of *September* at *Poitiers*; from whence they went to meet the King of *France* and Young King *Henry* at the Treaty that was to be held on *Michaelmas* day (as I said a little above) to acquaint them with what had been now transacted.

Being all met according to the said appointment, the Three Sons submitted themselves to their Father's Mercy, and they all agreed on these following Articles of Peace, which they confirmed with their Seals.

[5.] *Id. ib.*
Articles of
Peace be-
tween the
Old K. and
his Sons.

* *Homines.*

I. " That the Young King *Henry* and his Brothers, *Richard* and *Geoffrey*, should return to their Father's Obedience, notwithstanding any Oaths (from which they were also to be absolved) they had made formerly between themselves, or with any others against him, or his Vassals or Subjects.

II. " That all their * Tenants in Military Service, and Barons that had for their sakes receded from the Fidelity they owed to their Father, were by them to be freed and acquitted from the Obligation of such Oaths and Covenants as they had entred into with them; and so were to return to the Homage and Allegiance of their Lord the King.

III. " The King's Tenants and Barons were to have and enjoy again all their Lands and Castles, &c. which they had been possessed of Fifteen days before the Rupture between the Father and Sons: likewise the King's Barons and Tenants that had left him, and followed his Sons, were to have again all their Lands which they had at the same time.

IV. " King *Henry* the Elder promised to shew no ill will towards his Barons and Tenants that had left him, nor to do them any Prejudice, so long as they served him faithfully as their Liege Lord: The same the Young King promised to all Men, both Clerks and Laicks, who were in his Father's Service; and gave his Word that he would not procure their hurt or damage during his Life.

V. By

V. " By this Agreement the King was to give his Son *Henry* Two convenient Castles in *Normandy*, such as the Father should appoint, and Fifteen Thousand pounds yearly of *Anjou* Money. And to his Son *Richard*, Two convenient Castles in *Poitou*, so as no damage might accrue to his Father from them, and in Money half the Revenues of *Poitou*. To his Son *Geoffrey* he granted in *Money* half the Revenues he was to have by his intended Marriage with the Daughter of *Conan* Earl of *Bretaign*; and after he was married to her, then the whole Revenue, according to her Father's Charter.

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VI. " The Prisoners that had already compounded and made their Agreements with the King, (that is) *William* King of *Scotland*, the Earls of *Leicester* and *Chester*, and *Ralph* of *Fougeres*, and their Pledges, were exempted out of this Concord: but the other Prisoners on both sides were to be set at liberty, yet so, as the King should take Pledges of as many of them as he pleased, who were able to give them; and of others he was to have their Fealty and the Oath of themselves and their Friends.

VII. " The Castles that were fortified at the time of the War, were to be reduced to the same Condition they had been in for Fifteen days before the War.

VIII. " That Young King *Henry* should strictly observe the Donation made by his Father to his Brother *John*; (That is to say) One Thousand Pounds Yearly out of his Demeafnes and Escheats in *England*, the Castle of *Nottingham* with the County; the Castle of *Marlborough*, with its Appurtenances; and in *Normandy* One Thousand Pounds per Annum of *Anjou* Money, with Two Castles such as his Father should appoint; In *Anjou* out of the lands that were the Earl of *Anjou*, One Thousand Pounds yearly of *Anjou* Money, and one Castle, and in *Tourain* one Castle, and in *Main* one Castle.

IX. " The King for the love of his Son, pardoned all Forfeitures of such as had left him, and adhered to his Son, so that they were not to answer for them; but for Murther, Treason, and the loss of a Member, they were to answer according to the Judgment and Custom of the Land: but if any one had forfeited any thing before the War, he was to stand to Judgment for that; and they who were engaged in any Plea, or Suit, the Plea or Suit was to be in the same state and condition it was before the War.

X. " King *Henry* the Son gave his Father security, that he would keep this Concord; as did also He and his Brothers, that they would not exact more of him against his Will than what he had now granted to them, nor would ever withdraw themselves, or their Services, from his Obedience.

[2.] Then

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[1.] C. B. 6el.
1099.

The K. of
France inclu-
ded in the
foregoing Ar-
ticles, though
not particu-
larly mentio-
ned.

During this
War between
France & Eng-
land, and the
Civil Wars at
home, may be
placed the Ge-
neral Defecti-
on of the Irish
against King
Henry.

[2.] L. 2.
A short Ac-
count of it
from Giraldus
Cambrensis.

The Irish Prin-
ces enter into
a Confederacy
to throw off
the English
Yoke.

A Defection
from Richard
Strongbow,
through his
ill Conduct.

[3.] Ibid. C. 2.
Raymond again
made Com-
mander in
Chief.

Invades Opha-
ly, and gets
much Plun-
der.

The like he
does to Lif-
more.

The Men of
Cork beaten,
and their Ad-
miral kill'd.

Raymond van-
quishes Der-
mot Mac-Carty,
and returns to
Waterford with
4000 Head of
Cattle.

[1.] Then Earl *Richard* and *Geoffrey* the King's Sons did their Fa-
ther Homage for those Territories he had given them; but when
King *Henry* his Son was going to do it, the Old King would not ac-
cept it, because he said *he was a King*; yet some time after his Father,
upon their more perfect Reconciliation, received his Homage, as you
will find by and by.

The Reader must also observe, that the King of *France* was like-
wise comprized within this Treaty of Peace, though not particularly
mentioned in the foregoing Articles, because there was no occasion
for it; for he being the Aggressor, and having made War upon King
Henry without any just grounds, upon the account of the Young
King his Son-in-Law, whom he excited and assisted against his Fa-
ther, there needed no more than a Restitution of the Places he had
taken from the King during this War, and to put things in the same
state they were in before it began.

During the continuance of this War between the Kings of *France*
and *England*, and the Civil Wars that were raised here by Young
King *Henry* against his Father, we may place the General Defection
of the *Irish* Princes against King *Henry*, notwithstanding the late
Submissions and Homages they had made him; of which Wars and
Disturbances that arose by them these Two years last past, I shall give
you this short account from [2.] *Giraldus Cambrensis*, without making
any distinction between the Years wherein they were transacted,
since our Author has not given us any exact time of them: Only this
much is certain, That not long after the breaking out of that War,
all the Princes of *Ireland* entered into a Confederacy to throw off the
English Yoke, and to drive that Nation entirely out of their Country:
to suppress which Insurrection, and to reduce that Island again under
its former Allegiance, King *Henry* first sent over Earl *Richard Strong-*
bow with his Commission; but he in a little while spent all the Trea-
sure he brought over with him; his Souldiers also, that were under
the Conduct of *Harvey de Mont-Maurice*, then Constable or General,
wanting their Pay, came unanimously to the Earl, affirming, that unless
he would make *Raymond* their General again, they would presently
leave him, and either return into *England*, or go over to his Enemies.

[3.] He being driven to this straight, was obliged to make
Raymond again Commander in chief of these Forces, with which he
invaded *Ophaly*, and got much Plunder, recruiting his Souldiers both
with Horse and Arms; from thence he went to *Lismore* (about Six-
teen Miles from *Cork*;) and plundered that City and the Country
about it; and having with their great Booty laden some small Vessels
which came from *Waterford*, and other places, to carry it thither by
Sea, in their Voyage they were set upon by the Inhabitants of
Cork, who it seems, had privately mann'd out Thirty Two of their
Ships to intercept them; whereupon there happen'd a very sharp
Engagement, but at length the Men of *Cork* were beaten, and their
Admiral *Gilbert Fitz-Cutger* killed by *Philip Walsh*, a stout young
Man; *Raymond* was not in this Rencontre, but in his Return to
Waterford by Land, meeting with *Dermot Mac-Carty*, Prince of *Des-*
mond, coming to the assistance of the *Corkists*, they fought, and
Dermot being vanquish'd, left the Field, and *Raymond* return'd to
Waterford with Four Thousand Head of Cattle.

[4.] Soon

[4.] Soon after this, He receiving Intelligence that his Father *William Fitz-Girald* was dead, went over into *Wales* to look after his Affairs there, and in his absence *Harvey* of *Mont-Maurice* was again made Constable or Commander in chief of these Forces; who, that he might seem to do something extraordinary; drew Earl *Richard* and the Souldiers with him to *Cassils*, where the Forces of *Dublin* were Commanded to meet them. In their March thither, they quartered one night at *Offory*, and *Donald O Brien*, Prince of *Limerick*, having certain notice of it by his Scouts, very early in the morning beat up their Quarters on the sudden, and kill'd Four Hundred *Ostmans*; (i. e. *Norwegians* or *Danes*, who then lived in and near *Dublin*) with Four Knights that Commanded them; which the Earl hearing of, he return'd in disorder to *Waterford*.

Upon this unfortunate Accident the whole People of *Ireland* unanimously rose against the *Englisb*, so that the Earl lay as it were block'd up in *Waterford*, whilst *Rodoric* Prince of *Connaught* passed the River *Shannon*, invaded *Methe*, demolished the Castles, and with Fire and Sword wasted the Country almost to the very Walls of *Dublin*.

[5.] The Earl finding himself in a great streight, wrote into *Wales* to *Raymond*, desiring him to return with all speed, and bring over what Aid he could; and that upon his first Landing he should receive in Mariage his Sister *Basilia*, whom he had been long in love with: Whereupon He with all possible speed, and *Meyler* his Cousin, and Thirty Gentlemen more of his Kindred, besides One Hundred Horse and Three Hundred Archers, took Shipping in Fifteen Vessels, and Landed at *Waterford*.

So soon as *Raymond* entered the Town, he with his Forces conducted the Earl to *Wexford*, leaving the Government of *Waterford* to one *Tyrrell*; his Christian Name was *Hugh*, and he was Ancestor to the *Tyrrells* of *Ireland*. But after this Earl's departure, the *Ostmen* of *Waterford* taking up Arms, murther'd him, with many of his Followers, and did the like to all the *Englisb* they could find in the Streets: yet for all this the City was preserv'd by those few *Englisb* that remain'd in the Castle call'd *Reginald's* Tower, who drove the Traytors out of the City, and forced them to accept of Peace on harder terms than they expected.

In the mean time *Raymond* was married at *Wexford* to the Earl's Sister, and the day after his Nuptials hearing that *Rodoric* King of *Connaught* had again destroyed *Methe*, and was marched into the Country near *Dublin*, He presently advanced his Forces toward him, but *Rodoric* was wiser than to stay for his coming. *Raymond* finding him thus retired, repaired the Castles in *Methe*, and brought things to such a pass, by the dread they had of him, that that turbulent Nation for some short time was kept in peace.

But it was not long ere *Donald O Brien* (or *O Brin*) King of *Limeric* and *Munster* quitted the Fealty he had sworn to the King of *England*; whereupon *Raymond* gathering together an Hundred Knights or Men at Arms, and Twenty other Horsemen for his Guard, besides Three Hundred Archers on Horseback, and as many on Foot, about the beginning of *October* attacked *Limerick*; but coming to the River *Shannon* (which is there very deep, and almost encompasseth the City) they could proceed no further. At this Stand one *David*

Vol. II.

E E E

Wells

Anno Dom.
MCLXXIV.[4.] Id. C. 3.
He upon his
Father's death,
goes into *Wales*,
and *Harvey*
Mont-Maurice
made Com-
mander in
Chief in his
room.Donald O Brien
on a sudden
sets upon his
& E. Richard's
Forces, and
gains a nora-
ble Victory.The Irish upon
this, revolt a-
gainst the En-
glisb.Prince Rodoric
invades *Methe*,
and wastes the
Country, al-
most to *Dub-*
lin.[5.] Ibid. C. 4.
The E. desires
Raymond's re-
turn, and pro-
mises him his
Sister in Mar-
riage.The *Ostmen*
of *Waterford*
murther *Hugh*
Tyrrell their
Governor, and
all the *Englisb*
they met with.*Raymond* mar-
ried to the
Earl's Sister.The next day
he is forc'd to
go against *Ro-*
doric K. of *Con-*
naught, whom
he makes to
fly.[1.] Id. Cap. 8.
Donald breaks
his Oath made
to K. Henry.*Raymond* at-
tacks *Limeric*.*David Wells*
his Courage.

Anno Dom.
MCLXXIV.

Nations Cuius
briensis non Cog-
natio.

Meyler's Envy
of him for it.

Raymond leads
his Army over
the River,

And takes Li-
merick.

[2.] Ibid. C. 10.

And when he
had put the
City into
some good
posture of de-
fence, he re-
turn'd to Lein-
ster.

[1.] B. A.

The Pope
Consecrates
Richard the
A. Bp. of Can-
terbury with
his own
hands.

Anno Dom.
MCLXXV.

[4.] B. A. R. H.

K. Henry sends
his Son Ri-
chard into
Poitou, to de-
molish the Ca-
stles of the
Earls and Ba-
rons that had
been fortified
against him.

Welsh (* call'd so from his Country, not his Family) a Courageous young Gentleman, that valued not Death so he could but gain Honour, first forced his Horse into the River, and passing quite over, cried out to the Army, that *he had found a Ford*; but when he saw none durst follow him, but one *Geoffrey Judas* a Common Souldier (who was drowned in the attempt) he return'd back. *Meyler*, Nephew to *Raymond*, seeing this, and envying the Honour that *David Welsh* had thereby gained, clapt Spurs to his Horse and dash'd through the River, notwithstanding the great Danger he ran by the Stones that were thrown at him from the Walls, and the Opposition he was to meet with at his Landing; but he got safe over, and was presently encounter'd by the Enemy: *Raymond* indeed was not then upon the place, but soon after marching up, and observing what danger his Nephew was in, he encouraged his Army, and led them over the River, himself first taking the Stream, and with the Loss only of Two of his Guards and one Common Souldier that were drowned in their passage, he quickly drove the Enemy into the City, which with great slaughter of the Citizens he took by Storm, and there the Army met with a great deal of rich Booty.

[2.] As soon as *Raymond* had put the City into some good posture of defence, and left there Fifty Knights, or Horsemen, with Two Hundred ordinary Souldiers, and as many Archers, under the Command of *Miles of St. Davids*, he return'd back to *Leinster*: And here, I suppose, we may put a period to the *English* Conquests in *Ireland* during this Year; for what follows, most likely happen'd in the next succeeding, for our Author has been too remiss in not setting down the Years when these things were transacted.

[3.] As for Ecclesiastical Affairs, this Year affords little in *England*, saving that *Richard* the Archbishop Elect of *Canterbury*, and *Reginald* Bishop of *Bathe*, being arrived at *Rome*, about the Confirmation of their own Elections (as well as those of divers Bishops) the Pope, notwithstanding all the opposition that young King *Henry's* Ambassadors could make, did not only approve of and confirm them, but also consecrated the Archbishop of *Canterbury* with his own Hands, as appears by a Letter of *Reginald* Bishop of *Bathe* to King *Henry* the Father, which Abbot *Benedict* has given us at large: But it is now time to return to the rest of King *Henry's* Actions, during his Abode beyond Sea.

[4.] At *Christmas* the King was at *Argenton* in *Normandy*, and from thence sent his Son Duke *Richard* into *Poitou*, to reduce the Castles of his Earls and Barons (which they had fortified against him) to the same condition they were in before the War, and to demolish such as he thought fit; and by his Letters order'd the Forces of *Poitou*, with his Bayliffs and Ministers, to be assistant to him in that Enterprize.

On the 2d of *February* the Two Kings, Father and Son, were at *Mans*, and from thence came into *Normandy*; and the Four and twentieth of that Month they had a Conference with the King of *France* at *Gisors*, and then afterwards went to *Roüen*, where King *Henry* the Elder left his Son, and proceeded on to *Anjou*; where having fortified his own Castles, demolished some Others, and reduced the Residue to their former state, He came to *Caën*, and sent for the King his Son to meet him

him there, in order to their going over together into *England*: But at first he refused, upon the malicious suggestions of the Envoys from the King of *France*, and other disaffected People, who rumour'd, that if his Father once got him thither, he would put him in Prison; but the King plying him with many kind Messages, so prevailed upon him, that at last he came to him to *Bury*, and there before the Archbishop of *Rouen*, *Henry* Bishop of *Bayeux*, *William* Earl of *Mandeville*, *Richard* Humet Constable of *Normandy*, and divers other of the King's Friends and Great Officers; he threw himself with Tears at his Father's Feet, beseeching him to receive his Homage and Allegiance, as he had done his Brother's, for before (as I have said) his Father would not suffer it, because he was a King as well as himself; adding, that if He would not receive his Homage, he could not believe he had any kindness for him; at length, by the perswasion of those about him, the Old King received his Homage and Allegiance; and then sent him to the King of *France* to discourse him about some affairs, whilst he himself went to *Valaingués*, and from thence to *Cherbourg*, where his Son met him; and from thence they both went to *Caen* to meet *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, who there deliver'd up the Charter of the Donation of the Lands and Rents formerly granted to him by the Young King; upon which they Both confirmed to him the Thousand Marks Revenue he used to receive in *England* before the War: From *Caen* they both went to *Barfleur*, and from thence passed over into *England* in the same Ship, and Landed at *Portsmouth* on the Ninth of *May*.

[5.] But before King *Henry* left *Normandy*, he sent his Son Earl *Geoffrey* into *Bretaign*, Commanding him to demolish all the Castles and Fortresses that had been fortified against him in that Dukedom. So soon as they came to *London*, which was at the latter end of *May*, they were both present, and assisted at a Synod of the Clergy: of which I shall say more anon.

[1.] The King impeached the Earl of *Gloucester* in his Court, for that he had forced his Souldiers out of the Castle of *Bristol*, and kept it in his hands during the time of the War; but he willing to satisfy the King, surrender'd that Castle into his Hands. He likewise impleaded all the Earls, Barons, Clerks and Laicks of *England*, concerning their Forfeitures in his Forests, and for hunting in the time of War, and caused them all to be Fined, notwithstanding *Richard de Lucy*, Justiciary of *England*, appeared on their behalf, and vouched the King's Mandate from beyond Sea, by which he was empower'd to grant them such Licences.

[2.] In the beginning of *August* following, the Two Kings came to *Tork*, where they were met by *William* King of *Scots* and *David* his Brother, with all the Bishops, Earls, Barons, Knights and Franc-Tenants of *Scotland*, from the greatest to the least. The Business of this Great Meeting was to renew the late Peace and Agreement the King of *Scots* had made with the King of *England*, when he was his Prisoner at *Falais* in *Normandy*, which was reduced into writing under certain Heads or Articles, and agreed to by the King of *Scots* before the King and his Son, and *Roger* Archbishop of *Tork*, *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham*, and most of the Earls and Barons of *England*, as

Anno Dom.
MCLXXV.

The Young K. unwilling to go with his Father into *Normandy*, through the wicked Suggestions of disaffected Persons.

But at length is prevailed upon, and meets him at *Bury*.

And does Homage to the K. his Father.

They both come for *England*.

[5.] Id. ib. The Father sends E. *Geoffrey* into *Bretaign* to demolish the Castles, &c. that had been there fortified against him.

[1.] B. A. R. The K. impeached the E. of *Gloucester*.

Who surrenders the Castle of *Bristol* to him.

He likewise impleads all the Earls, Barons, Clerks and Laicks in *England*, for their Forfeitures in his Forests.

[2.] B. A. R. p. 311. Both Ks. meet at *Tork*.

Where the K. of *Scotland* and *David* his Brother meet them, to renew the Peace and Agreement the K. of *Scots* had entred into whilst he was his Prisoner at *Falais*.

Anno Dom.
MCLXXV

The Scotch
Brethren do
Homage to
K. Henry, Fa-
ther and Son.

All the Bps. &
Abbots of Scot-
land swear Al-
legiance and
Fealty to them
& their Heirs
for ever.

And swear
that if their
K. did not ob-
serve the said
Agreement,
they would
Interdict his
Land.

They likewise
swear Subje-
ction to the
Church of
England.

The Earls &
Barons of
Scotland swear
Allegiance to
both the Ks.
of England.

And if their
K. did not
stand to this
Agreement,
they would
then assist the
K. of England.

[3.] Id. ib.

This Agree-
ment between
the Ks. of Eng-
land and Scot-
land, new seal-
ed.

And several
Cautionary
Towns and
Castles put in-
to the K. of
England's
hands for
greater Secu-
rity.

And several
Hostages to
be given till
the said Ca-
stles were sur-
rendered.

This Agree-
ment first
made & seal-
ed at Paris.

also before the Bishops, Abbots, Earls and Barons of Scotland, and was to this effect.

I. That the King of Scotland and David his Brother did Homage to King Henry for all the Territories they were possessed of, namely, Scotland and Galway, and did swear Allegiance and Fealty to him against all Men; the like they did to Henry his Son, saving the Allegiance and Fealty they bore to his Father.

In like manner did Richard Bishop of St. Andrews, Jocelin Bishop of Glasco, with all the rest of the Bishops and Abbots of Scotland, swear Allegiance and Fealty to both Kings of England, and their Heirs for ever.

II. The same Bishops further swore, That if the King of Scotland observed not this Agreement with the King of England, they would put him and his Land under an Interdict, until he submitted himself to his good pleasure. They also swore, That they would continue the same Subjection to the Church of England, which their Predecessors were used to observe, or such Subjection as was due unto it.

III. In like manner, the Earls and Barons by Command of the King of Scotland did Homage, and swore Allegiance and Fealty to both Kings against all Men, (viz.) Earl Duncan, the Earl of Angus, Earl Walsheof, and the other Earls and Barons: They all likewise swore, That if the King of Scotland should recede from this Agreement, they would assist the King of England against him until he made satisfaction according to his Will.

[3.] Then the King caused this Agreement which had been before made in Normandy to be new seal'd, and confirm'd by the King of Scots and his Brother David; but he would not trust to this Charter alone, but had caused the King of Scots before this to deliver into his hands the Castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, Gedworth, Edenburgh, and Sterling, which were to be maintain'd by a proportionable allowance out of the Revenues of the King of Scotland, by Assignment of the King of England, as it is expressly mention'd in the said Articles; for the performance of which, Earl David the King's Brother, Earl Duncan, and divers other Earls and Barons of Scotland, were to be deliver'd as Hostages, till the Castles were surrender'd, and then they were to be set at Liberty, each of them delivering his Eldest Son or Nephew in his room.

This Agreement was first made and seal'd at Paris before the King of Scots was set free, and witnessed by several Bishops, Abbots, and other Dignified Clergymen; as also by the Earls Richard and Geoffrey, King Henry's younger Son, and other Earls and Barons, as well of England as of Normandy.

This Charter is the more remarkable, because it is the First wherein we find it expressly mention'd, That the King of Scots did Homage to the King of England for all Scotland, and not for those Earldoms or Counties which were held of him before. But against this the Scotch Historians object, That it was objected by Durese, whilst their

their King was detain'd in Prison by the King of *England*, and so it could not oblige Him, much less his Successor to observe it: And as for the Bishops and other Great Men's voluntary acknowledgment of it, *Buchanan* has no way to get off from it, but by imputing it to the great desire the *Scots* had of enjoying an excellent King: but this Excuse will not serve their turn, since, according to his own shewing, the King of *Scots* had been set free in the beginning of *February* before, upon his giving Fifteen Hostages, and the Four Castles above-mention'd; so that the Clergy and Nobility of *Scotland* could not join in this Acknowledgment out of a desire to enjoy the King, but either because they were convinced that this Homage for *Scotland* was truly due, or else that they were then over-aw'd by the great Power of the King of *England*, who had already possess'd himself of most of the strong Places in *Scotland*: But upon which of these Motives they did it, I will not take upon me to determine.

[4.] After the dispatch of this important Affair at *Tork*, King *Henry* gave the King of *Scots* leave to march with his Army into *Galway*, to subdue *Gilbert*, Son to *Fergus*, Prince of that Country, who, upon the King of *Scots* being taken Prisoner, had rebelled against him, and driven out his Bailiffs or Officers, and taken and destroyed his Castles, with the Men that were in them; and for a farther aggravation of his crime, had by his Son *Malcolm* wickedly murder'd his Brother *Ulfred*. Whilst these things were transacting in *England*, the Barls *Richard* and *Geoffrey*, the King's Sons, were both employ'd in Military Services; the Former in reducing and demolishing the Castles of *Poitou*, which had been held and fortified by their Owners against the King his Father during the late Wars; and the Latter in doing the same to the like Castles in his Earldom of *Bretaign*.

[5.] Presently after *Michaelmas* King *Henry* summon'd a Great Council at *Windsor*, where were present both the Kings, with *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury* and all the Bishops of *England*; as also *Laurance* Archbishop of *Dublin*, and all the Barls and Barons of *England*; in which Council *Catholikus* Archbishop of *Tuam*, *Canthard* Abbot of *St. Brendan's*, and Master *Laurence* Chancellor to *Roderic* King of *Connaught*, being sent Ambassadors from that King, made an Agreement between King *Henry* and their Master, to this effect.

I. The King of *England* grants to the said *Roderic* his Liegeman or Vassal, that so long as he faithfully served him, he should be King under him, ready at all times to do him service, and that he should hold his Country as quietly as he held it before his Lord the King of *England* enter'd *Ireland*, paying to him his Tribute, and should also keep all the Inhabitants under his Obedience, and make them pay their Tribute to the King of *England*; and they should all retain their Estates so long as they continued in the Fealty of the King of *England*, and paid him his Tributes and other Rights by the Hand of the King of *Connaught*: but if any of those People should prove Rebels to the King of *England*, and refuse to pay him his said Tribute, or should depart from their Fealty, the King of *Connaught* himself was to do Justice upon them, or to remove them; and if he could not do Justice upon them, the Constable of the King of *England* and his

Depen-

Anno Dom.
MCLXXV

The *Scots* pretend this to be got by *Dares*, whilst their K. was a Prisoner.

But this Excuse of theirs is frivolous and groundless.

[4.] B. A. C. H.

The K. of *England* gives the K. of *Scotland* leave to go in to *Galway*, to subdue *Gilbert*, who had rebelled against him.

E. *Richard* during this time, was employ'd in demolishing the Castles of *Poitou*.

And E. *Geoffrey* in doing the same to those in *Bretaign*.

[5.] R. H. 2. 312. b.

The K. Summons a Great Council at *Windsor*. Wherein the Ambassadors of the K. of *Connaught* make an Agreement with the K. of *England*.

The K. of *England* grants to *Roderic* to hold the Kingdom of *Ireland* under him, at all times to be ready to serv him, &c.

And all Men there to retain their Estates, so long as they continued in their Fealty to the K. of *England*, and paid him his due Tribute.

Anna Dom.
MCLXXV

The K. of Con-
naught to pay
yearly the
Tenth Hide
of every Beast
made saleable
for the Mer-
chant.

Except what
the K. of Eng-
land held in
his own De-
mesnes, or in
that of his Ba-
rons.

And except
Wexford and
Waterford.

The Irish that
had fled might
return in
peace, paying
the said Tri-
bute, and do-
ing their an-
cient Services.

The K. of Con-
naught might
receive Pled-
ges of all those
the K. of Eng-
land had com-
mitted to him.

[1.] In the same
Council the
K. of England
conferred the
Bishoprick of
Waterford up-
on an Irish-
man.

[2.] G. C. L. 2.
c. 10.

Harvey of
Mont-Maurice,
through Envy
of his great
Merits, endea-
vours to un-
dermine Ray-
mond.

Insinuating,
as if he aim'd
to subdue all
Ireland for
Himself.

at London
on the 10th
of the 10th
month of the
year 1171.

Dependants in that Country should help him to do it, if thereunto required, and that there were necessity for it.

II. To this end also the King of *Connaught* should render to the King of *England*, yearly as his Tribute, the Tenth Hide of every Beast kill'd, that was made saleable for the Merchant, and that as well out of his own Land or Country, as out of Others; always excepted what the said King of *England* held in his own Demesnes, or in that of his Barons, (to wit) the Counties of *Dublin* and *Methe* with their Appurtenances; also except *Wexford* with its Appurtenances; and except *Waterford* with all that Country, *Dungarven* excluded.

III. If the *Irish* who fled away, would return to the Service of the Barons of the King of *England*, they might do so in peace, paying the said Tribute, and doing their antient Services; but if any of them should refuse to come to their Lord the King of *Connaught*, he might compel them to return to his Lands, yet so as then to remain in peace; and the King of *Connaught* might receive Pledges of all those whom the King of *England* had committed to him; and He likewise should give as Pledges either Those or Others (according to the Will of the King of *England*) and they should serve the King about his Hawks and Hounds, and not retain any of the King's Land against his Will and Commandment. This Agreement was witnessed by *Richard* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Laurence* Archbishop of *Dublin*, and Others of the Lay Nobility.

[1.] In the same Council the King conferred upon Master *Augustine*, an *Irishman*, the Bishoprick of *Waterford* then vacant, which was the First Bishoprick that ever any King of *England* bestow'd in *Ireland*, as I can any where find.

I have been the more particular in putting down this Agreement; because it does not only hereby appear, what were the King of *England*'s Dominions at that time, distinct from those of the King of *Connaught*, but also upon what terms He and his Subjects were to hold all that they enjoyed under the King of *England*; and it hereby further appears, that this Agreement was made after the late Peace concluded between King *Henry* and King *Rodoric*.

For the better understanding of which piece of History, it is fit that we give the Reader an Account of what happen'd in *Ireland* since the last year, when *Raymond* met with such mighty Success at *Limeric*; [2.] not long after which *Harvey* of *Mont-Maurice* envying his great Merits, and the Honour he had gain'd, (notwithstanding he was related to him by the Mariage of his Cousin *Nesta*, the Daughter of *Maurice Fitz-Girald*) still plyed the King with secret and malicious Informations against him, insinuating and affirming, that he would not only subdue and usurp to himself and Followers the whole Country of *Limeric*, but the whole Kingdom of *Ireland*.

The King too much crediting these false Informations, sent Four Commissioners, (to wit) *Robert Poer*, *Osbert de Hereford*, *William de Bendinge*, and *Adam de Gernman* (or rather *Gernemue*), whereof Two were to come back with *Raymond* (who was then recalled into *England*) and Two to stay behind with Earl *Richard*,

But

But it so happen'd, [3.] that while *Raymond* was preparing for his passage over, Messengers came from the Garison in *Limeric* with the News that *Donald O'Brien*, Prince of *Tuomond*, with a great Multitude had besieg'd, or rather invested it; and that during the last Winter, they had spent most of their Victuals, and therefore desired sudden Relief: Whereupon the Earl was very sollicitous to relieve them, and therefore called upon and quickened the Army to go to their Assistance; but they all denied to march, without *Raymond* went along with them. Upon this the Earl advising with the King's Commissioners what was best to be done, at length, by the earnest Entreaties of them all, *Raymond* undertook the Service, and marching towards *Cassil*, with Eighty Knights or Men at Arms, and Two Hundred ordinary Horse, and Three Hundred Archers, besides the *Irish* whom he brought with him, (to wit) *Murchard* Prince of *Kinsel*, (now *Kinsale*), and *Donald* Prince of *Offery*, he heard by the way that *Donald* Prince of *Tuomond* had left the Siege of *Limeric*, and was coming to meet him at the Pass of *Cassil*, which was of it self very strong, but by digging new Ditches and cutting down Trees, and therewith making a strong Barricado across it, 'twas made almost impassable.

[4.] The Army marched in Three Divisions, *Meyler* his Nephew Commanded the First, who made such a furious On-set at the Pass, that he almost levell'd the *Irish* Barricado; and killing many of those within, opened his way through it by the Sword. This was on Easter-Eve, and on *Thursday* that week he entered *Limeric* with his victorious Army, and repaired what had been ruined or destroyed by the Siege.

[5.] Not long after *Raymond* had Conference with the Princes of *Connaught* and *Tuomond* on the same day, but not in the same place; and after much discourse, each Prince gave Hostages, and swore inviolable Fidelity for the future to the King of *England*, and his Heirs; at the End of which Treaty, it is very probable, that the King of *Connaught* sent to King *Henry* the Ambassadors lately mention'd, to make a full conclusion of the late Peace which had been agreed on in *Ireland*.

[1.] No sooner was *Raymond* return'd with his Hostages to *Limeric*, but *Dermot Mac-Carty*, Prince of *Desmond*, sent to desire his Assistance against his Eldest Son *Cormach O'Lechan*, who had almost drove him out of his Kingdom, promising him and his Souldiers large Rewards. *Raymond* at first advis'd with his Friends about this Proposal, and then march'd to *Cork*, took the Town, subdu'd the Rebel-Son, and restoring the Father to his Possessions, return'd with much Booty to *Limeric*: yet after this, under a pretence of Peace, the Son took his Father and kept him in Prison; but he not long after getting his Liberty, under the same pretence got his Son into his Power, and cut off his Head.

Thus when Children have once discharged themselves of those Bonds of Gratitude and Duty which they owe to their Parents, and they likewise (provoked by their Children's disobedience) have put off that Love and natural Affection they ought to have towards their Children; there is nothing so Cruel and Barbarous, which they will not act against each other.

[2.] There

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[3] *Id. c. 11.*
Donald besieges Limeric.

Raymond undertakes the Relief of it.

Donald leaves the Siege.

[4] *Id. c. 13.*
Meyler with his Army enters Limeric.

[5] *Id. ibid.*
Connaught and Tuomond swear Fealty to K. Henry.

[1] *Id. ib.*
Raymond assists Dermot Mac-Carty against his rebellious Son.

The Son takes his Father, and keeps him in Prison.

The Father soon after gets him, & chops off his Head.

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[2.] R. H. p.
313. A.

Reginald E. of
Cornwall de-
ceases.

His Great E-
state not suf-
fered to be di-
vided among
his Daughters,
the K. refer-
ring it for his
Son John, and
marries them
to the first
Nobility.

[3.] B. A. C. G.

R. H. p. 310,
311.

A Synod held
at Westminster
of all the Cler-
gy of Canter-
bury.

Several Ca-
nons made
there for the
better Regula-
ting of the
Clergy.

1. Against
their Concu-
binage, or
Marrying.

2. Against go-
ing to Ta-
vern.

3. Against be-
ing concern'd
in Causes of
Blood.

4. Against
their Mer-
chandizing.

Things that
concern'd the
Laiety.

* *Detalium.*

Transferring
of Churches.

For payment
of Tythes.

Against Clan-
destine Mar-
riages.

And Chil-
dren's marry-
ing before the
Years of Con-
sent.

[2.] There happen'd nothing more considerable this Year in Tem-
poral Matters, unless it were the decease of *Reginald* Earl of *Corn-
wall*, natural Son to King *Henry* the First; who, though he was made
Earl by King *Stephen*, yet revolted from Him to the Empress *Ma-
thylda* his Sister, and assisted Her and her Son Duke *Henry*, during
the Wars they maintain'd against Him; after whose Death, King
Henry succeeding to the Crown, the Earl served him faithfully in all
his Wars both Foreign and Domestick. He seems to have been a
Prince of great Worth and Courage; yet notwithstanding all these
good Services, the King would not suffer the Vast Estate he left be-
hind him to be divided among his Daughters, but reserved it for his
Younger Son Earl *John*; and bestowing on them a part of their Fa-
thers fortune, he married them to some of the prime Noblemen of
the Kingdom.

[3.] But to say somewhat of the Ecclesiastical Affairs of this Year.
Immediately after the King's return out of *Normandy*, (as you have
already heard) there was about the End of *May* a Council or Synod
held at *Westminster* by *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, consisting
of all the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*; but neither the Arch-
bishop of *Tork*, nor any of his Suffragans, were at it. Herein several
Canons were made for the Reformation and better Discipline of the
Clergy; which being only in Confirmation of several Foreign De-
crees of Popes and Councils, and also few of them relating to the
Laiety, I shall but recite some brief Heads of the most considerable
Matters of them, and those chiefly of such as concern the Laiety.

The *First* is against Men in Orders keeping Concubines, or mar-
rylog Wives, both which they were to put away.

The *Second* is against Clergymen's Eating or Drinking in Taverns.

The *Third* against Men in Orders, their assisting in any Judgments
concerning Blood or Loss of Members.

The *Fourth* is, That Monks and Clerks were hereby forbid to ex-
ercise Merchandize for Gain.

There were besides these several others, relating to the manner of
the Church Service, and against Receiving the Eucharist, tinged or
dipped in the Wine. But as for those which concern the Laiety, these
were the chief: That none should transfer a Church to another un-
der the Title of a * *Dowry*, or take Money for the Presentation of any
person, under pain of a perpetual Forfeiture of the Patronage to the said
Church. Also to enjoyn Payment of Tythes of Grain, Wine, and all
other things therein mentioned; and that those that fail to pay them,
after a Threefold admonition, should be Excommunicated: Also against
Clandestine Mariages; and that if any Priest should be found to marry
Folks privately, he should be suspended for Three years.

Lastly, Against Children's Marrying before they arrived at the
years of Consent appointed by the Canons.

Now for the rest, I refer the Curious Reader to *R. Hoveden* and
Gervase of *Canterbury*, where he may find them at large.

[3.] In

[4.] In this Council they also debated the Right the Archbishop of *Tork* claimed to carry his Cross upright in the Province of *Canterbury*, with other matters of no great moment; which not being able to be decided by this Synod, an Appeal was made to the Pope about it by the Archbishop of *Tork*.

[5.] After this, a little before the Feast of *All-Saints*, Cardinal *Hugo* (or *Hugezon*) the Pope's Legate, at the King's Request came into *England*, and waited on him at *Winchester*, to compromise the Dispute between the Two Archbishops; and at length, through the King's Mediation it was agreed, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* should release his Claim to the Chappel of *St. Oswald* in *Hereford*, and Absolve the Archbishop of *Tork's* Clerks, whom he had *Excommunicated*: But as to the carrying the Cross and the other Controversies above-mention'd, they were to stand to the Judgment of the Archbishop of *Rouen* and other neighbouring Bishops of *France*. Then also the Legate granted the King Power of impleading Clerks for Offences committed in his Forests, and for killing his Deer.

After this the Legate having the King's safe Conduct, went his Circuit about *England*, to visit not only the Two Metropolitan Sees, but also the rest of the Bishopricks and Abbies.

But it seems [1.] the main Business for which this Legate was sent over (if we may believe *Gervase* of *Canterbury*, who alone gives us this Relation) was, That the King, who now had an Aversion for his Queen, because that great part of his late Troubles had happen'd through her procurement, (and for which he kept her under safe Custody in a strong Castle,) labour'd all he could to obtain a Divorce from her, and to that end had sent for the Legate, whom he endeavour'd to gain over to him by Gifts and other Methods, but he could not effect it. [2.] However, to give the King some satisfaction, the Legate then granted Him free Leave and Authority to prosecute the Clerks before a Secular Judge for Forfeitures incurr'd by Hunting in his Forests; for which Concession our Monkish Writers sharply enough inveigh against this Legate.

The Synod being ended, both the Kings went on Pilgrimage to *St. Thomas's* Tomb, and at their return kept their *Whitsontide* at *Reading*; from whence the King sent one of his Clerks, call'd *Roger* of *Hoveden* (our Historiographer) to *Norwich*, and other Abbies, that were then vacant, commanding those Convents to send up their Prior, with Five or more of the wisest and discreetest Monks to meet the King and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* on *Midsummer-day* at *Oxford*. The Archbishop also wrote Letters to the same Religious Persons to the like effect: Afterwards follow the Names of the Bishopricks and Abbies then vacant, (*viz.* *Norwich*, *Abingdon*, with the rest of them, needless here to be recited.

[3.] In the mean time the Two Kings went to *Gloucester*, and there held a Great Council, with *Rees ap Griffin* and the other Kings or Princes of *Wales*; and there King *Henry* Commanded all his *Welsh* Vassals or Tenants, That if any of their Countrymen at any time should begin to wage War or commit Violence there, every Man should be oblig'd to oppose and resist them; to the observance of which, the King made the Earl of *Gloucester*, with *William de Breuse*, and all his other Barons in those Parts, to swear upon the Holy Gospels.

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[4.] *Id. ib.*
The Right of the A. Bp. of *Tork's* carrying his Cross upright in the Province of *Canterbury*, debated.

The A. Bp. of *Tork* appeals to the Pope.

[5.] *B. A. R. H.*
p. 313. a.
Hugo, the Pope's Legate, comes into *England* to compromise the matter between the two A. Bps.

He goes his Circuit about *England*.

[1.] *C. G. Col.*
1432.
The main design of the Legate's coming over.

But all to no purpose.

[2.] *Id. ib. C. B.*
He gives the K. leave to prosecute his Clerks before a Secular Judge for Forfeitures upon hunting in his Forests.

The K. sends to the Vacant Abbies, for the Priors and so many Monks to meet him on *Midsummer-day* at *Oxford*.

The A. Bishop writes Letters to them to the same effect.

[3.] *Id. ibid.*

A great Council held at *Gloucester*, with the Princes of *Wales*.

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a Synod at
Woodstock, a-
bout the
Choice of a
Bp. of Norwich,
&c.

The Pope's
Confirmation
of Geoffrey's
Election to the
See of Lincoln.
The K. for-
bids using of
Bows and Ar-
rows, &c. on
the other side
of Severne.
Goes to Not-
tingham, and
impleads se-
veral for Of-
fences done in
his Forests.

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[4.] Id. R. H.
A great Coun-
cil at Nor-
thampton.
Where the
Circuits are
apportioned.
The Justices at
first not pro-
fess'd Law-
yers, but Ba-
rons or Knts.

[5.] Id. ib.

The K. swears
his Justices to
observe his
Statutes.
Those of Cla-
rendon, how
far renewed
at Northamp-
ton.

Id. ib.

The K. of Scots
appears at the
K's Summons
with the Cler-
gy of Scotland;
and what was
then done.

Their Answer.

From hence He came to *Woodstock*, and there held a Council or Synod with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the rest of the Bishops and Abbots of that Province about the Choice of a Bishop of *Norwich*; and the filling of the vacant Abbies; and in this Council was publish'd the Pope's Confirmation of the Election of *Geoffrey* (the King's Natural Son) to the See of *Lincoln*; but he being too young to be consecrated, the King sent him to the School or University of *Tours* for his farther improvement in Learning: At this Council likewise the King Issued out an Edict, prohibiting all persons whatsoever on the other side of *Severne*, to use any Bows, Arrows, or other Weapons: After this He went to *Nottingham*, and there impleaded divers persons for Offences committed in his Forests.

[4.] The King kept his *Christmas* this Year with his Son *Henry* at his Castle of *Windsor*; and after that, on the 25th of *January*, He held a Great Council at *Northampton*, (where the King his Son was present) with the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls and Barons concerning the Statutes and Laws of the Land; and, by Common advice of them all, divided the Kingdom into Six Parts or Circuits, into every one of which he sent Three Justices, whose Names I need not repeat, only I would have the Reader take notice, that they were not profess'd Lawyers, but Barons or Knights: And as for the Circuits, they were almost the same as they are at this day, only *Essex* then belong'd to that of *Norfolk*, which Circuit also consisted of more Counties than it does at present, all *Hampshire*, *Barkshire* and *Oxfordshire* belonging to it; which are now joined with *Herefordshire*, and the rest of the *North-Western* Counties. As for *Copland*, there mention'd as a distinct County, under the *Northern* Circuit, since I do not find it any-where else, I suppose it consisted then either of the *North* part of *Lancashire*, or the *South* part of *Westmorland* and *Cumberland*, between both which it is placed in our Authors.

[5.] The King having thus divided the Nation, before these Justices went their Circuits, he caused them all to swear, that they would truly and justly keep, and also cause to be inviolably kept by his Subjects those *Affixes* or Statutes that were first made at *Clarendon*, and now renew'd at *Northampton*; which because they are somewhat long, I will not interrupt the Series of the History by inserting them here, but refer you to the end of this King's Reign, where you may find all the Laws of this King placed together. I shall only observe this to you, That these differ from the former Constitutions made at *Clarendon* already mention'd, for they relate wholly to Ecclesiastical Persons and Affairs; but these (though made at the same time) concern Lay-persons and Causes, as you will find by comparing them both together.

At this Council of *Northampton* (which was also an Ecclesiastical Synod) *William* King of *Scots* appear'd at the King's Summons, and brought with him the Bishop of *St. Andrews* and the rest of the Bishops, Abbots and Priors of *Scotland*; when they were come thither, they were all required by King *Henry* to own the like subjection to the Church of *England*, as they had done in the time of his Predecessors: to which demand they unanimously answer'd, That neither They nor their Predecessors ever paid any subjection to the Church of

of *England*: To this *Roger* Archbishop of *York* reply'd, That the Bishops of *Scotland* had yielded an expresse Subjection to the Metropolitane See of *York*, during the time of his Predecessors, which was still flatly denied by all the *Scotch* Bishops; and the Bishop of *Glasgow* produc'd a Bull to the contrary. Upon this there arose a mighty Contest between the Archbishops of *York* and *Canterbury* about this Subjection each of them challenging it as belonging to his own Church; but not being able to agree about it, the Synod ended, and the Bishops of *Scotland* with the King's good Leave return'd home, and made their advantage of this Diffension between the *English* Archbishops; for they immediately sent Messengers to Pope *Alexander*, beseeching him to take them into his Protection, and defend them from that undue Subjection, which the Church of *England* then claim'd from them.

[1.] Not long after the King of *Scots*, suspecting a further Molestation from King *Henry* and the Archbishop of *York* about this affair, sent Ambassadors to the Pope, intreating his Holiness to send one of his Cardinals as Legate to make up this Controversy between the Churches of *England* and *Scotland* concerning the Subjection then required: whereupon the Pope deputed one *Vivian* a Presbyter and Cardinal, as Legate for *Scotland*, *Norway*, and other adjacent Isles; who Landing in *England* without the King's allowance, he sent the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Ely* to him to let him know, That if he did not yield to the King's Will, he should proceed no further. With which Message being terrified, the King caused him to swear, That he would, during his Legantine Power, do nothing to the prejudice of his Royal Person or Kingdom: And when he had done this, he was honourably received, and conducted into *Scotland*; where, when he was arrived, he did nothing at all in the Business he came about, but raised a great deal of Money on the Clergy.

[2.] Not long after this, the Young King being weary of staying in *England* under his Father's Eye, desired Leave to go on Pilgrimage to *St. James* in *Spain*; but his Father perceiving that this Journey did not proceed from any real Devotion, but from the ill Advice of some Flatterers about him, who had a mind to get him away from his Company, he, to put off that Voyage, gave him leave to go into *Normandy*; But when he was got so far as *Portsmouth*, he was forced to lye there a good while waiting for a Wind.

[3.] Then King *Henry* his Father kept the Feast of *Easter* at *Winchester* with the King his Son, whom he sent for from *Portchester*, near *Portsmouth*, together with his Queen, to bear his Brothers Earl *Richard* and Earl *Geoffrey* Company, they being lately come out of *France*; and after that Solemnity was over, all the Three young Princes (with their Father's Leave) passed into *Normandy*, and [4.] Earl *Richard* went forthwith to *Poitou*, where he raised an Army, and fought with the *Brabanters*, (i.e. *Mercenaries*, that were then either in Rebellion against the King for want of Pay, or else had been hired to Fight against Earl *Richard* by some of the Nobility of that Country,) and overcame them; and, by the Assistance of his Brother King *Henry*, he took many Towns and Castles, and forced many Viscounts of Towns, with their small Territories and Castles in *Poitou*, and the Places adjoining (being then in Rebellion) to submit to him.

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[5] Also

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The A. Bp. of York's Reply.

A hot Dispute between the A. Bps of York and Canterbury about this Subjection.

The Scots make advantage of this Diffension.

And send to the Pope to pray his Protection.

[1.] Id. ibid. And desire a Legate might be sent to make up this Controversy.

Vivian comes as Legate into England without the K's allowance.

He swears not to do any thing to the K. or Kingdom's prejudice.

Then is honourably conducted into Scotland.

[2.] C. B. Col. 1110.

Young King Henry desires leave to go on Pilgrimage to St. James in Spain.

He has his Consent to go into Normandy.

[3.] Id. ib. Richard and Geoffrey go into Normandy.

[4.] R. H. p. 314. b.

Richard and his Brother Henry overcome the Brabanters.

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[5.] B.A.R.H.
p. 317. b.

Commissioners seize all the Castles of England to the K's use. And also of Normandy.

[1.] Id. ibid. He demolishes several Castles both in England and Normandy.

[2.] R.H. ib. Gilbert, Prince of Galloway, comes into England, and does Homage to K. Henry, and swears Fealty to him against all Men.

And gives his Son as a Pledge for his Loyal behaviour.

[3.] B.A.R.H.
p. 315. b.

K. of Sicily sends Ambassadors to desire the K's Daughter Joanna in Marriage for their Master.

Who, upon sight of her, are mightily taken with her Beauty and Person.

The K. consents to the Proposal.

And sends several with her to conduct her through France to the Mediterranean Sea.

She arrives safe at Palermo, and is married to the King.

And a good Dower is settled on her.

[5.] Also this Year, about *Michaelmas*, the King held a Council at *Windsor*, and from thence sent Commissioners to all the Castles of *England*, and seized them to his own use, turning out the Constables or Governors whom the Earls and Barons had placed there, and putting in Others of his own choice; not sparing his Favourite and chief Justiciary *Richard de Lucy*, but took from him his Castle of *Angra* (where it was, I know not;) the like he did also with the Castles of his Earls and Barons in *Normandy*, where he appointed *Richard Bishop of Winchester* his Lieutenant, in the room of *William de Curcy*.

[1.] And the same Year, not long after, the King caused the Walls and Castles of *Leicester* to be demolished, as likewise the Castles of *Grobby*, *Tresk*, *Malefart*, and the New Castle at *Alverton*, with those of *Framingham* and *Bungey*, and almost all the Castles of *England* and *Normandy* that had been fortified against him in the late War, except the Castle of *Pasci*, or *Pacey* in *Normandy*, which he kept in his own hands, and placed a Garison therein; as likewise in the Castle of *Mont-sorrel*, which was sworn to be his own Propriety by the Recognition of the legal Men of the *Vicinage*.

[2.] About the beginning of *October* this year, *Gilbert* Prince of *Galloway*, who had before slain his Brother *Ufred*, came into *England*, under the safe Conduct of the King of *Scots*, and did Homage to King *Henry* the Father, and swore Fealty to him against all Men, and gave the King, to be restored to his Favour (or Peace) One Thousand Marks of Silver, and his Son *Duncan* for an Hostage or Pledge for his Peaceable and Loyal Behaviour.

This I have taken notice of, to let the Reader see the great Authority the *Scottish* Princes had in those days over the Countries where they commanded, in which they exercised a Power little short of that of the King himself.

[3.] But, to come to Matters of greater importance. About *Whitsontide* came over hither the Bishop of *Troyne*, with other Bishops and Noblemen, being Ambassadors, from *William* King of *Sicily*, to desire the King's Daughter *Joanna* in Marriage for the King their Master: Upon which King *Henry* summon'd the Archbishops, Bishops and Earls, with the Wise Men of the Kingdom, to meet him at *London*, to consult what Answer he should return; who all approving the Proposal, the King sent the Ambassadors to visit his Daughter; and when they saw her, they were so extremely taken with her Beauty and Person, that they desired the Mariage might be concluded as soon as possible: and some of them were immediately sent back to acquaint their Master with King *Henry's* consent to the Match, whilst the rest remained here, till all things could be got ready for conveying her over. This being done, the King sent the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and *Roüen*, with divers other Bishops and Noblemen to conduct her through *France* to the *Mediterranean* Sea, and then the Bishops took their leaves; whilst she pursuing her Voyage under the Conduct of *Giles* Bishop of *Eureux* and others, arrived safe at *Palermo* in *Scicily*, and within a few days after she was married to the King by the same Bishop: and the King then settled upon her several Lands and Territories for her Dower by his Charter, with his Seal of Gold, which he sent to King *Henry*; a Draught of which our Authors have given us, to whom I refer the Curious Reader.

I have nothing else worth relating under this Year, but [4.] that *William* Earl of *Gloucester* dying without any Heir-male, left all his Estate to *John* the King's youngest Son, on condition he married *His* wife or *Avise* the Earl's youngest Daughter, if that the Pope would allow the Mariage: the King accepted of the Grant, and thereupon allow'd her Five Elder Sisters certain Rents or Annuities in Money, in lieu of their Shares of the Estate.

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[4.] R. H. p.
316. a.
C.B. Col. 1114.
R. H. ib.

E. of Gloucester
dying with-
out any Heir-
Male, leaves
all, his Estate
to *John* the
K's youngest
Son, provided
he married his
youngest
Daughter.

[5.] Id. ib.
Earl Strongbow
dies at Dublin.

[1.] G. C. L. 2.
c. 14.

Raymond (then
in *Desmond*) up-
on the News
of it consults
with his most
trusty friends
what was to
be done.

He is sudden-
ly to go for
England.

Raymond com-
mits *Limerick*
to the Charge
of *O'Brien*.

Who breaks
down the
Bridge, and
sets the City
on Fire.

Raymond goes
back to *Dub-
lin*, and assists
at his Father-
in-Law's Fu-
neral.

His Monu-
ment still to
be seen in the
Church of the
Holy Trinity.

[2.] Id. ib. c. 15.
*William Fitz-
Adelm* sent
Justiciary in-
to *Ireland*.

Raymond, upon
the News of
their Landing,
goes to *Wex-
ford*, and deli-
vers up all the
Cities, Gari-
sons and Ho-
stages to *Fitz-
Adelm*.

Having done with Domestick Business, let us now look over into *Ireland*, and see in what posture the *English* Affairs stood there this Year.

[5.] About the middle of *May* that Valiant Earl *Richard* (Sir-nam'd *Strongbow*) Justiciary of *Ireland*, deceas'd at *Dublin*; [1.] of whose Death, as soon as *Raymond* his Son-in-Law (who was then in *Desmond*) had notice by a Letter from his Lady *Basilie*, he endeavour'd to keep it private from the *Irish*; and immediately thereupon called a Council of his most experienced and trusty Friends, to consider what was best to be done in the present Conjuncture: And since *Raymond* was suddenly to depart for *England*, they resolv'd to remove the *Garrison* out of *Limerick*, it being so remote from the Rest of the *English* Territories, and to disperse it into the Maritime Towns, and the strong Places in *Leinster*, to reinforce them, and to leave the Charge and Defence of that City to *Donald O'Brien*, Prince of *Tuomond* and *Limerick*, as one of the King of *England*'s Barons, who gave new Hostages and took fresh Oaths to defend the Town, and restore it to the King upon demand, and in the mean time to preserve the Peace. But the *English* were no sooner over one end of the Bridge, but *Donald* caused the other end to be broken down, and the City to be set on Fire; though what advantage he could have by so doing, I cannot see, since he might have kept the Town without destroying it: But this is certain, that *Raymond* finding himself disappointed in his design, by the Treachery of this *Irish* Prince, march'd back with the Army to *Dublin*; where, so soon as he arriv'd, he assisted at the Funeral of his Father-in-Law Earl *Richard*, whose Body was buried in the Church of the *Holy Trinity*, where his rude Monument, or Effigies, is still to be seen, being commonly call'd *Strongbow's Tomb*.

I know the *Irish* Annals place the Death of Earl *Richard* above-mention'd, under the Year following, viz. A. D. 1177. But since all our *English* Historians, who say any thing of his Death, agree in placing it under this; I chuse to do so likewise, as the truer Account, and shall therefore here put together all the rest of the Actions of this Year, that immediately follow'd this Earl's Decease.

[2.] Upon which certain Commissioners were sent in all haste into *England* to acquaint the King with the Change of Affairs in *Ireland*, who forthwith dispatch'd away *William Fitz-Adelm* as his Justiciary thither, with Ten Knights, or Men at Arms, of his own Household, to attend him; and joyned to his Assistance *John de Curcy*, with whom he sent Ten others of the same Quality; as also the Old brave Souldiers *Robert Fitz-Stephen* and *Miles Cogan*, each with the like number to be ready to attend their Commands: Whereupon *Raymond* hearing they were Landed, march'd to *Wexford*, and receiv'd them with great Respect, and forthwith deliver'd up all the Cities, Garrisons, Ports and Hostages of *Ireland* to *William Fitz-Adelm* as the King's Seneschal or Justiciary.

But

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The Lord
Hugh de Lacy
treacherously
murther'd by
an Irish La-
bourer.

[3.] B. A. C. G.
Col. 1433.
Huguson the Le-
gate summons
a Synod at
Westminster.

The Two A.
Bps. dispute
about Prece-
dency.

The Affront
that is offer'd
on both sides.

The Legate
cites the A. Bp.
of Canterbury,
as the Contri-
ver of the Af-
front, to an-
swer it before
the Pope.

He appeals
from the Le-
gate.

The Council
breaks up in
disorder, and
the Legate
soon after goes
for Rome.

[4.] C. B. Col.
1169.

Another
Council held
at Winchester
about the
Marriage of
the K's Daugh-
ter.

The K at last
patches up a
Temporary
Agreement
between the
Two A Bps.

[5.] Col. 589.

But I shall now defer treating further of the Affairs of that Kingdom till the ensuing Year; and only note under this, That (according to the Annals of Ireland) the Lord *Hugh de Lacy* was treacherously murther'd at a place call'd *Dervah* by an *Irish* man; and it was in this manner: He was going to build him a Castle there, and being about to lay the Foundation, he would have shewn this awkward Fellow how to work with a Pick-Axe; but as he stooped down to do it, the *Irishman* having him alone, and at advantage, cut off his Head with an Axe, and so put an end both to the Design and to that poor Lord's Life.

I shall now conclude with the Ecclesiastical Affairs of this Year. [3.] About *Mid-Lent*, King *Henry*, with the King his Son, came to *London*, and Cardinal *Huguson* the Pope's Legate summon'd a Synod at *Westminster* of all the Bishops of *England*; where, when they were met, and he had taken his place, and *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury* had seated himself on his Right-hand, *Roger* Archbishop of *Tork* coming in, refused to take his Seat, which was left for him on the Left; alledging, That because he was consecrated First, he ought to have Precedency before the other; which *Canterbury* refusing to yield to him, the Archbishop of *Tork* sat down in his Lap, but was presently thrust out by the Bishops that sat next and flung to the ground; where being rudely treated both by the Feet and Hands of those that stood round about, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to return Good for Evil, rescued him from them; but the Legate casting all the blame upon *Canterbury* (as if this Affront to the Apostolick See had been done by his contrivance) cited him to answer it before the Pope: then the Archbishop of *Tork* rising up, went and cast himself at the King's Feet, complaining of the Violence he had suffer'd, and accusing the Archbishop of *Canterbury* as the Causer of it, who presently appealed from the Pope's Legate as one prejudiced against him, whilst the Archbishop of *Tork* likewise made his Appeal to the Pope against the other: and would not come to any Agreement with him, unless in the Presence of the Pope himself, and that he had his Judgment in it: Whereupon the Council broke up in disorder, and the Legate not long after took his leave, and went for *Rome*.

[4.] After which another Great Council was held at *Winchester*, wherein the King endeavour'd to make up the Difference between the Two Archbishops, but all to no purpose; yet at last, by his Mediation, he patch'd up a Temporary Agreement between them; which was, That they should maintain entire Peace and Concord for Five years ensuing, till the Pope should determine this affair. Thus this warm dispute ended, than which there cannot be a more pregnant Instance of the great Pride of the Prelates of those times; who would rather venture making a Division in the Church, than yield in the least punctilio to one another.

But to make an end of this troublesome Affair: I suppose these Differences between the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *Tork* about Precedency and the Oath of Canonical Obedience, were fully settled before the Death of Pope *Alexander* the Third, which was not till Four years after this Quarrel; for [5.] *Radulph de Diceto* has given us a Bull of this Pope's, (though it comes in abruptly, without any date, or mention of the Occasion upon which it was granted,) wherein

wherein he declares, that following the footsteps of his Predecessors (therein named) he prohibits for the future either of the Archbishops to require any Canonical Obedience of the other, or that the See of *York* should be any ways subject to that of *Canterbury*, but according to the Primitive Institution: only this distinction of Episcopal Honour should be observ'd, that That Archbishop who was first Ordained, should enjoy the Precedency.

How far this last Clause was observ'd, I will not determine; but I find no more dispute about the former demands after this time to have been between them. This I take notice of, because though it is a remarkable piece of Church-History, I find it in no other Author.

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[1] B. A. R. H.
Duke Richard
with his Army
besieges Auxé,
and takes it.

* Akensem Ci-
vitatem.
And the City
of Bayonne.

And some o-
ther Castles
and small Pla-
ces on the
Borders of
Spain.

And so re-
turns into
Poitou.

[2] B. A.
Ralph de Dole
his Castle sur-
render'd to the
Young King.

[3] Id. R. H. ib.
A great Coun-
cil held at
Northampton.

[4] Id. ib.
The Kings of
Castile and Na-
varre refer
their Differ-
ences to be
decided by
the K. of Eng-
land's Great
Council.

* Curia.

The Nation being now pretty well settled in Peace, [1.] the King kept his *Christmas* at *Northampton* with his Two younger Sons *Geoffrey* Earl of *Bretagne*, and *Earl John*; King *Henry* the Son being then at *Argenton* in *Normandy*, and Duke *Richard* at *Burdeaux*: This Latter presently after *Christmas* march'd forth with his Army, and besieg'd the City of * *Auxé*, which the Viscount of that Place held out against him, but he took it in Ten days; and then marching further, he laid Siege to the City of *Bayonne*, which the Viscount *Ernauld de Bertram* defended as well as he could; but this he also made to yield in Ten days time more; and then marching further towards the Borders of *Spain*, he took in some other Castles and small Places and made those of *Navarre* and *Biscay* swear to keep Peace with the King. These Countries being thus quieted, he return'd into *Poitou*, and sent his Father notice of his good success.

[2.] King *Henry* the Elder also hearing that a Great Baron of *Normandy*, called *Ralph de Dole*, was lately dead, and that his Daughter and Heir, together with her Territories and Estate, had been violently seiz'd by her Relations, wrote to the Young King his Son, then in *Normandy*, commanding him immediately to raise the Militia of that Dutchy, and reduce those Territories, and rescue the young Lady (who was the King's Ward) which in Obedience to his Father's Commands, he forthwith did, and so the Castle of *Dole* was presently surrender'd upon his coming before it.

[3.] The King soon after the Feast of *St. Hilary*, or Thirteenth of *January*, held a Great Council at *Northampton*, with the Bishops, Earls and Barons of his Kingdom; to which came Ambassadors from the Earl of *Flanders* to acquaint him, That the *French* King had desir'd the Earl's two Nieces (Daughters of *Matthew* late Earl of *Boloign*) in Marriage; the Elder of them for his Son *Philip*, the Younger for *Lewis*, Son to *Theobald* Earl of *Blôis*; yet their Master would dispose of neither of them without the King's consent: so great a deference did the neighbouring Princes then express for King *Henry*.

But now there fell out an Affair that shews the High esteem, which the Princes of *Europe* had of the Judgment and Authority of the King of *England* and his Great Council; [4.] for *Alfonso* King of *Castile* (who had married *Eleanor* the King's Daughter) having great Quarrels with *Sancho* King of *Navarre* concerning certain Castles and Territories which had been (as they alledg'd) unjustly taken and detained from each other; they both at last consented to give mutual Security to stand to the Judgment of the * *Court* (or Great Council) of the King

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King of *England*: Whereupon, for the determination of this Controversy, there came divers Bishops and Noblemen Ambassadors from both these Kings, with several Learned Advocates to plead their Cause; and with them likewise Two stout Champions (one for each side) to undertake a single Combat, in case the King of *England's* Court should think fit so to determine Matters.

These Ambassadors arriving about the beginning of *Lent*, came to *Windsor*, where they presented to the King the Charter or Agreement made between the Parties, whereby they bound themselves under very great Penalties (as upon the Forfeiture of certain Castles and Territories) if they did not abide by the Judgment of the King of *England*, and that a firm Truce should continue between them in the mean time, as appears at large by the Charter it self; for which I refer the Reader to our Author, for fear some may think me unnecessarily tedious.

The Great Assembly that met about this Affair at London.

[5.] C. B.

* *Magnates.*

† now *Westminster-Hall.*

Their several Pleas and Allegations to be given in within Three days in writing, so interpreted, as that the King and his Barons might understand them.

The Ambassadors sworn to stand to the Judgment of his Great Court.

[1.] *Id. ib.*

Upon a full Hearing of both sides, the Judgment given.

This Agreement, as also the Allegations on both sides, being read before the King at *Windsor*, he sent his Messengers over all *England* to Summon the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls and Barons to appear before him at *London* on the First Sunday in *Lent*, where the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and almost all the Bishops of his Province came, except those that were hindered either by Business or Sickness, or where the Sees were vacant; the Archbishop of *Tork* was prevented by Sickness, but the Bishop of *Durham* came thither, and with him the Bishop of *Candida Casa*, or *Whithorn* in *Galloway*, as a Suffragan to the Archbishop of *Tork*. [5.] Besides these, there came also so many *Abbots*, *Deans* and *Arch-Deacons*, that their Number is not easy to be reckoned: There likewise appeared all the Earls, Barons, and * Great Men of *England*, who met in the † Great Hall of the King's Palace, together with Four Commissioners from those Kings (Two on each side) who were to hear and report the Judgment that should be given: There appeared also their Proctors or Advocates, who were to set forth the particular Rights of their respective Masters.

Then, because the Earls and Barons of *England* did not understand their Language, the King Commanded the Advocates to give in their Master's several Pleas, Demands and Allegations on both sides in writing to him within Three days; at the end of which, the Ambassadors of both Kings produced their Demands and Pleadings before the Great Council of *England*; but they being very long, our Author has omitted them, and only given us those short Conclusions or Issues, in which both Parties joyn'd and agreed; which being read, King *Henry* caused the Ambassadors of both Kings to be solemnly sworn upon the *Evangelists*, before all there present; That their Masters should stand to his Judgment, as well concerning the Restitution of the Places demanded, as the Truce; and that if they did not observe it, they should then render their Bodies into his hands.

[1.] Then the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishops, Earls and Barons of *England*, upon a full hearing of the Cause on both sides, gave their Judgment to this effect: "That *Sancho*, King of *Navarre*, should render up to his Uncle, the King of *Castile*, the several Towns and Castles there mention'd, which his Father had for some years possess'd, and had unjustly taken away from the King of *Castile*, while he was a *Minor*: They also adjudged a like Restitution

tion

"tion to be made by King *Alfonso* to *Sanctio* of all Places taken from him in the time of the late Wars between them; the Names of which Places on both sides are now unknown to us.

[2.] "This Judgment of the Bishops and Great Men is very short, and is follow'd by the Exemplification thereof by way of Charter, under King *Henry's* Seal directed to both Kings, reciting all the Proceedings and Claims on each side, and then giving Sentence concerning the mutual Restitution of the Places therein mention'd, with a Confirmation of the late Truce that had been made between them for Ten years; and further appointing his Son-in-Law King *Alfonso* to pay his Uncle *Sanctio* the Sum of Three Thousand *Morobiteens*, a Sort of *Moorish* Money, by Three equal Payments every year, for the Space of Ten years; concluding with a Recital of the Oath which their Ambassadors on both sides had taken on their behalfs, either to stand to his Judgment concerning these Matters, or else to surrender their Bodies into his Power.

This Charter (witnessed by most of the Bishops and Great Men) being very long, I have only given you the Heads of it, and refer the Reader to the Original for his farther satisfaction. But I have been the more particular in the Relation of this whole Affair, because we may not only learn from thence, That though in the Charter it self the Judgment is called the King's, (as being given in his Great Council) yet it appears plainly by the Judgment it self, that it was also the Act of the Bishops, Earls, Barons, and other Great Men of *England*; without whose Advice and Consent, in those days, our Kings acted nothing considerable, either concerning War or Peace, relating to Themselves or their Neighbours.

[3.] This Council being thus happily ended, and the King having bestow'd great Presents upon the Ambassadors of *Castile* and *Navarre*, dispatched them home with much satisfaction; not long after the King sent some of his own Noblemen on an Ambassy to the said Kings, that so he might by them know how they received his Judgment.

I shall say no more concerning this Affair, but only, that whilst it was in agitation, [4.] a young Nobleman, Brother to the Earl of *Ferrers*, was privately murder'd by night in the Streets of *London*; and when it was told the King, he was so very angry, and troubled at it, that he swore he would take a severe Revenge upon the Citizens for his Death; for it seems it was a Custom for a Hundred or more of the Sons or * Kinsmen of the † better Sort, or Gentlemen of that City, to make nightly Excursions upon the Houses of the Rich, and rob them; and if they found any Man abroad in the Night, they kill'd him without Mercy; so that few durst walk the Streets after it was dark for fear of them. And then our Author proceeds to tell us by the bye, how that about Three years before, these Blades endeavour'd to rob the House of a certain Rich Citizen; and had done it, but that the Master of the House being a stout Man, and forewarn'd of their coming, had arm'd himself, and with a great many Worthy Citizens and their Servants, set upon the Thieves already broke into his House; and having seiz'd one of them, and in Scuffle cut off his Hand, the rest got out and ran away; and that the next day this Man being

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[2.] *Id. ib.*
An Exemplification of the Judgment by way of Charter, under King *Henry's* Seal to both Kings.

Though the Judgment is called the K's. yet it was the Act of the Great Council of the Nation.

[3.] *Idem ib.*
The Ambassadors having had great Presents, return home.

[4.] *B. A.*
During this Transaction, a young Nobleman, Brother to the Earl of *Ferrers*, was privately murder'd.

The K. swears a severe Revenge upon the Citizens.

Parentibus.
† *Nobilium.*

The better Sort of Citizen's Sons were wont to make nightly Excursions,

And to kill People without Mercy. Some about Three years before resolving to rob a Wealthy Citizen's House, one had his Hand cut off in the Scuffle, and was taken; and upon promise of his Life confesses his Accomplices, whereof one of them was hanged.

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[5.] B. A. R. H.
p. 323. a.

Water Ordeal
still continu-
ed.

[1.] Idem lb.
E. of Flanders
comes over to
visit Tho. Bec-
ket's Tomb,
where the K.
meets him,
& afterwards
goes with him
to the Sea-
side, and gives
him Five hun-
dred Marks to-
wards his de-
signed Voy-
age to the
Holy Land.

[2.] Idem lb.
After the K's
Pilgrimage
to several
Shrines, he
goes to *Gai-
sintun*, where
many Bishops,
Earls and Ba-
rons meet him
to consult a-
bout the Wel-
fare of the
Kingdom.

Several Welsh
Nobility come
and swear Fe-
alty to him
there.

The Assembly
transferr'd to
Windsor, whi-
ther the Lords
and Knights
come, to go
where the K.
should com-
mand

The K. re-
moves feve-
ral Constables
of Castles, pla-
cing others in
their room.

[3.] B. A. C. B.
Col. 1127.

The K. com-
mands the
Welsh Kings
to meet him
at *Oxford*, who
with many o-
ther Noble-
men did Ho-
mage there to
him.

brought before *Richard de Lucy* the King's Justiciary, the Thief upon a promise of his Life confess'd his Accomplices, of whom many were taken, but others fled; among those that were apprehended, was a certain Rich Citizen call'd *John the Old*; who, when he could not clear himself by the Tryal of Water (i. e. *Water-Ordeal*) he offer'd to the King Five Hundred Marks for his Life; but because he could not prove his Innocence by *Water-Ordeal*, the King would not take the Money; so he Commanded, that the Sentence should be executed upon him, and accordingly he was hang'd.

I have put down this Story as short as I could, to shew the Reader the ill Government of this Great City in those times, and that the old way of tryal by Water still continued; as also that the King's Justices scorned to pardon notorious Robbers for Money; though this Man offer'd Five Hundred Marks for his Life, which was a great Sum in those days.

Not long after the King kept his *Easter* at *Reading*, where it being told him, that the Earl of *Flanders* was about to come over into *Eng-land* to visit the Tomb of the New St. *Thomas* of *Becket*; the King made what haste he could to meet him at *Canterbury*, which he did the day after his arrival; and when he had stay'd there some days to perform his Vow, the King accompany'd him to the Sea-side, and at his departure gave him Five Hundred Marks towards his intended Voyage to the *Holy Land*, which he had sometime before vowed to undertake.

After this the King himself went on Pilgrimage to the Shrines of St. *Edmund* the King and Martyr, and to that of St. *Audery*; the For-mer of whom lay enshrind at St. *Edmundsbury*, and the Latter at *Ely*; from whence he went as far as *Gaisintun*, (which is supposed to be *Gayton* in *Cheshire*) where met him at his Summons *Roger* Archbishop of *Tork* and divers other Bishops, together with many Earls and Ba-rons to treat of the Welfare and Settlement of the Kingdom. When they had long consulted about it, several of the *Welsh* Nobility came and swore Fealty to the King, and he transferr'd that Assembly from thence to *Windsor*, whither he took the Archbishop of *Tork* and other Bishops along with him, and where also met him all the Earls, Barons, and Knights of *England*, with Horse and Arms, to go whithersoever the King should Command them; and when they had treated farther there about the Peace and Settlement of the Kingdom, He, by the Advice of his Bishops, Earls, and Barons, removed the Constables of several Castles in the *North* of *England* and *Scotland*, and committed them to the Custody of some Knights of his own Family and others, the chief of whom were *William Stuteville*, whom he made Governor of the Castle of *Rocksborough* in *Scotland*, and *Roger Stuteville* of the Castle of *Edinburgh*; but to *Roger* Archbishop of *Tork* he gave the Custody of the Castle of *Searburgh*, and the Custody of the Castles of *Norham*, *Berwick*, and *Durham*, to divers other Persons of Note, whose Names need not be mention'd.

From *Windsor* the King went to *Oxford*, where he had Commanded the *Welsh* Kings or Princes, and the most Potent Men of that Country to meet him (viz. *Rees ap Griffin* King of *South Wales*, *Cadwalan* King of *Debmair*, *Owen de Kevilian*, *Griffin* Lord of *Bromfeild*, *Mador* Son of *Gervet Chone*, and many Others of the most Noble Families of *Wales*, who

who all did Homage, and swore Fealty to him against all Men, and that they would keep peace with him and his Kingdom; then the King bestow'd on Prince *David* (who had married his Half Sister) all the Land of *Ellesmere*, and to King *Rees* the Country of *Mereonith*.

But the most Remarkable thing concluded on in this Great Council, [4.] was, That there King *Henry* made his Son *John* King of *Ireland*, by virtue of the Bull formerly granted from Pope *Alexander*; but by the Title of King of *Ireland* it is plain, there was no more intended than Vice Roy, or Feudatary King at most, since King *Henry* himself never was stiled otherwise than Lord of *Ireland*, and the Oath of Fealty was taken to the King in the first Place, and then to Earl *John* his Son.

But to give you at once whatsoever was done farther in this Council, [5.] the King then also bestow'd divers Provinces and Cities of *Ireland* amongst his Great Men and Others, who had the chief hand in the Conquest of the Country: As to *Robert Fitz Stephen* and *Miles Cogan* the Kingdom of *Cork*, for the Service of Sixty Knights, to hold of himself and his Son *John*, except the City of *Cork*, and one Cantred or Hundred next adjoyning, which the King reserved to Himself and his Heirs: The King gave also to *Hubert Fitz-Herbert*, and *William* the Brother of Earl *Reginald*, and *Jollan de la Pomeray*, their Nephew, the Kingdom of *Limeric* for the Service of Sixty Knights: but sometime after, upon their refusal of this last Territory, because it was not fully subdued, the King bestow'd it on *Philip de Breuse* for the same Service. Also Abbot *Benedict* says, That this year, when the King had restor'd the Earl of *Chester* to all the Castles and Lands that belong'd to him, as well on this side the Sea as beyond it; he then enjoin'd him to go over into *Ireland* to help to subdue the petty Princes of that Country to the King's Obedience and his Sons, on whom the King had lately bestow'd that Kingdom.

[1.] On the Sunday before *Ascension*-day the King was at *Winchester*, where, by his Precept, all the Earls, Barons, and almost all the Knights or Tenents that held of him in *Capite*, met him all well prepared with Horse and Arms to receive his Commands; for at that time he had order'd most of the Ships of *England* and *Normandy* to be ready at *Portsmouth* and *Southampton* to transport them together with himself: Then on *Ascension* day the King gave them leave to go home, and appear again at *Winchester* on the First of *July*, then and there to execute his Commands.

At the time appointed the said Earls, Barons, and Tenents in *Capite* met him again at *Winchester*, being all ready to pass over with him into *Normandy*, but he still [2.] deferr'd his Voyage till certain Ambassadors were come back from the King of *France*, to whom he had sent them, to know whither he would stand to his Agreement, made at the Contract of Mariage between his Two Daughters, *Margaret* and *Alice*, and King *Henry's* Sons, *Henry* and *Richard*; and whither he would give them the Lands he had promised them on that consideration: But though these Ambassadors return'd not presently themselves, yet they sent over one *John de Ranville* to let the King know the effect of their Negotiation; [3.] which was, That he would not part with any more Territories, but yet expected that *Richard* Earl of

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The Lands he bestows on the Kings, *David* and *Rees*.

[4.] *Id. ib.*

And in this Great Council he makes his Son *John* K of *Ireland* by virtue of Pope *Alexander's* Bull.

The Title signified no more than of Feudatary K. or Vice-Roy.

[5.] *Id. p. 323.*

He gives divers Provinces and Cities of *Ireland* to such great Men as had assisted him in this Conquest.

E. of *Chester* restored to all his Castles and Lands, to go & help to subdue *Ireland*.

[1.] *Id. ib.*

All the Earls, Barons, and Tenants in *Capite* attend the K. at *Winchester* with Horse and Arms.

[2.] *Id. ib.*

He defers going over with them into *Normandy*, till he heard whither the K. of *France* would stand to the contract of Mariage between their Children.

And give the Lands he had promised upon their said Intermariage.

[3.] *Id. ib.*

R. H. p. 325. b.

King *Lewis* would not part with any Land, but expected *Richard* should marry his Daughter *Alice*.

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The King of
England by his
Bishops ap-
peals from the
Legat: to the
Pope.

Poitou should marry his Daughter *Alice*; and that if he did not, the Pope's Legate was ready (according to his Holiness's Command) to put all his Dominions under an *Interdict*. Upon this the King having sent for some of his Bishops (*viz.*) *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Geoffrey* of *Ely*, *Bartholomew* of *Exeter*, and *John* Bishop of *Chichester*, and other Wise men of his Kingdom, consulted with them what he should do in this difficult matter, who all advised him to Appeal to the Pope himself against the Partiality of his Legate, which the Bishops also did, putting the King, themselves and the whole Kingdom under the Pope's immediate Protection; and the King sent to the Archbishop of *Tork*, for him and his Province to make the same Appeal as the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had done in his: This was about the 12th of *July*.

[4.] B. A.

R.H. ib. 325. b.

The K. with
his army pas-
seth over Sea.

And then
sends his son
Geoffrey to re-
duce *Bretaign*.

The two Ks.
meet at *Rouen*
and Cardinal
Peter comes
to them still
threatning the
Interdict.

The King of
England de-
sires time till
he could send
to the K. of
France.

The Kings of
England and
France come
to a Confe-
rence.

The King of
England pro-
mises to mar-
ry his Son
to the King
of *France*'s
Daughter, if
he would
agree to the
former Cove-
nants.

At last upon
Conference
they agree.

[5.] Id. p. 325.

326.

The Heads of
the Agree-
ment between
the two Ks.

[4.] Notwithstanding this Appeal, the King, having remain'd almost all this time at *Winchester* to be cured of a fore Leg he had got by the kick of an Horse, about the middle of *August* passed from *Portsmouth* into *Normandy*, and Landed at a Place call'd *Kapwic*, whither almost all the Earls, Barons, and Knights of *England* (who had lately met at *Winchester*) follow'd him, expecting a War. So soon as the King arriv'd, he sent his Son *Geoffrey* into *Bretaign* to reduce his Enemies in that Province.

About the End of *August* the Two Kings came to *Rouen*, and Cardinal *Peter* the Pope's Legate came thither to 'em, still threatening by the Pope's Command to put all the King of *England*'s Dominions under an *Interdict*, unless his Son Earl *Richard* was presently married to the Lady *Alice*, Daughter to the King of *France*: The King, sensible of the Danger that was impendent over Him and his Kingdom, desired some longer time of the Cardinal to make an end of this difference, and till he could send Messengers to King *Philip*. This being propos'd and agreed to, a Treaty was began between them; and on the 21st of *September* the Two Kings came to a Conference at *Turic* in presence of the Legate and Great Men of both Nations, where the King of *England* gave his Faith, That Earl *Richard* his Son should marry the Lady above-mention'd, if her Father would, upon the Mariage with her, give him the City of *Bourges*, with its Appurtenances, as was before covenanted between them; and to *Henry* his Son-in-Law, all the *French Vauxin* (that is, all the Land between *Gisors* and *Pontoise*) which he had already promised to give him with his Eldest Daughter *Margaret*: But because the King of *France* would not perform his Covenants, therefore neither would King *Henry* then permit his Son *Richard* to marry that Princess; yet at this Conference, by Mediation of the Legate and Noblemen of both Kingdoms, there was a Peace and Final Concord made between the Two Kings under their Seals, and it was also confirm'd by their mutual Oaths; the Heads of which (since it would be tedious to set the whole down at length) are to this effect: [5.]

I. They agreed to take upon them the Cross, and go together to *Jerusalem* to fight against the Infidels.

II. They agreed to be Confederates; so that if either of them were injured, they should mutually assist each other.

III. That

III. That all manner of Discord might cease between them, they granted to each Other, That from thenceforward Neither of them should demand of the other any Lands, or any thing else they were in possession of, except what was in dispute between them in *Auvergne*, and except the Fee of *Raoul-Castle*, and the small Fees and Divisions, or Limits of Lands in *Berry*: about which, if they could not agree between themselves, there were then Three Barons and as many Bishops to be named on either part, who were to determine their Right according to the Oaths of such Laymen, as best understood and knew it, and they were to stand to their Determination.

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IV. That if either of the Two Kings should dye in their Journey, the Other should have the management of the Men and Money, and the whole care of the Expedition.

V. That in case they should both dye in the Journey, they were before they set forth to chuse some of their * honest and faithful Subjects or Vassals, to whom they should commit their Money, the Leading and Government of their Souldiers, and the Ordering of the whole Expedition.

* De probis &
fidelibus homi-
nibus nostris.

VI. They were to appoint such Governors of their Dominions in their absence, as in all difficulties should assist, and mutually defend each others Territories.

VII. That Tradesmen, Merchants, and all Others, as well Clerks as Laymen, with all their Goods, should be secure and free from molestation in both their Dominions.

These Articles being thus reduced into the form of a Charter, were seal'd and witness'd in the Presence of Cardinal *Peter*, the Pope's Legate, as also of divers Bishops, Earls, and Barons of both Kingdoms there particularly nam'd; but though the Peace between both Kings continu'd firm during the Life-time of King *Lewis*, yet that Article concerning their joint Undertaking the *Holy War* was never perform'd.

These Articles
reduced into
the form of a
Charter.

[1.] This Treaty being thus concluded to the great satisfaction of both Princes, King *Henry* went to *Vernueil*, where, at the Petition of the Good Men of *Grammont*, in the Presence of *Richard* Bishop of *Winchester*, and divers other Bishops, Earls, and Barons of his Dominions, he made certain Statutes for the Common Benefit of the People of *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, *Anjou*, and *Bretaign*, which he confirm'd under his Great Seal, to this effect:

[1.] B. A.
R. H. p. 326. b.
K. Henry then
goes to Ver-
nueil, and there
makes divers
Statutes:

" That no Man should presume to take the Goods of a Vassal for the Debt of his Lord, unless the Vassal himself was a Pledge or Surety for that Debt; yet the Rents of Vassals, which they were to pay to their Lords, should be paid to their Lord's Creditors, not to the Lords themselves.

[2.] B. A.
The King of
England sum-
mons his Earls
and Barons of
Normandy to
appear at Ar-
genton.

[2.] After this the King by his Writ summon'd the Earls and Barons of *Normandy* to meet him at *Argenton* on the Ninth of *October*, ready with Horse and Arms for his Service; and then went to *Alençon*, and sent his Son *Richard* into *Poitou*, to subdue those Enemies that had there taken up Arms against him.

[3.] But

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[3] *Id. ib.*
Young K. Henry not meeting with Success in Berry; his Father with a great Army goes thither, and subdues the Noblemen. From thence goes to Limosin, and impleads several Noblemen, & Fines them.

He meets the K. of France at Grassere, and treats with him about Auvergne.

The Earls and Barons of that Country give it to K. Henry.

[4] *R.H. ib. C.B.*
K. Henry returns to Grammont, where the E. of Marche agrees to sell his Earldom to him.

[5] *G.C. Lib. 2. c. 18.*

Limerick fired by the Inhabitants.

Philip de Breuse thereupon returns to Cork.

[1.] *R. H. ib.*
Wexford committed to William Fitz-Adelm.

And Waterford to Robert Poer the King's Marechal.

Hugh de Lacy has the Custody of Dublin, with its Dependancies.

[3] But King Henry hearing that the King his Son met with no very good Success in Berry, (whither he had lately sent him on the like affair,) he raising a Great Army, presently march'd thither to his Assistance; and having taken divers Castles in those Parts, he made the Noblemen of that Country submit to his Will: And from thence going into the Province of *Lymosin*, he there impleaded divers Earls, Barons, and other Gentlemen of that Country, for taking part with his Sons against him, and Fined every one of them according to their deserts; and then returning again into *Berry*, he and the King of *France* met at *Grassere* to treat about the County of *Auvergne*, to whom the supreme Dominion thereof did belong, whither to the King of *France* or to King Henry as Duke of *Aquitain*, which by the Earls and Barons of that Country (Assembled for that purpose) was found to be the Dominion of the Duke of *Aquitain*: But the King of *France* being not satisfy'd with this determination, the matter was again referr'd to Six Bishops and Six Barons, equally chosen by both Parties; and so the Business rested for that time.

[4.] This Treaty being ended, King Henry return'd again to *Grammont*, where came to him *Audebert* Earl of *Marche*, who having not long before lost his only Son, now agreed to sell his Earldom to King Henry for Fifteen Thousand Pounds of *Anjou* Money, Twenty Mules and Twenty Palfreys, and confirm'd this Sale by his Charter in the presence of *John* Archbishop of *Bourdeaux* and *Poitiers*, and divers other of the Clergy and Laity, as you may find in *R. Hoveden*, who has given it us at large. And so soon as the King had taken the Homages and Allegiance of the Barons and Knights of that Country, he went into *Anjou*, there to keep his *Christmas*.

I shall now give a short Relation of the *Irish* Affairs that happen'd this year, *Philip de Breuse* having (as you have already heard) the Kingdom of *Limerick* bestow'd upon him by the King; [5.] *Robert Fitz-Stephens* and *Miles Cogan* went about this time to conduct him to his New Government; but when he came near *Limerick*, the Inhabitants rebelling, set the Town on Fire to prevent their Entrance; upon which Accident his Conductors offer'd their Assistance for the recovery of that City; but *Philip* refused the kindness, being unwilling to settle among such wild sort of People, and so returned to *Cork*.

[1.] Sometime after this, the King committed unto *William Fitz-Adelm* his Sewer, the Custody of the Town of *Wexford* and its Appurtenances, (though more for Favour than any good Service;) and likewise on *Robert Poer* his Marechal he bestow'd the Government of the City of *Waterford* with its Appurtenances; and gave to *Hugh de Lacy* the Custody of *Dublin*, with all its Dependancies, which were very large, (*viz.*) the whole Territories of *O Felan* and *Kildare*, with the Countries of *Ophaly* and *Wicklow*, together with the Services of the County of *Methe*; all which then belong'd to the Territory or Dominion of *Dublin*.

I shall now proceed to relate the Rest of the Actions of Note that happen'd this Year in *Ireland*, though I cannot set down the Months in which they happen'd, because our Author has been very remiss in that

that, only we may suppose them to have been done in the Spring and following Summer.

I told you the last Year, that the King had sent *William Fitz-Adelm* thither as his Justiciary, who acting with a great deal of Covetousness, Oppression, and Meanness of Spirit (of which our Author gives us divers Instances) hinder'd all further Conquests in that Kingdom: [2.] But *John de Curcy* wholly misliking his Management, was resolv'd, by his own private Interest, to undertake some notable design, as a Volunteer without any Commission from the Deputy, who was now become contemptible, as being neither careful to provide for those under his Command, nor yet formidable to his Enemies; which gave *Curcy* the better opportunity to draw out of the Forces about *Dublin* (which through the Sloth of the General, and for want of Pay were much weakned) Two and Twenty choice Knights, and about Three Hundred other Men at Arms, and with no greater Force he boldly attacked the Kingdom of *Ulster*, which had not been hitherto attempted by the *English* Arms: And first he besieg'd the City of *Down*, the Metropolis of that Province, and took it without any difficulty; *Dunlewe*, a petty Prince then in it, running presently away, as not being provided to make any defence. Cardinal *Vivian*, the Pope's Legate (who was then newly arriv'd in *Ireland*) being inform'd of this, endeavour'd to make Peace between *Roderic* King of *Ulster* and *John de Curcy*, but without any effect: Whereupon *Roderic* and *Dunlewe* raise an Army of Ten Thousand *Irish* in a few days, and both march towards *Down* with hopes to recover it; which *Curcy* perceiving, he thought it not for his advantage to be shut up in a small Fortress he had built in a corner of the City; and therefore drew out some of the Men he had there, being in all not above Seven Hundred, and went up towards them, resolving to try the Fate of a Battle, which proved very sharp and cruel, but at length he obtain'd the Victory with a mighty Slaughter of his Enemies, though not without a considerable Loss on his own side.

[3.] *Giraldus Cambrensis* in the same Chapter tells us of Four other Battles this *Curcy* fought in *Ulster*, yet does only name them, and the Places where they were fought, without ascertaining the time when, or the Success of those his Engagements.

Stanishurst also in his History of *Ireland*, passeth them over as briefly: But [4.] Dr. *Hanmer* in his Chronicle of that Nation, from a Book written in *Latin* by an *Irish* Fryar, and Translated by Dr. *Dowdall* Archbishop of *Armagh* into *English*, gives us a fuller Account of them; which, seeing they are not mention'd in any of the *Irish* Annals, I shall but just touch upon them from that Author.

The First was fought on *Midsummer*-day following, before the Walls of *Down*, with Fifteen Thousand *Irish*, in which *Curcy* was Victor, and beat them so sufficiently, that the *Ulster* Men had no great stomach to set upon the *English* afterwards.

[5.] The Second was in *Ferns* against Eleven Thousand *Irish*, the *English* not being above a Tenth part of the Number; in which Fight the Latter were routed, and Sir *John Curcy* and Sir *Amoric* St. *Laurence*, his sworn Brother, were fain to save themselves by flight in an old Castle, where they lay *perdue* till their Forces could be rallied; and the

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[2.] Id. ib. c. 16.

Fitz-Adelm, through his Covetousness, Oppression, &c. makes no further Conquests in *Ireland*.

John de Curcy boldly invades *Ulster*.

He takes *Down*.

Cardinal *Vivian* mediates a Peace, tho' without effect.

Roderic and *Dun-Leve* raise an Army to recover it, but they are miserably beaten by *Curcy*.

[3.] Id. ib. Four Battles fought by *John de Curcy*.

[4.] *Hanmer's* Hist of *Ireland*, p. 152.

He beats the *Ulster* Men.

[5.] Id. ib. p. 153, 154. In the Battle at *Ferns* his Army was routed, and He and St. *Amoric*, St. *Laurence* forced to fly, till their Forces could be rallied.

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But falling a-
gain upon
them by Sur-
prize, the *Irish*
were almost
totally cut off.

[1.] *Id.* p. 155.
The Third
Battle was at
Uriel, near
the *Newry*.

O Hanlan com-
manded the
Irish, who were
6000, and the
English but
1000.

The Slaugh-
ter so great
on both sides,
that neither
could much
boast of the
Victory.

[2.] *Id.* p. 157.
The Fourth
Battle at the
Bridge of *Ivori*,
which he
obtained with
Honour.

He builds se-
veral Castles
in *Ulster*, and
establishes
Peace.

[3.] *G. C. l. 2.*
c. 17.

Miles Cogan in-
vades *Con-*
naught.

Upon which
the Inhabi-
tants burn
their Cities,
hide their
Provisions,
and drive a-
way their
Cattle.

Roderic comes
out against
him with
three Great
Bodies, & had
a sharp dis-
pute; but *Co-*
gan got safe to
Dublin with
the Loss on-
ly of three
Horsemen.

[4.] *Id.* c. 18.

the night following having sent out Spies into the Enemy's Camp, which they found without either Centries or Guards; they presently march'd with all the Forces they had, and taking the *Irish* asleep, kill'd them without any resistance, so that not above Two Hundred of them escaped: but of this last Success, *Giraldus* says nothing.

The Third was fought in that part of *Ulster* call'd *Uriel*, (which seems to have been the Country about the *Newry*) near which River the *Irish* being then encamp'd, a certain Fryar shewing the *English* a Ford that was passable, they got over, and fell upon the *Irish*, Com-
manded by one *O Han-lan*, being about Six Thousand, and the *English* One Thousand; the Conflict was very sharp, but the *English* Foot giving ground, left *Curey* in the midst of his Enemies, till his Friend Sir *Amoric St. Laurence* coming to his Relief, they again rallied, and encouraged their Souldiers, who charged the *Irish* so briskly, that they forced them to retreat: but the Slaughter was so great on both sides, that each of them drew off without boasting of the Victory.

[2.] The Fourth was at the Bridge of *Ivori*, where *Curey* again prevailed, and slew many of his Enemies. These were the Great Acts of that *John de Curey*, who Commanded those *English* Forces that subdued *Ulster*; after which he built many Castles in convenient places for the Security of it, and establish'd there a firm Peace.

[3.] While *John de Curey* was thus employed in reducing *Ulster*, *Miles Cogan*, who was Constable and Governor of *Dublin*, under *William Fitz-Adelm*, Seneschal of *Ireland*, with Forty Knights, Two Hundred Horsemen, and Three Hundred Archers, passed the River *Shannon*, and invaded *Connaught*, upon whose approach the Inhabitants burnt their own Cities and Towns, hid their Provisions in Caves under-ground, and drove their Cattle into Fastnesses; nevertheless the *English* Forces marched as far as *Tuam*, the Metropolis of that Province, and stayed Eight days; but not finding any Subsistence there, they return'd to the *Shannon*, where *Roderic* Prince of *Connaught* came against them with Three great Bodies of Men; and in a Wood adjoining there was a sharp and bloody Engagement, and many of the *Irish* were slain; but *Miles* and his Men got safe to *Dublin* with the Loss only of Three Horsemen.

[4.] After this *William Fitz-Adelm* was recalled from the Govern-
ment for his evil Administration, and *Hugh de Lacy* was made by the King chief Seneschal or Deputy of *Ireland*, and *Robert Poer* Governor of *Wexford* and *Waterford*.

There was nothing else considerable done in *Ireland* this year, but only that in a General Synod held at *Dublin* by Cardinal *Vivian* the Legate; he publickly set forth the Right of the King of *England* over *Ireland*, strictly forbidding both the Clergy and Laity, under the pain of *Anathema* or *Excommunication*, to presume to depart from their Fealty and Allegiance.

[5.] This

[5.] This Year the King went into *Anjou*, and kept his *Christmas* at the City of *Angiers*, where the chief Nobility of that Country were summon'd to attend him during that Festival; then returning into *Normandy* after *Easter*, and having a great Mind to go for *England*, he sent Ambassadors to the King of *France* for his Protection for all his Territories on that side of the Sea, who presently by way of Letter granted it; which being very extraordinary, I shall here set down at length: "*Lewis* King of *France*, to all to whom these Presents shall come, *Greeting*; Know ye, that We have received into our Custody all the Lands of our most Dear Brother *Henry* King of *England* on this side the Sea, if he shall please to go over into *England*, or go on Pilgrimage, viz. to the *Holy Land*; and that if his Bayliffs, or Officers, shall require us, we shall truly, without design, give them our Counsel and Assistance for the defence and protection of the same. Given at *Bois de Vincennes*."

France being for the greatest part now in Peace, I find nothing there worth Notice, but that [1.] King *Henry* having the last Year sent his Son *Richard* into *Poitou* to subdue his Enemies, he had made War upon them ever since. The Sum of those Actions was, That he marched with a Great Army to the City of *Offea*, on the Borders of *Spain*, and there found the Earl of *Bigorre* kept Prisoner by the Citizens, whom he caused to be released, he delivering to Earl *Richard* for his Ransome the Town of *Clermont*, and the Castle of *Mambrun*; after which the Earl also took *Genzai* and *Marsillian*, and several other Castles which he razed to the ground; and the Earl *Engolesme* surrendered to him his City of the same name, as also the Castle of *Montiniac*, both which Places he dismantled by throwing down their Walls. But to return to *England*.

[2.] About the beginning of *July* King *Henry* arrived from *Normandy*, and by the way to *London* paid his Devotions at the Shrine of the New Saint *Thomas*; and when he heard that *William* Archbishop of *Rheims* was come over upon the same Errand, he stayed for his coming about *London*, where he received him very splendidly; and after he had perform'd his Devotions to this reputed Saint, he return'd home again.

[3.] Some time after the King's return from *Normandy*, being at *Woodstock*, he made his Son *Geoffrey* a Knight; who presently passing over into *Normandy*, did there (as also in *France*) follow *Torneaments*, or the manly Exercise of *Tilting*; wherein he was ambitious of gaining Reputation by his Valour, because his Elder Brothers *Henry* and *Richard* had already acquired great Honour in those Military Performances. The Reader is to take notice, that these *Tiltings* on Horseback with *Spears* were then very much in fashion; but at last, because of the mischief that often happen'd thereby, they were forbid by the Pope's Decree.

But I can meet with nothing further to have happened considerable in Civil Affairs, and therefore I will give an Account of some Ecclesiastical Matters in *France*, where [4.] *R. Hoveden* gives us a long Relation, how that the *Arian* Heresy, as he terms it (or rather the Doctrine of the *Albigenses*) having been the year before condemn'd in a Synod of all the Bishops of *Languedoc*, the Kings of *England* and

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[5.] R. H. G. B.
Col. 1137.

The King of
France gives
the K. of Eng-
land Letters
of Protection

Vincennes.

[1.] R. H. p.
332. a.

Earl Richard
sent by his
Father into
Poitou, to sub-
due his Enem-
ies.

He releases
the E. of Bi-
gorre, who had
been kept Pri-
soner.

Takes Genzai
and Marsillian.

Has the City
of Angolesme
surrendered to
him.

[2.] C. B. Col.
1138.

The K. arrives
from Normandy,
and pays
his Devotions
at the Shrine
of St. Thomas.

[3.] R. H. p. 331.
He makes his
Son Geoffrey a
Knight.

His Military
Exercises.

Tilting then
very much in
fashion, but
afterwards
forbidden by
the Pope.

[4.] Id. p. 327.

The Kings of
England and
France resolv'd
to root the
Arian Heresy
out of their
Dominions.

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[5.] *Id. ib.*
Earl of *Tholouse*, and the
Pope's Legate
cite the Heads
of them before
them.

Beginning
with *Peter*
Moran their
chief Teacher,
but tho' he
recanted, he
was sentenced
to have his
Estate confisc-
ated.
Many there-
upon abjured.

Raymond and
Bernard, with
a few more of
their Preach-
ers; refusing to
recant, appear
upon Sum-
mons.

[1.] *Id. p. 328.*

Many wicked
Opinions laid
to their
Charge.

Upon their re-
fusing to ab-
jure, they are
Excommunic-
ated, and
their Abettors.

These were
the *Albigenses*
or *Waldenses*.

They fled to
the Moun-
tainous parts
of *Savoy* and
Piemont, and
are now call'd
Vandois.

France were resolv'd to root those reputed Hereticks out of their Do-
minions too; but first of all they sent the Cardinal of *St. Chrogonus*, the
Pope's Legate, with divers of the Archbishops and Bishops of *France*
to try if they could convert them: These Clergymen were backed by
great Forces under the Conduct of *Raymund* Earl of *Tholouse*, the Vis-
count of *Touraine* and other Noblemen, who, in case of Obstinacy,
were to assist the Cardinal in expelling them out of those Parts.

Whereupon the [5.] Earl and Legate arriving at the City of *Tho-
louse* (which was no ways able to resist them) they cited the Heads
of those reputed Hereticks before them, beginning with *Peter Moran*,
one of the Richest Citizens they had, and likewise their chief Teacher;
but he being convicted and condemned for several reputed Heretical
Opinions, and not being desirous then to dye a Martyr, thought it his
best way openly to recant them; however notwithstanding he was
sentenced to be publicly whipped, and his Estate to be confiscated;
at which severe proceedings his Followers were so terrified, that ma-
ny of them came in, confessed and abjured their Opinions, only Two
of them, whose Names were *Raymond* and *Bernard*, and some few
other of their Preachers refused to recant, yet, being summon'd, they
appeared, having first obtained a safe Conduct for their coming and re-
turning back; the Process against them is very long, but the Sum of
it is to this effect: [1.] That they produced the Articles of their Faith
in writing, containing several passages which were judged bordering
upon Heresy; therefore the Bishops would have them give an account
of their Faith in Latin, But they not being able to do that, the Cardi-
nal and Bishops were fain to Examine them in their Mother-tongue;
in which when they answer'd also as if they had been true Catholics,
the Earl of *Tholouse* and Others laid many wicked Opinions to their
charge, as that they had preached up Two Gods; that Mariage and
Baptism of Infants were unlawful, with divers other Heretical Do-
ctrines, all which they positively deny'd; yet being urg'd to abjure
them upon Oath, they utterly refused it, justifying themselves by the
words of our Saviour, *Swear not at all*.

Therefore when (after Admonition) they still persisted in refusing
to Swear, the said Cardinal and Bishops in the presence of all the Peo-
ple, Excommunicated the said *Raymond* and *Bernard* and their Abet-
ters, and order'd that all Princes should drive them out of their Ter-
ritories; then the Earl of *Tholouse* and other Great Men of that Pro-
vince bound themselves by Oath, That for the future they would be
neither moved by any Prayers or Rewards to favour those Hereticks,
as they were then call'd.

Thus have I here given you (as briefly as I could) *Roger Hove-
den's* Account of the Proceedings in *France* against these *Albigenses* or
Waldenses (as some call'd them) who, by what has been here
laid to their charge, seem'd then to have held the same Opinions with
the *Manichees*, and divers other antient Hereticks: Yet for all this,
that they were not *Manichees*, appears by their antient as well as mo-
dern Confessions of Faith, being the same People that were driven
out of *France* by those cruel Persecutions, and fled chiefly to those of
their own Religion, who liv'd in the mountainous Parts of *Savoy* and
Piemont, and who have continued there till our times under the name
of *Vandois*.

[2.] *Meze-*

[2.] *Mezeray* in his History distinguishes them from the *Manichees*, and says that many of them being persecuted in *Thrace*, whither they had been transplanted by the Greek Emperor *Joannes Zimisces*, got by Land into *France*, and there lay conceal'd (as to their Opinions) for some years; but these were Strangers, and could never encrease to that Multitude, as to make up the greater part of the City of *Tholouse* as they now did.

I find nothing else remarkable that happen'd this Year, but that there was an Eclipse of the Sun on the Thirteenth of September, of which *Gervase* of *Canterbury* has given us an exact Account.

[3.] This year the King kept his *Christmass* at *Winchester*, his Sons *Geoffrey* and *John* being with him, for young King *Henry* was in *Normandy*, and Duke *Richard* in *Poitou*; but in [4.] *Lent* following *Henry* the Son return'd into *England*, and the King his Father and He kept their *Easter* together at *Winchester*. Not long after this *Richard de Lucy*, Justiciary of *England*, resigning his Office, became a Chanon Regular in the Abby of *Lewis*, which he had lately founded: after whose Dismission, the King held a Great Council at *Windsor*, and by the Common Advice of his Archbishop, Bishops, Earls and Barons, he divided *England* into four parts of Circuits, and to every one he appointed Discreet men to do Justice in the Land: assigning to every Circuit (except the last) five Justices, for whose Names as well as those of the Counties assign'd them, I refer you to my [5.] Author, thinking it enough to mention, That *Richard* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Richard* the King's Treasurer were appointed the Two chief Justices for *Hampshire* and the rest of the South Western Counties; and *Geoffrey* Bishop of *Ely*, and *Nicholas* the King's Chaplain, were the Two chief Justices for *Cambridgeshire*, and the rest of the Counties there mentioned; *John* Bishop of *Norwich*, and *Hugh Murdac* the King's Clerk, were the Two chief Justices for *Norfolk* and the rest of the Counties there recited, whereof *Middlesex* is one, which yet was not before mention'd in the former Division, and these Six, viz. *Geoffrey de Lucy*, *John Cumin*, *Hugh de Gaerst*, *Ranulph de Glanvil*, *William de Bendings* and *Alan de Furnellis*, who were before appointed Justices in the King's Court to hear the People's Suits, had now the Seven Northern Counties (beginning with *Nottinghamshire* and *Derbyshire*) assigned them for their Share.

From whence the Reader may observe, that the King did not by his own Authority alone, without the Advice and Consent of the Great Council of the Kingdom, take upon him to appoint these Itinerant Justices; so that the Kingdom was now divided into but four Circuits, where as the former Division was into Six; for which alteration it is difficult to give a Reason at this great distance of time.

You may likewise further observe, That Bishops and Clerks (that is, Men in Holy Orders) did still act as Judges in Causes of Life and Death, notwithstanding the late Canon made against it; for how otherwise could they be said to have done Justice throughout the Kingdom?

After this nothing happen'd either here or in foreign parts, only that [1.] *Lewis* King of *France*, being now very much broken with Age, resolv'd to have his Son *Philip* crown'd King in his Life-time;

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[2.] A.D. 1163.
Mezeray distinguishes them from the *Manichees*.

An Eclipse of the Sun.

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[3.] C.B. R. H. p. 1332. a.
[4.] *Id. ib.* 337. a.
Richard de Lucy resigns his Office of Justiciary, and comes the Chanon Regular.

The K. holds a Great Council at *Windsor*.

He divides *England* into four Circuits.

[5.] *Id. ib.*

* *Curia Regis*.

But not by his sole Authority, but by the Consent of the Great Council.

Bishops and Clerks still acted as Judges in Causes of Life and Death.

[1.] C.B.

K. Lewis resolves to have his Son *Philip* Crowned in his Life-time.

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But his Son
falls sick that
very day it
should have
been per-
form'd.

[2.] *Id. ib.* R. H.
p. 337. b.

His Father
was admo-
nish'd in a
Dream to vi-
sit St. Bicker's
Tomb for
Philip's Re-
covery.

He comes to
Canterbury and
K. Henry from
Dover con-
ducts him
thither.

He prays and
offers at the
Shrine.

Gives the
Monks two
Measures of
Wine yearly
for ever.

And several
other Privi-
leges, which
he confirms
by his Charter.

[3.] *Id. ib.*

His Son Phi-
lip recovers
his health.

The Princes
and Great
Men com-
manded by
Edict to meet
at Rheims, and
Crown his
Son there on
All-Saints day.

He was
Crowned ac-
cordingly.

[4.] R. H. p.
338. a.

[5.] *Id. ib.*

A strange Pro-
digy that hap-
pened near
Derlington of
the Earth's
heaving up it
self to a great
height, and
abiding so all
day.

[1.] New Edit.
of Britannia,
p. 774.

and to that end summon'd the Estates of the Kingdom to meet at Rheims, but on the Day appointed for this Solemnity, the young Prince fell so desperately ill of a Cold or Fright which he had taken upon losing himself all night in the Woods, as he rode a hunting, that the King his Father grieved extremely from him, insomuch that He resolv'd to come over into England on Pilgrimage to the Tomb of the New St. Thomas, to implore his Assistance for the Recovery of the young Prince's health, or (as our [2.] Monkish Writers relate) was Commanded by that reputed Saint in a Dream so to do: But this is certain, that notwithstanding the French Nobility did all they could to dissuade him from it, yet he did come into England (being attended by Philip Earl of Flanders and divers other Princes and great Lords;) and so soon as he arriv'd, the King met him at Dover on the 22d of August, and from thence conducted him to Canterbury, where he spent Two days in Prayers at the Saint's Tomb, at which he offer'd a weighty Golden Cup, and besides bestowed upon the Monks of that Church for ever yearly One Hundred Measures of Wine to be delivered to them at a certain place in France, without any Charge or Duty; and he likewise granted, that whatever those Monks should buy in his Kingdom for their own Use, it should be free from all Tolls and Customs; all which he confirmed by his Charter under his Seal.

[3.] The Third day after King Lewis's arrival there, King Henry conducted him back to Dover, and the next day (which was the Twenty-sixth of August) he set sail for France: During this time of his absence, his Son Philip, through the Mediation of St. Thomas (as you must suppose the King his Father believed) recovering his former Health, He then by publick Edict commanded all the Princes and Great Men of his Kingdom, both Ecclesiastical and Secular, to meet at Rheims on the Feast of All-Saints, to Crown his Son, and then the Solemnity was perform'd. Henry the Young King of England as Duke of Normandy, carrying before him from his Presence Chamber to the Church; the Golden Crown, with which he was to be Crowned: and Philip Earl of Flanders the Sword of that Kingdom; and the other Dukes, Earls, and Barons, took their Places according to their several Offices; [4.] but King Lewis could not be there; for it seems upon his Return from England, as he made a Visit to St. Dennis's Shrine, he got a great Cold, and fell into a Dead Palsy, by which he lost the Use of the Right-side of his Body, and never after perfectly recover'd it.

To conclude this year, [5.] I cannot omit a strange Prodigy that happen'd in the Christmas Holy-days near Derlington in the Bishoprick of Durham, where "at a place call'd Oxen-hall, the Earth rais'd it self up to a great Height in the manner of a lofty Tower, and remain'd all that day till the evening (as it were fixed and unmoveable) in that posture; And then on the sudden it sunk down again "with such a horrid noise, that it terrified all the Neighbourhood: "and the Earth so suck'd it in, that it made there a deep Pit, "which continues as a Testimony to this day. This is supposed by [1.] Mr. Camden to be those Wells or Pits now called Hell-kettles, which, how well they answer the foregoing Description, I shall leave to others to judge.

The Kings of *England* and *France* being now at Peace, there were no considerable foreign Wars, unless for reducing of some Rebels in *Aquitain* to their Obedience, [2.] for Duke *Richard* having been very much provoked by the Injuries and Affronts of a certain Nobleman called *Geoffrey de Rancuna*, he was resolv'd to bring down his pride; and therefore in the beginning of *May* he march'd, and besieged his strong Castle of *Tailborgh*, which was so desperate an Enterprize, that none of his Predecessors before him ever durst attempt it, being (besides the natural strength of its Situation) very well provided both with Men, Provision and Ammunition: but the Duke, having first destroyed the Country round about it, laid close Siege to the Town and Castle it self, and the Garisons presuming upon their great Strength, sallied out upon the Duke's Army, which not only beat them back to their very Gates before ever they could shut them, but ent'ed the Town at their Heels, and put to the Sword all they found in the Streets, sparing none but those that fled to the Castle; the Lord of which was forced to Surrender it within a few days after.

So soon as the Duke had got it into his possession, he commanded the Walls to be batter'd down, and the like he did by several other Castles that only served as encouragements for Rebellion in that Country; all which when Duke *Richard* had luckily finished, he returned into *England* to his Father with much Honour.

[3.] Also this year Duke *Geoffrey* (the certain time indeed is not set down) by the King his Father's commands went over into *Bretagne*, and there raising an Army, wasted the Lands of *Guionar de Leuns*, till he forced him to surrender himself to his mercy. From whence you may observe the great Insolence of the Noblemen of those times, who if they had but Two or Three strong places in their Custody, thought themselves an equal match for their Prince, though they often found themselves mistaken in their Account.

[4.] But to look back upon the affairs of *Ireland*, the *English* Interest this year received a very great Blow, by the loss of Two valiant Commanders (*viz.*) *Miles Cogan*, and *Ralph*, Son to *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, who going toward *Lismore* to treat with the men of *Waterford* about some affairs, resolv'd to lodge with an *Irish* man one *Mac-Tyre* the night following, for he had invited them to his House; but while they stayed in the Fields expecting the *Waterford* men, their pretended Entertainer stealing out upon them unawares with a party of men, killed them both with five other Knights; and immediately thereupon *Mac-Tyre* and *Mac-Carty* with all the *Irish* in those parts revolted from the *English* Allegiance, and designed to destroy *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, whom they besieged in *Cork*: his Nephew *Raymond* hearing in what distress he was, presently shipped himself at *Wexford* with Twenty Knights, and about an Hundred others, some being Horse, and others Bowmen, who landing at *Cork* encountred the Enemy, killed many of them, caused Others to fly, and forced the greatest Part of them to sue for peace.

The King hearing of the death of *Miles*, sent *Richard Cogan* his Brother with a choice Band of men to succeed him in the Government of the County of *Cork*; a man no way inferior to his Brother, for Courage and Martial knowledge.

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[2] R. D. Cal.
603.

Duke Richard
Besieges Tail-
borgh Castle,
belonging to
Geoffrey de
Rancuna.

He enters the
Town, and
puts all to the
Sword that
were found
in the Streets.
And in a few
days after the
Castle it self
was surren-
dered to him.

He batters
down the
Walls of this,
and several o-
ther Castles
that only ser-
ved as Encou-
ragements to
Rebellion.
And then re-
turns into
England with
great Honour.

[3.] R. H. p.
377.

Duke Geoffrey
goes into Bre-
tagne, and
wastes the
Lands of Gu-
ionar de Leuns,
till he made
him yield to
his Mercy.

[4.] G. C. l. a.
c. 18.

Miles Cogan &
Ralph, the Son
of Robert Fitz-
Stephen, trea-
cherously
slain.

Raymond re-
lieves his Un-
cle Fitz-Ste-
phen, whom
the Irish had
besieged in
Cork.

Richard Cogan
succeeds his
Brother in the
Government
of *Cork*.

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[5.] *Id. ib.*

The *Irish* quietly submit to the prudent Government of *Hugh de Lacy*.

[1.] *R. H. p.*
332. b.

C. G. Col. 1446.

The Second Council of *Lateran*.

Out of *England* there went but four Bishops.

Three and Thirty Decrees made there.

The *Albigenses* and all of their Opinion declared Hereticks.

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MCLXXX.

[2.] *R. H. p.*
339. b.

The Young K. of *France* wholly influenced by *Philip E. of Flanders*.

He uses his Mother, Uncles and Father's Friends very ill.

Young K. *Henry* comes into *England* to acquaint his Father with it.

Philip treated his Relations. Both Kings go into *Normandy*, where

the Father received the Oaths and Pledges of the *French Nobility* to stand to his Judgment.

He raises an Army, and enters *France*.

[3.] *Id. ib.*

Before any stillity, upon a Conference between Old K. *Henry* and *Philip*, Peace was made.

[5.] *Hugh de Lacy* at this time Governed *Ireland* with great Prudence and Moderation; he recalled such as had been violently thrown out of their Habitations, so that in many places the lands were again stocked and cultivated; and in a short time, he established the *English* in Peace by his Generosity and kind Behaviour, and by this means so alluring the *Irish*, and obliging their Great Men, that he was much suspected to have aimed at the supreme Dominion, of that Nation.

[1.] *England* affording us nothing worth remarking in Ecclesiastical matters, I shall make bold to give you some Account here of that famous Council, called the Second *Lateran*, which was held this year at *Rome*; and to which, all the Bishops of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* had been summoned the year before by the Pope's Legates, and at which most of the Princes of *Europe* assisted by their Ambassadors, as also all the Clergy represented by their Bishops: yet out of *England* there went no more than Four Bishops, because they affirm'd that no more were necessary to be sent to any Council. In this Synod were made Three and Thirty Decrees, which you may find at large in *R. Hoveden*, and *Gervase of Canterbury*; the Chiefest of which were to establish the Election of the Pope, which was to be made for the future by no less than Two parts of Three of all the Cardinals there present. But those which I shall take most notice of, are the declaring the *Albigenses*, and all of their Opinion in *Gascony* and other places, Hereticks; the rest, as wholly relating to Ecclesiastical matters, I omit.

[2.] King *Henry* this year kept his *Christmases* at *Nottingham*, where *William King of Scots* was present; but in *France* things grew very turbulent, for the Young King taking advantage of his Father's Indisposition, was in all things directed by *Philip Earl of Flanders* through whose advice he began to tyrannize over the People, and to despise and hate all those that either loved his Father, or were his Friends; and so persecuted his Mother, that he forced her out of his Dominions, and used *William Archbishop of Rheims*, *Earl Theobald*, and *Earl Stephen* his Uncles by the Mother-side very harshly: at whose request King *Henry* the Son went into *England* to his Father, to inform him how *Philip* the Young King of *France* had treated his Relations through the instigation of the *Earl of Flanders*. Upon this Information, they both pass'd into *Normandy* before *Easter*, where the Queen of *France*, with her Brothers, *Earl Theobald* and *Stephen*, were; and several others of the *French Nobility* came to them, and gave the old King of *England* their Oaths and Pledges, that they would not recede from his Judgment; Upon which he raised a great Army, with an Intention to enter *France*, and revenge the Injuries the young King had done his Mother, and Uncles:

But before they came to any Acts of Hostility, [3.] King *Henry* the Father came to a Conference with King *Philip* between *Gisors* and *Trie*, at which sometimes by fair words, sometimes by those more harsh, he at last so effectually prevail'd with him, that against the Advice of the *Earl of Flanders* and *Robert Clement*, the Young King was reconciled to his Mother and Uncles, and received them into favour, appointing Her to receive Seven pounds of *Paris* money every day for

for her Diet, and promising to allow her her full Dower whenever his Father should die.

In this Agreement the Earl of *Flanders* was also included, as appears by Two Letters of this Kings to *Ranulph de Glanville*, inserted by * *Giraldus Cambrensis* in his Manuscript Treatise de *Instructiōe Principis*, wherein he lets him know that he had made a firm Peace between the King of *France* and Earl of *Flanders* on these conditions, that the Earl of *Flanders* and all his Adherents, should return to the Allegiance of the King of *France*; and that all Castles and Prisoners taken in the late War should be restored on both sides; and lastly, that the Earl of *Flanders* should renounce all his Right to the County of *Vermandois*; and that at the same time King *Henry* had also reconciled the Queen of *France* to her Son King *Philip*, together with the Archbishop of *Rheims*, the Duke of *Burgundy* and other Great Men who had taken her part, and that he had made a firm Peace with the said Earl.

[4.] At this Conference likewise King *Henry* the Elder (for greater Caution) received Homage of the Earl of *Flanders* in the presence of the King of *France*, and on that consideration granted him yearly one Thousand Marks to be received at his Exchequer in *London*; and in Recompence thereof he was to find the King of *England* every year for his Service, when he was thereunto summon'd, Five Hundred Knights or Horsemen for Forty days.

[5.] The same year *Lewis* the Seventh, King of *France*, died at *Paris* on the Eighteenth of *September*; and soon after his Son, the New King *Philip* and King *Henry* came to another Conference at the same place as before; and there renewed the same Peace and Agreement (and that in the same words) as had been made already between his Father and Himself, (except that Covenant of taking the Cross, and going to the *Holy Land*) and confirmed it with their Oaths, as you may find in our Author at large.

[1.] This year also (though *R. Hoveden* does not set down the exact time) the King appointed *Ranulph de Glanville*, Chief Justiciary of all *England*, by whose wisdom and Advice the Laws of King *Edward* (which had been before confirmed by *William I.*) were again renewed; which Laws since they are already set down at the end of King *William* the First's Reign, need not here to be further mention'd, only the Reader may observe, that these Laws of King *Edward*, were still in force in this King's Time.

I find nothing else remarkable to have been performed this year in *England*, [2.] only that all the old money being very much adulterated was called in, and coined anew by the King's Command under the care and management of *Philip Aymari* native of *Tours* in *France*; [3.] and He also severely fined, and otherwise punished the false Coyners for abusing the Alloy, and corrupting the old Money.

As for Foreign Affairs, the most considerable was, [4.] That *Henry* Duke of *Saxony* (the King's Son-in-Law) having seized upon certain Revenues belonging to the Archbishop of *Cologne* which lay in the Duke's Dominions, the Archbishop complain'd thereof to the Emperor, accusing him not only of that, but of Perjury and Treason against his Imperial Majesty, who thereupon cited him to appear at the

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In this Agreement the Earl of *Flanders* was included.

In Bib. Cotton. Jul. C.

[4.] R. H. 16.
The E of *Flanders* does Homage to the K. of *England* for One Thousand Marks per Ann. and he is to find 500 Horse for 40 days.

[5.] Id. ib. p. 339.
K. of *France* dies. Another Conference, where the same Peace was renew'd between the Ks. of *England* and *France*.

[1.] Id. ib.
Ralph de Glanville appointed Chief Justiciary.

K. *Edward's* Laws again renewed.

[2] R. D. Cot. 611.
New Money coined in *England*, and the Old call'd in.
[3.] R. H. p. 341.
[4.] R. H. p. 339.

A. Bp. of *Cologne* accuses the D. of *Saxony* to the Emperor of Perjury and Treason.

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He is cited to
appear at the
Emperor's
Court.

The A. Bishop
with the Em-
peror's Forces
invades the
Duke's Terri-
tories.

He is banish'd
his Country
for 7 years,
but the Em-
peror remits
four of them.

The D. in his
Exile comes
to K. Henry in-
to Normandy.

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[5.] Id. p. 348.
An Affize of
Arms appoin-
ted by the K.
in all his Do-
minions be-
yond the Seas.

K. of France
and Earl of
Flanders make
the same Affize
of Arms for
their Men.

[1.] Id. p. 350. a.
The K. of Eng-
land makes
Peace between
the K. of France
and E. of Flem-
ders.

K. Henry comes
into England,
and brings
with him the
K. of Scots, ho-
ping to recon-
cile him to the
A. Bps of St.
Andrews and
Aberdene,
whom he had
driven out of
Scotland.

But the Scottish
K. remain'd
inflexible.

the Court, or Dyet of the Empire, where he coming upon safe conduct, was accused of the aforesaid Crimes, and perceiving he should be condemned, (without making any defence to what was laid to his charge) privately withdrew into his own Dominions, which for his Contumacy, were forthwith adjudged forfeited, and his Person proscribed; whereupon the Archbishop of Cologne being back'd with the Emperor's Forces, immediately Invaded the Duke's Territories; but He being several times defeated in divers Battles, he found himself at last reduced to that extremity, that he was forced to submit to the Emperor's mercy; whereupon he was banish'd his Country for seven years; but afterward, at the Intercession of the Pope and the Kings of France and England, the Emperor released four years of the Term prescribed; the Duke being thus Exil'd came to his Father-in-Law King Henry, who was then in Normandy.

This being [5.] the Twenty Seventh year of King Henry's Reign, he kept his *Christmasts* at the City of Mans, and not long after he appointed by his Edict what Arms every man in all his Dominions beyond the Seas, should have ready for the Defence of his Country; viz.

He that was worth in Goods One Hundred pounds of Anjou Money, was to have a Horse, and entire Arms of a Horseman; every man that was worth Forty, Thirty or Five and Twenty Pounds of the same money in Goods, was to have an Iron Cap, a Gorget, a Lance and Sword: and all others to have a *Wambais* (i. e. a Coat quilted with Wool, or such like matter) an Iron Cap, a Lance and a Sword, or else Bows and Arrows; and he prohibited all Men from selling their Arms, or pawning them, and ordained that at their deaths they should go to their next Heirs. When the King of France and Earl of Flanders heard of this Law, they likewise caused their Men to be Armed after the same manner.

Though this Transaction does not properly belong to our English History, yet I thought fit to insert it, for the Reader to see that in those times the Common People of France, as well as those of England, were not absolute Slaves and Vassals, for the very meanest of them were capable of bearing Arms for the defence of themselves and their Country: and you will find by the Affize of Arms, which was not long after made in England, that the Privileges of the People as to this matter were much the same: and which is a plain proof, That constant standing Armies were not then in fashion in France.

[1.] While King Henry stayed at Barfleur expecting his passage into England, there happen'd a fresh difference between the King of France and the Earl of Flanders, about the Earl of Clermont; and King Henry was sent for to Gisors by the King of France, and there at a Conference made them Friends; and from thence went to Cherburgh, and so set Sail for England, and arrived at Portsmouth the Twenty-fifth of August, and brought along with him William King of Scots, whom he had sometime before sent for into Normandy, in order to make a firm Reconciliation between Him and the Bishops of St. Andrews and Aberdene, who had been forced out of that Kingdom by his harsh usage; but King Henry could not settle that affair, as appears by the many Letters, the Pope afterwards wrote to the King of Scots to permit those Bishops quietly to enjoy their *Bishopricks*; which the King disobeying, Alexis the Pope's Legate there with Roger Arch-

Archbishop of *York*, and *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham*, pronounced the Sentence of *Excommunication* against the King of *Scots*, and put his Kingdom under an Interdict. Anno Dom. MCLXXXI.

[2.] Then King *Henry* not long after his return made an Affize or Law concerning men's having and keeping of Arms in *England*, (which seems to have been made in imitation of that lately publish'd beyond Sea:) But since it is somewhat long, I shall only give you an Abstract of it, referring the Reader to the Law it self at large in our [3.] Author, which You shall also find translated among the Laws at the Latter end of this Reign. [2.] *Id.* p. 350. d. The Substance of this Affize, or Law. [3.] *Id.* *ib.*

I. Whosoever hath a Knight's Fee, shall have a Coat of Mail, an Helmet, a Shield, and a Lance: and every Knight shall have so many Coats of Mail, Helmets, Shields, and Lances, as he hath Knight's Fees.

II. Every Free Lay-man that hath in Goods or Rent to the value of Sixteen Marks, shall have a Coat of Mail, an Helmet, a Shield, and a Lance.

III. Every Free Lay-man that hath in Goods Ten Marks, shall have an Iron Gorget, an Iron Cap, and a Lance.

IV. All Burgeses, and the whole Community of Freemen, shall have a *Wambais*, a Cap of Iron, and a Lance, &c.

This is sufficient to let you see, that the Common People of *England*, who were of any Substance, were not then such Vassals to their Lords, as Some men (for what Ends they themselves best know) would make them; since you may here find, that even the meanest Burghers and Farmers were to keep the Arms above-mention'd, and which were also to go to their Heirs for the defence of Themselves and the Kingdom against Foreign or Domestick Enemies. Nay it further shews you, That the Kings of *England* did not then Govern by a *Standing Army*; for if they had, the King would have been so far from Commanding those of ordinary condition to be Armed, that he would rather have taken away those they had, as the King of *France* does at this day.

But to give you some account of the Affairs of *Ireland*. [4.] This Year the Suspicions concerning *Hugh de Lacy's* seizing the Kingdom of *Ireland* still encreasing, especially, because he had without the King's leave married the Daughter of the King of *Connaught*, he was recall'd from his Government, and *John* Constable of *Chester*, and *Richard de Pec* were sent by the King to undertake that Charge; but before *Hugh* left *Ireland*, and in the time of his Government, he had built very many Castles, and placed Garisons in them for the Security of the Kingdom. [4.] *G. C. l. 2. c. 21.* *Hugh de Lacy* upon suspicion is recalled and New Governors appointed in his room.

These [5.] Two Governors above mention'd were sent into *Ireland* in Summer-time, and I find nothing done by them there, but the following Winter, *Hugh de Lacy* was restor'd to the King's Favour, and having satisfied him of his Fidelity, had the Government of that Country again committed to his Charge, and *Robert* of *Shrewsbury*, a Clerk, was joyned with him in Commission by the King, as his Co-adjutor. [5.] *Id.* *ib.* *Hugh de Lacy* restor'd to the Government of *Ireland*, and *Robert* of *Shrewsbury* is joyned with him in Commission.

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MCLXXXI.

[1.] R. H. p.
348. b.

The A. Bp. of
Dublin brings
thither the Son
of the K. of
Connaught as
a Hostage for
the Tribute
his Father had
agreed to pay
the King.

At the A Bp's
Death, Geoffrey
de la Haye sei-
zes his Reve-
nues.

Hugh de Lacy
discharged
from his Go-
vernment of
Ireland. *

[2.] Id. p. 350. b.
John Cumin
made A. Bp.
of Ireland.

[3.] Id. p. 351. a.
Roger A. Bp. of
York deceases,
and leaves his
great Wealth
to be distribu-
ted among the
Poor.

K. Henry va-
cates his Te-
stament, and
confiscates his
Estate to his
own use.

* Devisa.

[4.] Id. p. 350. b.
Pope Alexan-
der 3d. dies ;
who had more
advanced the
Papal Power,
than ever any
one had done
before.

Cardinal Im-
baldus, Bp. of
Ostia, succeeds
him by the
Name of Lu-
cius the 3d.

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MCLXXXII.

[5.] Id. p. 351. a.

Young K. Hen-
ry's undutiful-
ness, causes his
Father to go
to Normandy.

Young K. Hen-
ry submits
himself to his
Father's will.

adjutor and Counsellor: Upon his Resumption of the Govern-
ment, he built many other Castles for the Security of the *Englisch*
Interest.

I shall here also take notice of some other passages relating to *Ire-
land*, [1.] whilst the King continued in *Normandy*. In *February*
Lawrence Archbishop of *Dublin* brought thither with him the Son of
Roderic King of *Connaught* as a Hostage for the Tribute his Father
had lately agreed to pay the King; and the Archbishop deceasing there
not long after, the King presently sent *Geoffrey de la Haye* (one of his
Clerks) into *Ireland* to seize the Revenues of the Archbishoprick. At
the same time also *John*, Constable of *Cheshire*, and *Richard de Pce*,
were sent to take the Government of the City of *Dublin* out of the
hands of *Hugh de Lacy*, for the Reason already given.

[2.] And to put whatever relates to *Ireland* together, the King not
long after his Arrival in *England* bestow'd that Bishoprick upon *John*
Cumin his Chaplain; though the Annals of *Ireland* relate, that he
was unanimously Elected by the Clergy of *Dublin*: which is to be
thus understood, That the King recommended him, and they chose
him.

[3.] Also this Year died *Roger* Archbishop of *York*, who had in his
Life-time scraped together a great Sum of Money, which he be-
queathed to divers Bishops to be distributed amongst the Poor: But so
soon as the King heard it, he vacated his Testament, as being made up-
on his Death-bed, and sent to all his Justices, requiring them to make
diligent Inquisition concerning the Money of the said Archbishop,
and to confiscate it to the King's use; alledging, That the Archbishop
himself had formerly issued out a Decree, forbidding any Ecclesiasti-
cal person to make any Will or * Device of his Goods, unless it were
done in perfect Health.

[4.] The same Year also deceased Pope *Alexander* the Third, who,
by his long Reign of Two and Twenty Years, as also by his humbling
King *Henry*, and afterwards, by the Assistance of the *Venetians*, van-
quishing the Emperor *Frederic Barbarossa*, and making him put his
Neck under his Feet, advanc'd the Papal Power to a far higher De-
gree than ever it had been hitherto. Cardinal *Imbaldus* Bishop of
Ostia, succeeded him by the Name of *Lucius* the Third.

[5.] The King kept his *Christmases* at *Winchester*, and not long after
the Young King *Henry's* undutiful Carriage caused his Father to go
over into *Normandy*, because of the fresh Troubles and Vexations
which his Son still procured him there; for He and his Queen being
now with her Brother King *Philp*, through his instigation the King her
Husband wrought all the mischief imaginable against his Father, not-
withstanding the solemn Oaths he had taken to be obedient and faith-
ful to him; he now again demanded of him *Normandy*, or some other
Province of his Dominions for his share; yet at last he once more re-
turned to his Duty, and swore to submit to his Father's Will and Ad-
vice, and that he would never recede from it, nor desire more for his
own Expences than one Hundred Pounds a-day of *Anjou* Money, nor
any more for his Wife than Ten Pounds a-day of the like Money: And
further, the King granted to pay One Hundred of his Knights, or Me-
nial Servants, their Wages for that year; and so for the present all Dif-
ferences

ferences between them are compos'd. However, this Agreement did not last long, the Quarrel between them breaking forth a new by reason of the Inconstancy and Undutifulness of this Young Prince.

[1.] After this King Henry the Father set on foot a Treaty between Philip King of France and the Earl of Flanders, concerning several Differences that were then between them, which by the King of England's means were at last agreed; but because they are foreign to our English History, I purposely omit them: only at this Assembly the Earl of Flanders deliver'd up to King Henry the Charter which the King his Son had formerly made him, and also discharged both Him and his Brothers from all Agreements made between them during the late War.

[2.] This Year also (though the express time is not set down) King Henry sent William Earl of Albemarle, with some other of his Courtiers, Ambassadors to the Emperor Frederic, to desire him, that he would mitigate his displeasure against Henry Duke of Saxony the King's Son in Law, who had been not long since deprived of his Dominions by the Sentence of the Princes of the Empire (as you have already heard:) But all that these Ambassadors could obtain of the Emperor, was, That the Duke being condemn'd to Banishment, all those that should accompany him, might have Free Liberty to return again into their own Country; the Emperor also granted to Matilda, Dutches of Saxony, the King's Daughter, out of respect to the King her Father, That if she would remain in Germany, she might quietly enjoy her Joynture; but if she rather chose Banishment with her Husband, the Emperor only agreed, that he would appoint some to preserve it for Her. So, when the time came, that was prefix'd for the Duke's departure, he went away accompanied with his Wife and Children, and divers Earls and Barons and other People of Quality, who all came into Normandy to King Henry, and were received very kindly by Him; but not long after the Duke gave those Noblemen his Followers, leave to return home, on whom the King of England bestow'd many Presents; but the Duke and his Dutches continued Three years in Normandy, being all that time nobly maintain'd, till at last the Duke went on Pilgrimage into Spain to St. James's Shrine, whilst the Dutches remain'd with the King her Father at Argenton.

I shall say no more of this Duke Henry, who for the Greatness of his Spirit, was surnam'd the Lion; but that being thus deprived of his Dominions, he could never obtain an entire Restitution of them, having been Lord of all Saxony and Bavaria, and, as some Authors relate, his Territories extended from the Adriatic to the Baltic Sea; only some years after the Emperor restored unto him that part of his Dominions, containing at this day the Dutches of Hanover, Zell, and Wolfenbottle, and the present Dukes are lineally descended from that Duke Henry by Matilda, Daughter to Henry King of England.

Thus much I thought fit to insert (though not directly within the bounds of our History) out of a particular Honour to that ancient House, which hath given the World divers great Emperors, besides so many gallant Princes, and particularly the present George Lodowick, Electoral Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh; who, being the Eldest Son of that most accomplish'd Princess Sophia, the Electress Dowager

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[1.] Id. ib.
The Differences between the K of France and the E. of Flanders, made up by K. Henry's means.

The Earl delivers up the Charter to K. Henry, which his Son had formerly made him.

[2.] Id. ib. b. p. 352. a.
K. Henry sends Ambassadors to the Emperor in behalf of the D. of Saxony.

The Emperor grants that all who went away with him might freely return to their own Country.

And the Dutches his Wife if she would tarry in Germany, might enjoy her Joynture; or if not, he would order it to be kept for her.

The Duke with his Wife and Children, goes to K. Henry his Father in Law, who receives 'em all very kindly.

The Noblemen that accompanied him, return back.

The D. goes on Pilgrimage to St. James's Shrine in Spain.

The D. is after some time restor'd to part of his Dominions.

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MCLXXXII.

An Account
of the Relati-
on of the
House of Ha-
nover to the
Crown of Eng-
land.

[3.] R. D.

Geoffrey, the
K's Natural
Son, resigns
the Bishoprick
of Lincoln in-
to his Father's
hands, who
sometime af-
ter made him
his Chancel-
lor.

Dowager of *Brunswick*; hath by her near Relation to the Blood-Royal of *England*, again renew'd the antient Alliance between this and that most Illustrious Family.

[3.] In Ecclesiastical Affairs nothing happen'd considerable this year, only that *Geoffrey* the King's Natural Son, who had been near Eight years before Elected Bishop of *Lincoln*, though he had never yet received Consecration, was now pressed by the Pope to receive it, but being unwilling to accept it (finding himself unfit for so great a Charge) He, by the Advice of the King his Father, freely resign'd it again into His hands, who not long after made him his Chancellor, and conferr'd also upon him Five Hundred Marks *per Annum* Pension: *R. Hoveden* places this under the last Year, but since *Radulphus de Diceto* *Matt. Paris*, and *Matt. Westminster* do all agree to put it under this, I rather chuse to follow them, because I take them to be in the Right, according to our Account, who begin the Year about *Christmas*: and this Resignation was made at *Marlburgh* at the Feast of *Epiphany*.

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[4.] R. H. p.

3rd. 6.
The Young K.
receives the
Homage of
Geoffrey his
Brother, but
Earl *Richard*
refuses, and
goes to *Poitou*.

His Brother K.
Henry follows,
and presses
him very hard,
and *Geoffrey*
comes in to
the Young K's
Assistance.

Richard recon-
ciles himself
to his Father,
and prays his
Assistance.

[4.] This Year the King kept his *Christmas* at *Caen*, having all his Three Sons with him, the Dutchess of *Saxony* his Daughter, and the Duke her Husband; as also the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *Dublin*, and divers other Bishops and Barons: After the Solemnity was over, the Old King Commanded *Henry* his Son to take Homage of *Richard* Earl of *Poitou*, and *Geoffrey* Earl of *Bretaigne* his Brothers; upon which he received the Homage of *Geoffrey*, but *Richard* refused to pay it to him; but afterwards He offer'd it, and then his Brother would not receive it; whereupon the Earl of *Poitou* grew very angry, and retiring from Court went to his own Country, where he built new Castles and fortified the old; Young King *Henry* follow'd him, and with the Earls and Barons of that Country that adhered to him, very much pressed and straitned Earl *Richard*; but when he saw Earl *Geoffrey* come also with an Army to the Young King's assistance, and found he was not able to resist them, (both his Brother's declaring against him) he was forced to reconcile himself to his Father, and sent for his Assistance, who raising a great Army, march'd with all speed and besieg'd the Castle of *Limoges*, which but a little before had been deliver'd to his Son King *Henry* by the Governor of it: and This was the Cause of a fresh Quarrel, which yet needs some farther Explanation.

[5.] Col. 617.

Rad. Diceto's
more particu-
lar Relation of
this matter.

[5.] *Radulphus de Diceto* tells this Story somewhat otherwise than our Author, and is also more particular in the Relation of it, and tells us that King *Henry* would have had his Son *Geoffrey* Earl of *Bretaigne* do Homage to the Young King his Brother for that Country, because the Kings of *France*, as Supreme Lords thereof, had antiently granted the Homage of it to the Dukes of *Normandy*, which was perform'd accordingly by Earl *Geoffrey* at *Angiers*; but *Henry* the Father having also granted the Duchy of *Aquitain* to his Son *Richard* and his Heirs; the Young King thereupon declared to his Father, that he was for all that bound to assist the Barons of *Aquitain*, then in Arms against his Brother *Richard* by divers strict Confederacies, for it seems they were Discontented with Earl *Richard* for his over-great Severity: But the true Reason why the Young King said he

he had done this, was, because his Brother had seized upon and fortified the Castle of *Clerevalle*, which had always been under the Government of the Earls of *Anjou*; yet that he might not incur his Father's displeasure, he promised to let him enjoy that Castle, provided *Richard* would do him Homage, and swear Fealty to him for it: At which words Earl *Richard* grew very angry, saying, "It was very unfit, that he himself, being come from the same Father and Mother, should acknowledge his Elder Brother for his Superior by any badge of Subjection; but as his Father's Estate was due to him by the Right of *Primogeniture*, so he himself challeng'd an equal share in the Succession, to what came by his Mother's side: Which put the Old King into such a Passion, that he was resolv'd to bring down his haughty Spirit; and so not only gave the King his Son leave to make War against him, but likewise Commanded Earl *Geoffrey* to assist his Brother in that War as his Liege Lord; so the Young King at first took up Arms, not as against his Father, but in Assistance of the *Poitouin* Barons, who were then weary of the severe Government of Earl *Richard*.

But to go on with this War, according to the Relation of our first Author [1.] *R. Hoveden*; who says, That after the delivery of the Castle of *Clerevalle* by Earl *Richard*, thereby to obtain a Peace; the King's Three Sons above-mention'd came all to *Anjou* to meet their Father, and to make a lasting Agreement between themselves, and there they All swore perpetual Fidelity to the King, and to yield him constant Honour and Service, and also to maintain a firm and durable Peace among themselves according to his Order; and He appointed *Mirabel* for the Place where they were to make this Confirmation. But since the Barons of *Aquitain* (to whom the Young King had sworn) were not yet come, the Father sent his Son *Geoffrey* to Summon them to be present at this Agreement, and commanded them in the mean time to abstain from all Hostilities; but Earl *Geoffrey* being wholly unmindful of his Duty to his Father, as also of the Oath of Fidelity he had so lately taken to him, made a private League with his Father's Enemies, and hired the *Brabanters* to invade and spoil his Territories.

[2.] When the Young King heard this, he beseeched his Father, that he would immediately make Peace between Earl *Richard* his Brother, and the Barons of *Aquitain*, that so he might have Assistance against his Rebellious Brother: Whereupon the King at his Intreaty promised his Endeavours to preserve Peace, according as it was ordain'd the last Summer, and that all Wrongs done by either Party should be satisfied; or if this did not please those Barons, that he would do them Justice according to the Judgment of his **Court*, with which the Young King seemed then well enough pleased, yet the Castle of *Clerevalle* was still to remain in his Father's hands. And thus having at length obtain'd what he desired of him, he went with his leave to *Limoges*, to bring (as he pretended) Earl *Geoffrey* his Brother, and the Barons of *Aquitain* to some terms of Agreement; but in the mean time he sent his Queen privately to her Brother the King of *France*, [3.] for it seems Earl *Geoffrey* had been formerly too cunning for his Father, and having before made a secret Confederacy with the Young King his Brother, they had both together enter'd the

Castle

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The true Reason why young K. Henry made War upon Richard.

[1.] R. H. 353. a.
E. Richard delivers up the Castle of Clerevalle.

The K's three Sons come to Anjou to meet their Father, and there are all reconciled to him.

Duke Geoffrey makes afterwards a private League with his Father's Enemies.

[2.] Id. ib.
The Young K. persuades his Father to make Peace between his Brother Richard and the Barons of Aquitain.

* Curia sua.
Clerevalle still to be in Old K. Henry's hands.

[3.] C. G. cili
1463.

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Young Henry
and Geoffrey
confederate
against their
Father, and
shut up them-
selves in the
Castle of Li-
moges, which
they fortify.

Their ill treat-
ment of their
Father when
he came to the
Gates of the
Castle.

[4.] *Id. ib. R.H.*
p. 353. a.
The Old K.
narrowly e-
scapes being
shot with an
Arrow.

[5.] *Id. ib.*
Young K. Hen-
ry comes to
his Father, and
promises him
to renounce
the rebellious
Barons, and
lays all the
blame on his
Brother Geo-
ffrey.

[1.] *Id. ib. b.*
Yet again
withdraws
from the K.
his Father, and
enters into
fresh Confe-
deracies with
those Barons.

But soon re-
turns again to
him, & swears
to take the
Cross.

[2.] *Id. ib.*
His Father dis-
swades him
from it, but
all to no pur-
pose.

Castle of *Limoges*, by the Consent and Advice of the Viscount of that place; and then shutting up the Gates, they fortified themselves within it. The News of which coming to Old K. *Henry's* Ears, he immediately went thither with a design to make Peace; yet having but a few Followers in his Train, he was not only kept out, but also shot at by some from within; insomuch that some of the Arrows pierced the Coat he wore over his Armour, and wounded a certain Knight before his face, and both He and his Son *Richard* (who was now reconciled to him) were forced for that time to remove their Quarters to another place; but soon after, when King *Henry* the Father had made himself Master of the City of *Limoges*, [4.] and went out to parley with his Sons, who were then lodged in the Castle, the Guards that were with them did let fly their Arrows even before their faces against the King's Person, and one of them had shot him directly in the Breast, had not his Horse by a lucky tossing up of his head just at that time received it in his Forehead; and yet this Insolence his Sons never thought fit to punish, but still underhand held Correspondence with the Rebellious Barons of *Poitou*.

[5.] At length notwithstanding this, King *Henry* the Younger came to his Father, and solemnly protested, That unless those Barons would yield and throw themselves at the King's Feet, he would utterly renounce them: So (upon his Father's promise of Pardon) he went and treated with them again; but finding them (as he affirm'd) still Refractory, and that they would not comply, he seemingly pretended to forsake their Party, and return to his Father, laying all the blame of these Actions upon his Brother *Geoffrey*, and with great Submission deliver'd up unto him his Horse and Armour in assurance thereof.

[1.] But it was not many days ere that either from an apprehension of his Father's being resolv'd to revenge himself upon those Barons, whom (as their Protector) he thought himself in Honour obliged to defend, or else through the Insinuations of some Turbulent Spirits that were near him, whose Element was not Peace, he suddenly withdrew from the King, and enter'd into fresh Confederacies with those very Barons; but finding his Power short of his Will, and despairing of Success, he quickly return'd, and breaking out into an extreme Passion in the presence of his Father, fell prostrate before the Shrine of *St. Martial*, and there in a fit of Devotion swore presently to take upon him the Cross, and moreover to give over all worldly business.

[2.] This strange and sudden Passion melted his Father to such a tenderness, that he besought his Son with Tears to alter those precipitate and headstrong Resolutions, and to tell him truly what induced him thereunto, whether Indignation or Religion? To which the Son protested, That it was merely for the Remission of the Sins he had committed against his Person, and that unless he would give him now his permission, (without which he could not go) he would there immediately kill himself in his presence. The Father having used all possible Endeavours to dissuade him, to no purpose, spake thus to him, "Son, God's Will be done, and Yours; as for your setting out, since You are resolved upon it, I will take such Order as shall besit your Dignity, nay,

" nay, in your Equipage You shall exceed the Preparations of any who hath
" hitherto undertaken that Service.

[3.] Then the Son (whilst he found his Father in this tender humour) again besought him, to deal favourably with those in the Castle of *Limoges*, and with the Barons of *Aquitain*, and to vouchsafe them his Pardon; to which at last (though very unwillingly) He yielded, provided they would give Hostages for securing their future Fidelity to him, which they seem'd at first contented to do; But when the King sent some of his Men to receive those Pledges, they were kill'd upon the Spot by those that were to have deliver'd them; which the Young King (being now again joyn'd with those Rebellious Barons) took no care to revenge, but, on the contrary, slighting the Vow he had made of undertaking the *Crusado*, still became more inveterate against his Father: Yet after this he seem'd again inclinable to Peace, and sent for one *Maurice de Crown* and some other Barons to treat about it; but when they came to the place of meeting, some of their Retinue were murdered in the Young King's presence, by those that were as much Enemies to Peace as they were to the King his Father.

[4.] Neither was Duke *Geoffrey* any whit better, for upon his desire of Two Commissioners to be sent him to treat of Peace, the one of these at the Interview received a Wound, though indeed it proved not very dangerous; whilst the Other was flung from off the Bridge into the Water, the Duke himself looking on.

After this, he desired by all means to speak with his Father, and was accordingly admitted to his presence, and then deceitfully, (under colour of Peace) he begg'd his leave to go into the Castle of *Limoges* to the King his Brother, that so he might prevail with him and the rest of the King's Enemies to submit; yet no sooner was he got in, but he pillag'd the rich Shrine of *St. Martial* which was in that Castle, and also carried away all the Gold and Silver Plate (which was of great Value) that belonged to that Monastery; after which a Truce was granted him, but so soon as ever he had got over the Bridge, he renounced it, and having payed his Souldiers with the Spoils of *St. Martial's* Shrine, he marched off in Triumph.

[5.] In the mean time *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury* with several Bishops of *England* and *Normandy* came to *Caen*, and there in the publick Audience of all the People pronounced Sentence of Excommunication against all those who any ways hindered the Peace between the King and his Sons, but excepted the person of the Young King, who now wanting Money, went to the Church of *St. Mary* of the *Rock*, and there stripped the Shrine of *St. Adamator* of its Gold Cover, and carried away all the Treasures of that Church; but some days after, when he found he was not able to do his Father any great hurt, being at the Castle of *Martel* near *Limoges*, he fell sick out of pure spite and Indignation, first of a Fever, and then a Bloody-flux, which never left him till he died.

When he perceived himself past all hopes, he sent to desire the King his Father to come to him, that so he might beg his pardon for his great undutifulness; [1.] but He being dissuaded by those about him from going thither, because of the wicked men that were near his Son's person, He only sent him his Blessing together with his Ring,

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[3.] *Id.* p. 353. b.

The Young K. obtains his Father's promise to pardon the *Limoges* and Barons of *Aquitain* upon Hostages to be given for their Fidelity.

But they kill'd those were sent to receive them.

The Young K. becomes more inveterate against his Father.

[4.] *Id.* *ib.* And E. *Geoffrey* was no better to him.

E. *Geoffrey* pillages the rich Shrine of *St. Martial*.

A Truce granted him, but he straight renounces it.

[5.] *Id.* *ib.* p.

354. a. *Richard* A. Bp. of *Canterbury*, with divers *Englsh* Bps, &c. come to *Caen*, and Excommunicate all those that hindered the Peace between the King and his Sons.

The Young K. pillages the Shrine of *St. Adamator*. He falls sick at *Martel*.

[1.] C. B.

The Old K. sends him his Blessing, and his Ring, in token of his Pardon.

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[2.] A. H. 16.
He confesses
his Great Sin
of Rebellion
against his Fa-
ther.

He dies of a
Fever and a
Flux.

He orders his
Corps to be
inter'd at
Roën.

[3.] Id. 16.
Yet his Corps
is first buried
in the Cath-
edral Church
of St. Julian,
at Mans.
But it is taken
up again, and
deliver'd to
the People of
Roën, and
was buried
there in the
Church of St.
Mary.

Young K. Hen-
ry's Character.

in token of his Pardon, which having received, [2.] he called to him the Bishops and other Religious Men that were by, and first in private and then in publick confessed his Great Sin in rebelling against so indulgent a Father; and then after Absolution, putting on Sack-cloth, and causing a Rope to be tied about his Neck, with very penitent expressions he intreated the Bishops and other Religious Men there present to pull him out of the Bed to a Couch or Pallat hard by, which he had ordered to be made of Ashes, and being laid down thereon, and having received the Eucharist, he expired: When his Servants had embalmed his Body, and wrapt it in Bull-hides, they put it in a Leaden Coffin, and buried his Brain and Bowels at Castle *Marcel* where he died: then they carried the Corps towards the City of *Roën* to be there enterred according to his last Will.

[2.] But whilst they by the way rested at the City of *Mans*, and placed the Corps in the Cathedral Church of St. *Julian*, and would have the next morning removed it, the Bishops, Clergy and People of that City would not suffer it to go, but to shew their great affection to the deceased Prince, there honourably buried it; but when the People of *Roën* heard of it, they were very much incensed, and threatned, that unless the Body was speedily delivered to them, they would come and take it away by Force; of which when the King was inform'd, he commanded the Corps to be taken up again, and deliver'd to the People of *Roën* to be there buried, according to his Son's last Will, which was accordingly done, and the body again buried in the Church of St. *Mary*.

I cannot dismiss this melancholly Subject, without giving you a Character of this unfortunate young Prince, whose Inconstancy and Disobedience to his Father after so many Promises and Oaths to the contrary, were such very great faults, that without doubt they tended to the shortening of his days; yet had he also Noble Vertues and Endowments: As to his Person, he was very tall, and of a lovely Presence, which gained him the good will and Respect of all that saw him; and as he was valiant, so he was also merciful and ready to forgive, good natur'd, but too easy to be led away by Flatterers from his duty: in short, what one says of him is very true, that as he was at first spoiled by his Father's over Indulgence, so he was afterward ruined by his too great Severity; for whilst he saw both his younger Brothers Invested with large Dutchies in which they themselves Commanded, it was a great Mortification to him to see himself (now past his Nonage) to have no more than the bare Title of a King, without any real Power or Authority; which his Father, (Jealous of a correspondence with his Enemies) would never allow him; so that the Coronation which his Father propos'd for the greatest security of his Son's Title, and his own Happiness, proved one cause of the greatest mischief and disturbance that happen'd in his whole Reign.

This Example may teach all succeeding Kings, that as the Power, so neither the Title of a King can well be communicated to more than one at a time; and therefore the Prince (though solemnly Crown'd, yet since He never actually Reign'd,) his Name is not inserted at this day in the Catalogue of our *English* Kings.

[4.] So soon as King *Henry* heard of the Death of this Young Prince, he was extremely afflicted, and bewailed his Loss more than so undutiful a Son could well deserve; and indeed the Father was the greatest Mourner, all those about him thinking it a very fortunate Accident.

Not long after his Death most of those that had taken his part against the King, made their Peace, and were reconciled to him, only Earl *Geoffrey* the Third Son still stood out: yet did not the King's grief hinder him from minding his business, for he vigorously carried on the Siege of the Castle of *Limoges*, till at last it was deliver'd to him upon Conditions; and not long after, all the Castles held by his Enemies in that Country, were surrendered; Some whereof he Garisoned with his own Men, Others he Demolished, not leaving one Stone upon another.

[5.] Not long after the Young King's Death, the King of *France* demanded of King *Henry* for the Dower of his Sister the Young King's Widow, the whole Country of *Veuxin François*, together with the Castles and strong Places which his Father King *Lewis* had given in Mariage with her; upon which Demands coming to a Conference between *Gisors* and *Trie*, they thus at last agreed; That the Widow, for releasing her Right in all the before-demanded Premises, should receive every Year of the King of *England* at *Paris* One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty Pounds of *Anjou* Money, as also the like from his Heirs so long as She lived: But this seems but a very small Joynture for a Princess, and therefore I should rather chuse to read it (as * *Daniel* in his Historical Collections has made it, who instead of 1750 *l.* puts) 17050 *Anjouin* Pounds.

[1.] After these Transactions *Geoffrey* Earl of *Bretaigne* returned to his Father, and was reconciled to him, as he was also to his Brother Duke *Richard*, whom King *Henry* Commanded to receive Homage from his Brother Earl *John* for the Country of *Poitou*, but the Duke would not take it from him.

But to say somewhat of Ecclesiastical Affairs; [2.] Pope *Lucius* being hard put to it by the *Romans*, who had now taken up Arms against him, (in defence of some Privileges they claim'd,) he sent his Legates to all Kings and Princes as well Ecclesiastical as Secular, for an Aid to defend *St. Peter* (that is, Himself) against his Enemies; and among Others they came to King *Henry* and requir'd Aid of him and the Clergy of *England*: the King hereupon consulting with his Bishops and Clergy concerning his Request, they advised him to give an Aid suitable to his own Honour and good Will, both for him and themselves; for it was more tolerable, and pleased them better, that he should be again reimbursed from them, than that the Pope's Legates should be permitted to come into *England* to take it, by which means there might arise a Custom to the detriment of the Kingdom; so the King upon their Advice, gave the Pope a great Aid in Money, with which, and what he received from other Princes, he made a Peace with the *Romans*, which was very necessary for Himself and his Church.

[3.] This Year also there was another Treaty or Conference between King *Henry* and *Philip* King of *France* between *Gisors* and *Trie*, where, on the Tenth of *September*, he did Homage to the King of

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[4.] *Id. ib.*
Old K. *Henry*
bewails his
Death exceed-
ingly.

Most of those
that had taken
the Young K's
part, now
make their
peace with
the Father.

The K. vigo-
rously carries
on the Siege
of *Limoges*,
which with
several Other
Places was de-
liver'd to him,
and which he
either Gar-
ison'd or De-
molish'd.

[5.] *Id. ib.*
The King of
France de-
mands the
Dower of
Young K.
Henry's Wi-
dow.

* P. 92.
[1] R. H. 16. b.
Geoffrey re-
turns, and is
reconciled to
his Father, and
his Brother
Richard.

[2] *Id. ib. b.*
The Pope is
distressed by
the *Romans*,
upon some
difference a-
bout their Pri-
vileges.

He sends his
Legates to all
Ks. and Prin-
ces for an
Aid.

K. *Henry*, by the
Advice of his
Bps and Cler-
gy, gave the
Pope a great
One.

Pope *Lucius*
makes a Peace
with the *Ro-
mans*.

[3] *Id. p. 355 a.*
K. *Henry* doth
Homage to
the French K.
for all his
Transmarine
Dominions.

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[4.] G. G. L. 2.
K. Henry gave

the Dominion
of Ireland to
his Son John,
and resolves
to send him
over.

John Cumyn
A. Bp. of Dub-
lin sent be-
fore to pre-
pare things
against his
coming.

Hugh de Lacy
discharged
from his Go-
vernment, and
Philip of Wor-
cester sent in
his room.
He exacts
from the Cler-
gy a great Tri-
bute of Gold
and Silver.

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[5.] R. H. ib.
K. Henry comes
into England
with the Dut-
chess of Saxo-
ny, his Daugh-
ter.

A firm Peace
made between
him and his
Three Sons.

The Dutchess
of Saxony
brought to
bed of a Son.

[1.] Id. p. 356. a.
The Prince
of South-Wales
swears Fealty
to K. Henry at
Worcester.

[2.] R. D.
The A. Bp. of
Cologne and
E. of Flanders
come to Eng-
land to visit
the Tomb of
Tho. Becket.

They come to
London, and are
splendidly en-
tertain'd at
Westminster.

France for all his Transmarine Dominions, which he would never un-
til that time perform.

Before I conclude this Year I shall say something of the Affairs of
[4.] Ireland; which Kingdom King Henry, having before conferr'd
upon his Son John, (as you have already heard) he now resolv'd that
he should go over thither, and about the beginning of August the
King sent John Cumyn Archbishop of Dublin to put things in order
against his Arrival; and not long after Philip of Worcester, a Brave
and Valiant Commander, was with Forty Knights sent over to be
Senechal of Ireland, in the room of Hugh de Lacy (or rather John
of Chester and Richard de Pec, who had been sent thither the last
Year:) The First thing that Philip did after he got thither, was to
seize again, as the King's Demeasnes, all the Lands which Hugh de
Lacy had aliened and sold away.

In the beginning of March he went to Ardmagh with a great Army,
and exacted and forced from the Clergy a great Tribute of Gold and
Silver; and from thence went to Down, and so return'd with the Tri-
bute to Dublin; but the King's affairs growing imbroil'd with his
Sons this Year, he could not put his designs in Execution, in sending
his Son Earl John over thither, till above Two years after.

[5.] This being the Thirtieth Year of King Henry's Reign, he kept
his Christmas at Mans; and all things being now quiet, he stayed in
France till the beginning of June. Some time after he came over in-
to England, bringing the Dutchess of Saxony his Daughter along
with him; and made a strict Peace and Agreement between his Three
Sons, Richard, Geoffrey, and John; which being put into writing, was
confirm'd by all their Oaths in the presence of Queen Eleanor their
Mother, their Brother-in-Law Henry Duke of Saxony, and divers
Others; for this Duke was now arrived in England, and some time
after his Dutchess brought him forth a Son at Winchester.

[1.] The Welshmen having been very insolent, in waisting the King's
Lands, and killing his Men; wherefore, to subdue them, the King
march'd against them with a powerful Army as far as Worcester:
Whereupon Rees Prince of South-Wales fearing his Numbers, came
thither upon Safe Conduct granted and swore Fealty to him, and al-
so promised to deliver to him his Own Son and Grandchildren as
Hostages: but when he should have brought them to the King, they
would not come with him.

And they had very good reason for their so doing, for they well
remember'd how cruelly the Welsh Hostages had been before treated
by this King upon the Insurrection of Owen Prince of North-Wales (as
you have already heard.) This Action in the Welsh Chronicles is
placed Two years sooner; but since I am not satisfied which is in the
Right, I rather chuse to follow my Author.

I find little else Considerable to have happen'd this Year, unless it
were that [2.] Philip Archbishop of Cologne, accompanied by Philip
Earl of Flanders, came over into England on Pilgrimage to the Tomb
of Thomas Becket; from whence they went to London, and were there
received with a Solemn Procession at St. Paul's Church, and most
magnificently entertain'd at the King's Palace at Westminster, during
the

the Five days they stayed there; in which time the Archbishop, by the King's Mediation, was reconciled to *Henry Duke of Saxony*, who suffer'd Exile upon occasion of the War, which had been begun upon that Archbishop's Account; [3.] and not long after King *Henry* sent Ambassadors to the Pope, to desire him to intercede with the Emperor on the behalf of the said Duke his Son-in-Law: these going into *Italy*, found the Pope at *Verona*, whither after some time the Emperor also arrived; at last his Holiness obtained of him, that the Duke of *Saxony* might return home before the time assign'd for his Banishment was expired, and then the Emperor released the Duke of *Saxony* of the Oath he had before taken to the contrary.

In Ecclesiastical Matters what happen'd most considerable, was, the Death of [4.] *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; who though he was a Good and a Pious Man, yet could not avoid the Stories the Monks made of his Death, as being foretold him by a terrible Man in a Vision, who, he thought, said to him, *Thou hast destroyed the Goods of the Church, and therefore I will destroy Thee from the face of the Earth*: But the true Reason of these Relations, was, because he was no friend to the Monks.

Sometime after the Archbishop's decease, [5.] the Bishops of *England* and the Prior, and some of the Monks of *Canterbury* Assembled at *London*, by the King's Command, to chuse a new Archbishop; where the Bishops differing with the Prior and his Monks about the Election, the Former chose *Baldwin* Bishop of *Worcester*: but this being done without the privity of the Monks, and they looking upon it as a Breach of their Privilege, (who alone claim'd the Right of Election) declared against it, and Appealed to the Pope; but the King himself going down to *Canterbury*, with much Intreaty prevail'd with them to send *Alan* their Prior with the better part of their Convent again to *London*; so they, meeting at the Chapter-house at *Westminster*, declared the former Election void; yet, for quietness sake, they also agreed to Elect the said Bishop of *Worcester* for their Archbishop, and he was Consecrated accordingly. This is the Sum and Issue of this great Controversy, of which *Gervase* of *Canterbury* hath given us so long and particular a Relation.

[1.] This Year the King kept his *Christmasts* at *Windsor*, and some time after (though the Month is not mention'd) *Heraclius*, Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, with the Great Masters of the *Knights Templars*, and *Hospitallers* came as Ambassadors from *Baldwin* (Sirnam'd the *Leper*) King of *Jerusalem*, whom King *Henry* met at *Reading*, where they presented him with the Royal Banner, the Keys of the Sepulchre, and those of the Tower of *David*, and City of *Jerusalem*; together with Pope *Lucius's* Letter, in which he very earnestly excited the King to undertake the Relief and Protection of the *Holy Land*, being then in great distress by the Invasion of *Saladine*, King of the *Turks*, or *Saracens*.

[2.] The King promised to return them an Answer on the First Sunday in *Lent*; at which day He, with the Patriarch, the Bishops, Abbots, Earls and Barons of *England*, and *William* King of *Scots*, Earl *David* his Brother, with the Earls and Barons of that Kingdom,

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MCLXXXIV.

The A. Bp. is reconciled to the Duke of Saxony.

[3.] R. H. p. 355. b.

The Pope obtains of the Emperor, that the Duke may return from his Banishment, and releases him of his Oath to the contrary.

[4.] Id. ib.

The A. Bp. of Canterbury dies.

[5.] C. G.

The Bps. of England and the Prior and Monks of Canterbury, meet at London to chuse a new A. Bp.

The Bps. without the Other's privity, chuse Baldwin Bp. of Worcester.

Upon this Difference between them the Monks appeal to the Pope.

The Prior and Monks at a second Meeting declare the Election void, yet for quietness sake they chuse the same person.

Anno Dom.
MCLXXXV.

[1.] R. H. p. 358. a.

Heraclius the Patriarch of Jerusalem and Others come to solicit the K. to send Relief to the Holy Land.

[2.] Id. ib.

A Great Council of both the English and Scottish Nations meet to consider what Answer to return.

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MCLXXXV.

The K. gives
all his Subjects
leave to take
upon them
the Cross.
Abundance of
both Clergy
and Laity
undertake the
Crusado.

But the Coun-
cil advise the
K. not to go
himself thi-
ther.

lo. 48. A. 501

lo. 50. 3. 121

lo. 50. 3. 121

lo. 50. 3. 121

[3.] Col. 1145.

The K. promi-
se the Patri-
arch large Sup-
plies of Mo-
ney, but that
does not please
him.

The K. goes
with the Pa-
triarch to the
Sea-side, who
there gives
him very
harsh words.

[4.] Id. 16.

The Patriarch
goes into
France.

[5.] R. H. P.
339. 14.

The Ks. of
England and
France promise
Relief for the
Holy-Land.

But the Patri-
arch being dis-
satisfied, goes
from thence
too.

all met at London, and there deliberating and advising about this great Affair, they unanimously agreed, the King should first consult the King of France about it, and so the Council was dissolved; yet the King gave leave to all his Subjects, as well Clerks as Laicks, to take the Cross; and thereupon Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, Ranulph Justiciary of England, Walter Archbishop of Rouen, Hugh Bishop of Durham, and divers other Bishops in England and beyond Sea, with very many Barls, Barons, and Knights of England, as also of all the rest of the King's Dominions beyond Sea, undertook the Crusado.

But Radulphus de Diceto and Brantius's Chronicle give us a more particular Account of this Transaction, telling us, That the Common-Council of the Kingdom being Assembled at Clerkenwell, and the King with great Adjurations commanding them to counsel him what they thought best he should do; Whether go in Person to the Succour of Jerusalem, or else not to quit the Government of England, which by his Coronation-Oath he was in the first place bound to protect and defend: Upon mature deliberation it seem'd to them All to be much more for the Good of the King's Soul, that he should govern his own Kingdom at home, than to go away and make War in the East.

[1.] Brantius's Chronicle further adds, "That when the King gave the Patriarch this Answer, That though he could not desert his Territories for fear of the Invasion of the French, yet however he would grant very large Supplies in Money towards the Recovery of the Holy-Land. The Patriarch not being at all pleas'd with this Offer, told Him plainly, That it signified next to nothing, for every part of Europe sent Money, but none of them an experienc'd Commander; and that he had much rather have such a Man without the Money, than the Money without such a Man. So the Patriarch departed frustrated of his design: but when the King went with him to the Sea-side to take his leave of him, the Patriarch gave him very harsh words, which I shall here forbear to repeat; and upon the King's still excusing himself from going to the Holy-Land, because if he did, he said, His Sons would rebell against him in his absence; the Patriarch in great Anger reply'd, And no wonder, for from the Devil they came, and to the Devil they would go. This he spoke, reflecting upon an old Story of a certain Countess of Anjou, the King's great Grandmother, who being accounted a Sorceress, was said to have flown out of a Window while she was at Mass against her will, and was never seen afterwards.

So the Patriarch finding nothing like to be done in his Affair, took Shipping, and passed over into France. [2.] But the King himself presently follow'd him, and so soon as he arriv'd in Normandy, held a Conference with the French King about the Relief of the Holy-Land, and then they both engaged to give very good Assistance in Men and Money: But this pleased not the Patriarch neither, for he hoped he should have carried back with him for the defence of it either the King of England, or One of his Sons, or some other Man of great Conduct and Authority; but because he could not do this, he return'd much dissatisfied. Indeed it seems strange, that the King being so much afraid of his two Eldest Sons, did not Command either one or both of

of them to undertake this Expedition, by which means he had not only prevented all the future Troubles they gave him, but also the going of his Son *Richard* into *Palestine* after he was King, which happened mightily to his own prejudice, as well as to that of the Kingdom.

[1.] King *Henry* not long after his arrival in *France* gather'd together a great Army, and sent word to his Son Earl *Richard* (who had lately fortified *Poitou* against him, and also vanquish'd Earl *Geoffrey* his Brother,) that unless he would surrender that Province to Queen *Eleanor* his Mother free, and in Peace, he would march against him Himself, and subdue him with all his Power: with which Message Earl *Richard* being terrified, render'd *Poitou* to his Mother, and quietly return'd to his Father's Obedience; and so the Quarrel ended for that time.

We shall conclude this Year with some Account of the Affairs of *Ireland*.

Sometime this Year [2.] King *Henry* sent his Ambassadors to Pope *Lucius*, of whom he desired many Requests; all which the Pope denied except one, to wit, That he might Crown which of his Sons he pleas'd King of *Ireland*; and He did not only confirm it by his Bull, but, as a Token of his Confirmation thereof, sent the King a Crown of Peacock's Feathers interwoven with Gold: And in the End of March, before the King went into *Normandy*, he Knighted his Son *John* at *Windsor* in order to send him over into *Ireland* to Govern there as King or Vice-Roy, being then near Twenty years old.

[3.] And having now prepared all things ready for his Voyage, he sent him away accompanied by *Ranulph de Glanville* (then Justiciary of the Kingdom,) who conducted him to his Ship, which he enter'd at *Milford-Haven* on *Wednesday* in *Easter* week about Evening, and arriv'd with the rest of the Fleet at *Waterford* next day about Noon with Four Hundred Knights or Men at Arms, and many other ordinary Horsemen and Archers. Several Clerks or Chaplains were also sent along with him, and among the rest, our Author *Giraldus Cambrensis* was by King *Henry* appointed his Chief Director.

[4.] At the very first Arrival of Earl *John* there met him at *Waterford* all the considerable *Irish* of those parts, who had been faithful to the *English*, and lived peaceably under them, who were notwithstanding derided and despised by these new Comers and the *Normans* that went over with him: for the *Irish* were very long Beards, with which these giddy-headed young Men play'd many Tricks and otherwise abused them; whereupon these men got themselves out of Town, and repaired to their own home, from whence they departed with their Families and all they had, some to the King of *Limerick*, others to the King of *Cork*, and some to *Roderic* King of *Connaught*, to all whom they declared how basely they had been abused and ill treated; and told them what a raw Youth their new Governour the King's Son was, and that he was accompanied and Govern'd by parcel of vain young Gentlemen like Himself, who wanted that Gravity and common prudence which was requisite and necessary to protect and secure the Countrey.

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MCLXXXV.

If the K. had sent One of his Sons, he had prevented their future troubling of him.

[1.] Id. ib. K. Henry raises an Army to subdue his Son Richard, who had fortified Poitou against him. Upon which Richard submits to his Father.

[2.] Id. p. 359. a. Pope Lucius gives K. Henry leave to Crown which of his Sons he would, K. of Ireland. The K. Knighted his Son Earl John at Windsor.

[3.] c. c. 14. c. 31. Who goes in to Ireland.

[4.] Ibid. c. 35. The Irish coming to complement Earl John, are derided by his Norman Followers.

They fly to the Ks. of Limerick, Cork, and Connaught, & make their Complaints to them.

[5.] Here.

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MCLXXXVI

[1.] Id. ib.

They were at

first resolved to

come and pay

their Submis-

sion to him;

but are di-

verted by the

ill usage those

others met

with.

And enter in-

to a League

Offensive and

Defensive to

preserve their

Liberties.

[1.] Id. ib.

K. Henry re-

moves these

Young men,

and puts in

others of more

Experience.

Recalls his

Son; & makes

John de Cury

Lieutenant of

Ireland.

The main Rea-

son why Af-

fairs went so

ill in Ireland

under E. John's

Government.

He comes over

into England

after Nine

Month's time.

[2.] Id. ib.

Three diffe-

rent Interests

in Ireland.

A Character

of the Nor-

mans there.

The Old Mi-

litia discon-

tented.

Earl John did

nothing con-

siderable in

that Nation.

[3.] R. D. C. M.

K. restores the

Earldom of

Huntington to

William K. of

Scots, who re-

signs it to his

Brother Da-

vid.

[5.] Hereupon these Three Princes, who were at first resolved to have come and waited upon Earl John, to acknowledge his Submission and pay their Duties to him, suspecting what might be the end of such beginnings, concluded to Joyn together against the English, and enter into a League Offensive and Defensive to preserve their Liberties and Country, and now became Friends, though they were before Enemies.

[1.] Upon the news of these Disturbances, King Henry remov'd all these Young People, who understood not the temper of the Nation, and put in Others of more experience, who had been formerly employed in the Conquest of it; and recalling his Son, made John de Cury Lieutenant of Ireland, who with the Army under his Command scowred the Countries of Cork, Limerick and Connaught, and made them quiet. To which R. Hoveden also adds, (very much to the dishonour of Earl John,) That one main reason why Affairs went so ill in Ireland, was, because the Earl neglecting to pay his Souldiers put the Money into his own Pocket, and yet lost the greatest part of his Army in petty Skirmishes against the Irish; so that he was at last reduced to great want of men, none being willing to undertake the service: wherefore leaving Justices in his room to Govern the Country, and putting those Souldiers he had left in fit Garisons to defend it, he passed over into England, after about Nine months stay in Ireland.

[2.] But before I dismiss this Subject, I shall give you the same Author's account of the State of Affairs there during Earl John's short Government, (*viz.*) that there were then in the Kingdom Three different Interests or Parties, One of the Normans, a second of the English, and a Third of the Welsh; the First were in a Great favour, the Second in less, and the Third in none at all; the Normans were Luxurious, much given to Wine, and being inseparable companions to Earl John, refused to be sent to the Marches or Borders against the Enemies, or placed in Castles far from the Sea; they were also great Talkers, Boasters, and Swearers, very Proud and Contemners of all others; greedy of places of Honour and Profit, but very backward in undertaking any dangerous service that might deserve them; and for these reasons, the old Militia, that first conquer'd that part of Ireland, seeing themselves slighted, and the new men only carress'd, sat still and acted not at all, so that Earl John made a small progress in the further subduing of that Country. After his return into England, we find nothing worth mentioning to have been acted in Ireland for several years, either for want of matter, or else of an Historian to relate it; for after Giraldus, (to whom we are beholding for this Relation, and who here puts a period to his History,) Ireland only affords us some dry Annalists for divers Centuries.

There happen'd nothing remarkable this Year in England, [3.] except that upon the late death of Simon Earl of Huntington, Son to Simon Earl of Northampton, the King restored that Earldom to William King of Scots, of which he had been deprived ever since the late War, but as soon as he had it, he resigned it up to his Brother Earl David.

There

[4.] There also happen'd this year so great an Earth-quake in *England*, as overthrew divers Churches and Houses, and there was not long after almost a total Eclipse of the Sun.

In Ecclesiastical matters, all that happen'd this year was the death of Pope *Lucius III* in whose room *Hubert*, Archbishop of *Milain*, was elected Pope, who succeeded him by the name of *Urban* the Third.

King [5.] *Henry* continuing still in *Normandy*, after having kept his *Christmas* at *Damfront*, went from thence to a Conference with King *Philip* at *Gisors*, where he again renewed his Oath to him that he would give *Alice* the King's Sister in marriage to his Son *Richard* and thereupon the King of *France* granted to Earl *Richard* with his Sister, *Gisors*, and all that his Father *Lewis* had granted with his Daughter *Margaret* to the late King *Henry*, and also swore, he would never lay farther claim to those Territories; then after this Conference the King went over into *England*, but never performed this Agreement, which was the cause of the great Troubles that afterwards ensued.

[1.] Soon after his Arrival there, he raised a great Army, and marched with it as far as *Carlisle*, intending to have passed into *Scotland*, to correct the insolence of *Roland*, Son of *Vfred* Lord of *Galloway*, who taking advantage of the death of *Gilbert* his Uncle, and of the absence of *Duncan* the Son (at that time a Hostage with King *Henry*) had then taken Arms: But when it came to the push, he prevented the King's marching against him, by coming to him to *Carlisle* where he made his Peace, and thereby kept what he had already got.

[2.] Not long after the King's return, *William* King of *Scots* came into *England*, and married *Ermengarda* the King's Cozen, Daughter of *Richard* Viscount *Beaumont*, who was Son to a Daughter of King *Henry* the First; this marriage was solemnized in the Chappel of the Mannor of *Woodstock*, and King *Henry* kept a Great-Wedding for them for four days, and then restored to the King of *Scots* the Castle of *Maidens* (i.e. that of *Edinburgh*) which He bestowed upon his Queen as an Augmentation of her Dower, and added to it an Hundred pounds a year Rent, and the service of Forty Knights, which was counted a great Revenue in those Times.

Nothing remarkable happen'd further in *England* this year; [3.] but in *France*, *Geoffrey* Earl of *Bretaign* being engag'd in a Tourneament at *Paris*, was unluckily flung from his Horse, and before he could be taken up again, was trampled under the Horses feet, and so miserably bruised thereby, that he dyed in a few days after, being little more then Twenty Eight Years of Age. But the *French* Historians (who ought to know this matter best) say, he died of a Fever notwithstanding all the Physicians could do to prevent it; but all agree that his Death was a great affliction to King *Philip*, who order'd him to be buried at *Paris* in *Nostredame* Church; thus King *Henry* lost Two of his most undutiful Sons in the space of Two years.

This Prince is also noted for a man of a handsome personage and of a fair Tongue, but of little or no Truth, or Sincerity, as appears by his carriage to his Father.

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[4.] Id. ib.
A very great Earthquake in *England*, and almost a total Eclipse of the Sun.

Pope *Lucius III* his Death, & *Hubert* A. Bp. of *Milain* succeeds him called *Urban III*.

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MCLXXXVI.

[5.] R. H.

K. *Henry* has a Conference with the K. of *France*, & *Alice* his Sister is promised to be given to E.

Richard. K. *Henry* comes into *England*, but never performs this Agreement.

[1.] Id. ib.
Marches with a great Army to *Carlisle*, designing for *Scotland*, but *Roland* the Scot meets, and makes his peace with him.

[2.] Id. p. 360. a.
William K. of *Scots* comes in to *England* and marries *Ermengarda* the K's Cozen.

He restores to him the Castle of *Edinburgh*, which he gives back to his new Queen, by way of Addition to her Dower.

[3.] Id. ib.
Geoffrey kill'd in a Tourneament at *Paris*, by being trampled under the Horse's feet, and is buried in *Nostredame* Church.

[4.] As

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[4.] C. G. Col.
1479.

A fresh War
like to be be-
tween the Ks.
of England
and France.

[5.] R. H. p.
361. a.

Earl Geoffrey
leaves his Wife
with Child of
his Son Arthur.

[1.] Id. ib.

A new War
between the
Ks. of England
and France rea-
dy to break out
upon a slight
occasion.

[1.] Id. ib.

A new War
between the
Ks. of England
and France rea-
dy to break out
upon a slight
occasion.

[1.] Id. ib.

A new War
between the
Ks. of England
and France rea-
dy to break out
upon a slight
occasion.

[1.] Id. ib.

A new War
between the
Ks. of England
and France rea-
dy to break out
upon a slight
occasion.

[1.] Id. ib.

A new War
between the
Ks. of England
and France rea-
dy to break out
upon a slight
occasion.

[1.] Id. ib.

A new War
between the
Ks. of England
and France rea-
dy to break out
upon a slight
occasion.

[1.] Id. ib.

A new War
between the
Ks. of England
and France rea-
dy to break out
upon a slight
occasion.

[1.] Id. ib.

A new War
between the
Ks. of England
and France rea-
dy to break out
upon a slight
occasion.

[1.] Id. ib.

A new War
between the
Ks. of England
and France rea-
dy to break out
upon a slight
occasion.

[1.] Id. ib.

A new War
between the
Ks. of England
and France rea-
dy to break out
upon a slight
occasion.

[1.] Id. ib.

A new War
between the
Ks. of England
and France rea-
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upon a slight
occasion.

[1.] Id. ib.

A new War
between the
Ks. of England
and France rea-
dy to break out
upon a slight
occasion.

[1.] Id. ib.

A new War
between the
Ks. of England
and France rea-
dy to break out
upon a slight
occasion.

[1.] Id. ib.

A new War
between the
Ks. of England
and France rea-
dy to break out
upon a slight
occasion.

[1.] Id. ib.

[4.] As soon as the Earl was dead, the Nobility of *Bretaign* took Arms, and Some of them joyned with the King of *France*, and Others of them with the King of *England*, whilst a Third Party stood Neuter, so that there was like to have been a fresh War begun; [5.] for the King of *France* claimed the Guardianship of *Margaret*, the then only Issue to the late Earl, together with the Government of the Country, as Supreme Lord of the Fee: but the King of *England* would by no means consent to it, and sent over *Walter* Archbishop of *Roüen*, *William de Mandevill* Earl of *Albemarle*, and *Ranulph de Glanville* Justiciary of *England*, as his Ambassadors, to mitigate that Young Prince's displeasure, and at their request the King of *France* granted a Truce until the Feast of *St. Hillary*; but in the mean time the Countess *Constance*, the Widow of Earl *Geoffrey*, whom he had left great with Child, brought forth a Son, whose Name was *Arthur*; of whom we shall speak more in due time, when he shall come to lay claim to the Crown of *England*.

[1.] Yet the War between the Kings of *England* and *France* was again like to be renewed upon a very slight occasion, which was this: One *Richard de Valls*, a Knight belonging to the King of *France*, fortifying his Castle of *Valls*, lying between *Gisors* and *Trye*, and *Henry de Ver* Constable of *Gisors* much resenting it, he was resolved to oppose him, and therefore came against it with a good Force; whereupon *Richard de Valls*'s Men sallied out of the Castle to meet him, being led on by *Rader* his Son, who was kill'd in this Skirmish, and many of his Men so wounded, that they fled into the Castle; but *Henry de Ver* not daring to return again to *Gisors*, retir'd to *Richard* Earl of *Poitou*; which when the King of *France* heard, he Commanded all the Subjects of the King of *England*, both Clerks and Laicks, who were then in his Territories, to be seiz'd, together with their Effects, which was done accordingly; then the King of *England*'s Officers beyond the Seas did the like to the Subjects of the King of *France*: upon which, being sometime after better advis'd by those about him, he Commanded the King of *England*'s Subjects to be released, and so things continued in the same state they were all the rest of the Year.

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[2.] Id. ib. b.

Pope Urban

sends two Car-

dinals to go

as Legates in-

to Ireland to

Crown Earl

John.

[3.] Id. ib. b.

But K. Henry

carries them

over into

France, to be

present at a

Treaty be-

tween that

K. and Him.

[4.] Col. 1486.

[2.] King *Henry* continuing still in *England*, kept his *Christmas* at *Guildford*; not long after which Festival, the new Pope *Urban* sent over Cardinal *Octavian*, together with *Hugh de Nunant*, whom he had appointed to go as Legates into *Ireland*, in order to Crown Earl *John*; but the King thought fit for the present to defer it.

[3.] And to give the better colour to this delay; He alledged the weighty Affairs that required his Presence beyond Sea; so carrying the Legates along with him, he passed over into *Flanders* in order to a Treaty, which he was suddenly to have with the King of *France*, at a Place called the Ford of *St. Remy*, where they met; but at that Conference the *French* King made such high demands, that they parted without any hopes of Peace. [4.] *Gervase* of *Canterbury* tells us what those Demands were, viz. The Restitution of the Territories that were given in Mariage with Queen *Margaret* his Sister, as also that his Sister *Alice* should be sent home, since he did not marry her to Earl *Richard*, as he had so often promised.

[5.] But

[5.] But when the King of France could not obtain what he desired by fair means, he resolv'd to do it by Force; and therefore raising a great Army, march'd to besiege Gisors; but King Henry hearing of it, sent William Earl of Albemarle against him with as strong a Force, and he hinder'd that design. This Action our Author places before King Henry's last going over; but let it have been then or afterwards, the next Action we hear of the King of France, is, That not long after *Whitsontide* He having gather'd another great Army, besieg'd the Earls Richard and John, King Henry's Sons, in *Castle-Radulf*, or *Raoul*; which their Father hearing of, came thither with a mighty Power to their Relief; then the French King drawing out his Forces also, they both stood against each other in Battle-Array: But through the Command of Pope Urban (by his Legates) and also through the Intercession of the Bishops and other Great Men of both Kingdoms, there was a Truce agreed on for Two years, upon condition, that the King of France should keep *Issodone* and another place during that time; whereupon they disbanded their Armies, and return'd home.

[1.] After the Peace was thus made, Earl Richard (against his Father's will), remain'd with the King of France; and such a great Intimacy grew between them, that they not only did often eat, but lay in the same Bed together: whereupon his Father (not without reason) grew very Jealous of him, and several times sent for him to return out of France; but he, making a show as if he would Obey and return to his Father, went directly to *Chinon*, where his Treasure was, and seized and carried away the greatest part of it whither the Keeper of it would or no, and therewith fortified his Castles in *Poitou*, and would not come near his Father: Yet at length he once more return'd and did Homage to him before many of the Clergy and *Lords*, and swore Fealty against all Men upon the Holy Gospels, and that he would never recede from his Advice and Obedience: But he was not much a Slave to this Oath neither; for not long after he undertook the *Crusade* among other Noblemen of France, without his Father's knowledge or consent; after this King Henry went into *Bretaign*, and there took the Castle of *Montrelais* which *Henry de Linn* had seized after the Death of Earl *Goffrey*.

But as Earl Richard was much to blame for his undutiful Proceedings towards his Father, so neither was the King to be excused for breaking the Agreement with the King of France concerning his Sister, and also the Engagement to his Son Richard, whereby he gave him Leave to betroth her in order to Marriage; and then notwithstanding all this, to keep him so long from enjoying her, which can be imputed to nothing else but the King's extravagant Lust, being not without good ground suspected to have debauch'd her himself, after the death of his old Mrs. *Rosamund Clifford*; or else Self-interest, as being loth to give up those Castles and Territories which his Son was to have with her, upon the Consummation of the Marriage.

This is all that happen'd this Year in Civil Affairs; but in Ecclesiastical Matters *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, having in his Company [2.] *Giraldus Cambrensis* (i. e. *Girald of Wales*) Arch-Deacon

Anno Dom.
MCLXXXVII

[5.] R. H. p.

361. A.

The King of

France with a

great Army,

marches to

besiege Gisors,

but the E. of

Albemarle hin-

ders that de-

sign

He besieging

K. Henry's two

Sons in *Castle*

Radulph, their

Father comes

to their Relief;

and the both

Armies are

drawn up in

Battle-Array,

a Truce is

agreed upon

for two Years.

[1.] Id. p. 362. A.

The great In-

timacy be-

tween E. Ri-

chard and the

K. of France.

E. Richard goes

to *Chinon*, and

carries away

the greatest

part of his Fa-

ther's treasure,

which was

lodg'd there;

And there

with fortifies

his Castles; but

at last returns,

and does Ho-

mage and

swears Fealty

to his Father.

K. Henry takes

the Castle of

Montrelais.

The Father &

Son both re-

blame; the

One for his

undutiful Car-

riage, and the

Other for

withholding

his betrothed

Wife from

him.

[2.] *Ibid.* Cam-

bris, cap. 2.

Ann. Dom.
MCLXXXVII

A. Bp. of Can-
terbury, as the
Pope's Legate,
makes a Visi-
tation into
Wales, whom
the Clergy
there at first
resist, but at
last submit to
him.

The A. Bp. per-
suades divers
of the Nobili-
ty to under-
take the Crusa-
de.

[3.] C. G. Col.
1576.
Pope Urban's
death.

To whom A.
Bp. succeeded
by the Name
of Gregory
VIII.

[4.] Id. Col.
1573.
He dies two
Months after,
and Paulus, Bp.
of Præneste, is
made Pope,
and call'd Cle-
ment the Third.

Ann. Dom.
MCLXXXVIII.

[5.] R. H. A.
1574.
The King of
France threat-
ens to invade
Normandy.
K. Henry and
the K. of France
at a Confer-
ence are re-
conciled, and
receive the
Cross.

The several
Sorts of Cro-
sses the Two
Kings and E.
of France
were to wear
for distinc-
tion.

[1.] Id. A.
They agree
upon Articles
how to carry
on and main-
tain the War.

The Heads of
the Articles.

of *Londaffe*, (to whose History of the Conquest of *Ireland* we are so much beholding) made his Visitation into that Country as Legate to the Pope, being the First Archbishop of *Canterbury* that ever visited those Parts. At first the Clergy of *Wales* began to resist him, alledging the ancient Liberties and Privileges of their Metropolitane Church of *St. David's*; but they were forced for all that to submit to him in this Visitation, and the Archbishop perswaded as many as he could to undertake the *Crusado*, and prevail'd upon divers of the Noblemen of *Wales*, as appears by that Author's Account in his *Wales Itinerary* above cited.

[3.] In Foreign Parts nothing happen'd considerable, but the Death of Pope *Urban*; who, falling sick with Grief for the great Loss the Christians had receiv'd in the *Holy Land*, deceas'd at *Ferrara*, [4.] to whom succeeded *Alberic* his Chancellor, by the name of *Gregory the Eighth*. But he sat but Two months, and then deceasing, *Paulus*, Bishop of *Præneste*, took the Papal Chair, being call'd *Clement the Third*.

[5.] On *Christmass-day* King *Henry* was at *Caen* in *Normandy*, from whence he went to *Barfleur*, and so pass'd over into *England*; but so soon as the King of *France* heard he was gone, he gather'd a great Army, and threatened to lay *Normandy* waste with Fire and Sword, if he did not restore *Guise* with the Appurtenances belonging to it, or else marry his Son *Edm. Richemont* to his Sister *Anne*. Upon notice of this, the King presently return'd again into *Normandy*, and on the Twenty-fifth of *January* there was a Conference between them at the old Place, between *Guise* and *Trie*, where were convened the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls and Barons of both their Dominions. There was also at this Great Convention, the Archbishop of *Trie*, who preach'd so effectually to them, that all who were Enemies one to another seem'd now heartily reconcil'd, and receiv'd the Cross from his hands. This Ceremony consist'd in the fastening of the Figure of the Cross upon their Shoulders or Breast, with certain Prayers, and other Religious Rites; whereupon the King resolv'd to go in Person to the *Holy War*, and the King of *France's* Men were to wear *Red Crosses*, the King of *England's* *White*, and the Earl of *Flanders* *Green* ones, for notes of distinction on their Cloaths and Armour.

[1.] After this Resolution for an Expedition to recover the *Holy Land*, the Council presently debated on the manner and way of making and maintaining it; and in a very short Space they agreed upon several Articles which would have carried on the War to good purpose, had they been prosecuted effectually. *Hoveden* recites them confusedly, and hath several superfluous Heads, which are not in *Walsley*, or *Gerard* of *Canterbury*. But since this Constitution for raising an Aid for the recovery of the *Holy Land* is express'd more at large in *L'abbé's* Collection of Councils, than it is any where else, I shall therefore from thence give you the Heads of it, that so the Reader may the better compare this Transaction (which was one of the greatest that was known in that Age) with those of our Times. The Title of this Constitution runs thus:

This

[2.] This is the Establishment for the Relief of the Land of *Jerusalem*, made by *Philip* King of *France* and *Henry* King of *England*, and approved by the Common-Council of the Bishops, Barks and Barons of their Dominions; That is to say,

I. Every one, both Clerk and Laick, that is not worth above One Hundred Shillings, for every House he hath, where there is a constant Fire kept, shall pay Two Pence every year for Three years ensuing.

II. If he have more than One Hundred Shillings in Moveables, of every Pound he possesses in all the King of *France* his Dominions, he shall pay Two Pence of *Provente-Money*; and in the Dominions of the King of *England* on that side the Sea, Two Pence of *Anjou-Money*; and in *England* One Shilling Sterling for the same Term.

III. He that hath One Hundred Pounds in Lands or Rents, or above, shall pay yearly Twenty Shillings.

IV. He that hath less than One Hundred Pounds in Rents, out of every Twenty Pounds shall pay Four Shillings, and out of every Forty Pounds Eight Shillings; Those that have Moveables beyond One Hundred Shillings, shall swear, that out of every Twenty Shillings they will faithfully give Two Pence.

V. Is very little to the purpose.

VI. The Tenth of all Livings shall be due for the defence of the Land of *Jerusalem*, from *Midsummer* 1184, for Ten years, saving the Right of the Lords of the Churches.

Out of this Estimation are excepted, for all Clerks, the Treasure and Ornaments of their Churches, their Books, Horses, Utensils, Vestments, &c. which are necessary for their daily Use; and for Knights or Souldiers, their Horses, Arms, Vessels and Cloaths for their Common use.

For the Collecting of this * *Alms*, there shall be appointed in every Bishoprick Two Brothers, one of the *Temple*, another of the *Hospital*; and in every Parish, they Two, with the Lord and the Priest of the Town (and Two of the best of the *Parish*) shall collect and keep this *Alms*.

Notwithstanding which Agreement between the Two Kings and the Bishops or Great Men of both Kingdoms at the General Council above-mention'd, yet did not this Confirmation oblige King *Henry's* Territories in *France*, [3.] till he had by the Consent of a Council of his own Bishops and Nobility of *Anjou*, *Tourain*, and *Main* assembled at *Mans*, ordained the said Tax to be levied in all his Dominions on that side the Sea, according to the above-recited Articles;

Anno Dom.
Michanvii.

[2] Vid. Lab.
bei Concil.
Tom. 10. Col.
1746.

* Where note,
that the English
Shilling was
then of the
same Value
with ad of
Anjou-Money.

* Note, This
Tax (tho' here
call'd an *Alms*)
was so grie-
vous, that it
was call'd in
France, *la Sala-*
dine, as being
rais'd to make
War upon that
Prince.

These Arti-
cles oblig'd
not K. *Henry's*
Territories in
France, till he
had the Con-
sent of his
own Bps. and
Nobility there
for the Levy-
ing of this
Tax.

[3.] R. H. p.
366.

Anno Dom.
Mclxxxviii.

[4.] *Id. 19.*
K. Henry comes
into England,
and in a Great
Council held
at Gaitington
had these Ar-
ticles confirm-
ed.

[5.] Col. 1522.

All that take
the Cross, to
be Absolved
from their
Sins.

* *Servientes.*
And to have
the Tenths of
their own
Lands, and
of their Te-
nants.

* *Hominum.*

These Articles
not made by
the K's sole
Authority.

[1.] *R. H. 16.*
The K. sends
out his Offi-
cers to collect
these Tenths.

Those that re-
fused to pay,
were impri-
son'd till pay-
ment.

and then the King appointed Two Clerks and Two Laymen as his Officers to collect these Tenths through all his said Territories.

[4.] All this being thus order'd, the King pass'd over into *England*, and arriv'd at *Winchester* by the end of *January*, and immediately after he assembled a Great Council of Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, and many other of the Clergy at *Gaitington*, where he caus'd to be recited and confirm'd all those Articles above-mention'd, which had been agreed on beyond Sea, about undertaking the *Cross*. [5.] But *Gervase of Canterbury* is more particular in this affair, and says, that the Bishops and Great Men met at *Gaitington*, now *Gayton*, (some Eight or Ten Miles from *Northampton*) to treat about the Defence of the *Holy Land*; and after much Debate, at length several other Articles, concerning such as had taken, or would undertake the *Crusado*, were agreed upon and publish'd: which since they differ from those already concluded on in *France*, I shall here set down some of them.

I. Every Clerk or Layman that shall take upon him the *Cross* shall be freed and absolv'd from all his Sins (of which he had been confess'd and had repented) by the Authority of God, the Blessed Apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and the Pope's Holiness.

II. It is also ordain'd, that Clerks, Knights, and * Esquires, who shall undertake this Pilgrimage, shall have the Tenths of their own Lands, and of those of their * Tenants, and also shall pay none themselves.

There were likewise several other Articles then ordain'd, as against wearing rich Furs, or imbroidered Garments; as also against Second Courses at Meals, and against Swearing, and playing at Dice during this Expedition, which I only mention; nor should I perhaps have taken any notice of these Articles, but only to let the Reader observe, that they were not made by the King's sole Authority, but were ordain'd by the Common Council of the Kingdom, and that after a great deal of debate, though *Roger Hoveden* supposes them to have been only recited or publish'd there.

[1.] When the above-mention'd Constitutions were thus agreed on, the King sent certain of his Officers, both Clerks and Laicks, into all the Counties of *England* to Collect these *Alms*, (or rather forced Charity) and that in all Cities he caus'd all the Richest Men to be pick'd out, viz. in *London* Two Hundred, in *Tork* One Hundred, and so in all others proportionably, and made them all to appear before him at certain days and places; of whom he took the Tenth of their Moveables, according to the Estimation of Honest Men who understood them; and those whom he found Obstinate or Refractory, he presently committed to Prison, and there kept them until they had paid the utmost Farthing; The *Jews* also that were in *England* paid after the same Rate.

But

But [2.] *Gervase of Canterbury* is more particular concerning this Taxation, and says, That all *England* was most grievously oppress'd in the raising of these Tents, and that from the Christians were raised Seventy Thousand pounds, and yet were they still to pay more Money; but from the *Jews* alone were raised Sixty Thousand pounds; nor would they grant to any man Time for the payment, further than till *Good-Friday* following, unless it were to those who were to pay Two Marks, or more; with whom the King desired to speak in private at *London* presently after *Easter*, to try (as I suppose) whether he could wring more Money out of them.

But notwithstanding these great Sums now raised, yet were they all dissipated upon a War nearer home, which hinder'd those Princes from going to the *Holy-Land*, though they had so solemnly sworn it; for a new Quarrel happened between them upon a very slight occasion, and it was this.

[3.] About two or three Months after the making of this Peace, *Geoffrey of Lusignan*, a great Lord of *Poitou*, caused a certain Favourite of *Earl Richard's* to be treacherously murder'd, but for what cause I do not find, only that this Injury so far incens'd the said Earl, that in Revenge, he immediately made War upon him, and entering *Geoffrey's* Territories, took many of his Castles, and kill'd his Vassals; but he being supported by *King Henry's* Money, transmitted (as it was said) to him under-hand, guarded himself so well, that the Earl could not subdue him; and the better to defend himself, he joyn'd with the Count of *Tholouse*, who was then also in Arms against *Earl Richard*.

But He being not long after highly provok'd by certain other Injuries lately receiv'd, fell upon that Count's Dominions, took no less than Seventeen of his Castles about *Tholouse*; of which the Count complaining to the King *France*, he presently resent'd this Violence to his Vassal as done to himself, and without ever giving *Earl Richard* any notice, enter'd his Territories and surpriz'd his Castles and Towns, forcing all the Inhabitants to swear Allegiance to himself; which rash Action (my Author says) seem'd very unworthy so great a Prince, who ought to have better observ'd that Trust, which *King Henry* at his departure for *England* had repos'd in him, of protecting his Dominions in *France* during his absence; nor was *King Philip* contented with this, but soon after, either by Threats or Rewards, he drew over several Governors of *Earl Richard's* Castles to his Party.

All this is likewise confirm'd by the *French* Historians, with this difference only, That *King Philip*, before he fell upon *Earl Richard*, admonish'd him of his duty, and forbid him (as Supreme Lord of both him and the Count of *Tholouse*) to carry on the War any farther against that Prince.

[4.] But *Roger Hoveden* gives us somewhat another and larger Account of the Occasion of this War, which is to this effect: That about this time *Raymond* Earl of *St. Giles*, *Aimer* Earl of *Engoleme*, *Geoffrey de Rancune*, and *Geoffrey de Lusignan*, and almost all the Great Men of *Poitou* confederating together, made War upon *Earl Richard*; who being too hard for them all in several Rancounters, took divers Prisoners, and among the rest one *Peter Seillan*, who

Anno Dom.
Mclxxxviii.

[2.] Col. 1529,
1530.

All *England*
grievously op-
press'd by this
Tax.

This Money
all spent on
another War
nearer home,
with the Oc-
casion of it.

[3.] R. D. Col.
639.

Earl Richard
makes War
upon *Geoffrey*
de Lusignan, a
Lord of *Poi-*
itou, takes his
Castles and
kills his Vas-
sals.

He also falls
upon the E.
of *Tholouse*, and
takes 17 of his
Castles.

The King of
France resent-
ing it, surpriz-
es the Castle
and Town of
Ravul & makes
the People
swear Allegi-
ance to Him.

He draws off
several of E.
Richard's Go-
vernors of Cas-
tles.

[4.] R. H. p.
366. b.

Roger Hoveden's
Relation of
this Matter
somewhat dif-
ferent from
the former.

Raymond, E. of
St. Giles, &c.
makes War
upon the K's
Son, but is
conquered.

Anno Dom.
MCCXLIII.

Robert Poor and
Ralph his Brother,
returning from Pil-
grimage, taken
Prisoners by
the E. of St.
Giles.

A great Dis-
pute about
the Prisoners
being Ex-
changed for
Peter Seillon,
St. Giles's Ser-
vant.

At last they
are released
for the Ran-
som he had
of them.

[5.] *Id. ib.*
Earl Richard
enters the E.
of St. Giles's
Country, and
wastes it.

The King of
France com-
plains to the
K. of England
of it.

[1.] *Id. p. 367.*

The King of
France with
an Army en-
ters the Coun-
ty of Berry, &
takes Raoul-
Castle by
Treachery,
and gets al-
most all Berry.
K. Henry sends
to the King of
France, to per-
swade him to
Peace, but He
refuses.

K. Henry goes
into Normandy,
and raises a
great Army.
E. Richard en-
ters Berry,
wastes the
Lands, and
takes some of
the Nobility
Prisoners.

[2.] *Id. ib.*

The King of
France wastes
K. Henry's Ter-
ritories.

who lately had advised the Earl of St. Giles to seize upon certain Merchants or Tradesmen that were Earl Richard's Subjects, and to treat them very severely. So the Earl (in return) kept this Peter close Prisoner; and when the Earl of St. Giles found he could not redeem him, he gave Order to his Castellans and Souldiers to way-lay and apprehend any of the King of England's, or his Son Earl Richard's Subjects: Within a little while after they seiz'd upon Robert Poor and Ralph his Brother, Two Knights of the Kings Family, that had gone in Pilgrimage to St. James's in Spain, (and were re- turning home,) and deliver'd them to Earl Raymond, who kept them in Prison until his Servant should be set free; yet Earl Richard would make no Exchange, for he said the Reverence of the Pilgrimage they had undertaken was sufficient to discharge them; but at last the King of France Commanded that they should be set free, though it was neither out of respect to the King of England nor his Son Richard, but for the Reverence he bare to St. James the Apostle. How- ever, the Earl of St. Giles did not release them so much by the King of France his Order, as for the great Ransom he had of them.

[5.] Earl Richard being thus incens'd, enter'd the Earl's Country with a powerful Army, wasting it with Fire and Sword, and besieg'd and took some of his Castles near Tholouse; whereupon the King of France hearing the Complaints of the Earl and People of that Coun- try, sent into England to King Henry to know whether the Damages that were done in his Dominions by his Son Richard were done by his Order; and if so, he demanded Restitution: King Henry return'd answer, That his Son had done nothing by his Directions, and that Earl Richard had acquainted him by John Archbishop of Dublin, that he had done nothing but with the consent of the King of France.

[1.] But He in the mean time, without any notice, had raised a great Army and enter'd the County of Berry, and taken Castle-Raoul, which the Burgesses treacherously deliver'd to him, and proceeding forward got almost all Berry, except Loches and some other Castles of the King of England's own Demesnes: But when King Henry de- manded a Reason of these Proceedings, it was told him, that they were done in revenge of those Injuries Earl Richard his Son had done to the King of France, and Earl of St. Giles; thereupon the King of England advising with his Counsellors, sent Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury, and Hugh Bishop of Lincoln, to the King of France, to perswade him to terms of Peace: but when they could not prevail, King Henry went into Normandy, and Landing at Barfleur on the Ele- venth of July, gather'd together from thence, and his other Territo- ries, a great Army: In the mean time Earl Richard, to be even with the French, enter'd Berry, and destroy'd the Lands of the Earls and Barons that adhered to the King of France, and took some of them Prisoners.

[2.] But that King upon the Earl's coming had left Castle-Raoul to William de Barres to defend it, and return'd home; and knowing that King Henry was now arriv'd, he would not leave France, only sent his Forces, under the Command of the Bishop of Beaunois to waste the King's Territories, and burn his Castles and Towns, which

which was return'd by Earl Richard's taking *De Roches*, a strong place near *Vendosme*; then King *Henry* sent *Walter* Archbishop of *Rouen*, *John* Bishop of *Evreux* and *William* the *Marshal* to King *Philip* to demand Restitution for these Wrongs, who told him, That unless he made satisfaction, their Master desir'd him; the King of *France* thereupon answer'd, He would never desist untill all *Berry* and the *Norman Vexide* were deliver'd up to him; so much had this King's late success transported him beyond the Bounds of Justice and Moderation.

Yet the *French* Historians lay all the fault of this War on King *Henry's* door, of whom they say King *Philip* demanded Satisfaction for the Injuries and Damage Earl *Richard* had done his Subjects; but that King *Henry* denying it, the King of *France* only did himself Right: But this does not seem probable, since *Henry* did not then desire War, but Peace: Yet this is certain, that the King of *England* being provok'd by these Injuries, enter'd the *French* King's Dominions, and burning divers Towns, march'd very near *Meaux*, where King *Philip* himself was, then said to be; near which Place Earl *Richard* and some of his Father's Domesticos skirmish'd with *William de Barre* and others of King *Philip's* Men, and routed them, taking this *William* at first Prisoner; but being kept only upon his parole, he escap'd upon a little Nag belonging to his Lacquey.

[3.] Then upon Earl *Richard's* invading *Berry*, and that King *Henry's* Forces had again march'd into the Territories of the *French* King, and there burnt and destroy'd several Castles and Towns, he thereupon sent Messengers to King *Henry*, desiring Peace, and offer'd to part with what he had taken in *Berry*.

The Two Kings came to a Conference at *Gisors*; and when they could not agree upon any Terms, the King of *France* in a great Rage cut down a well spread flourishing Elm, between *Gisors* and *Trie*, where this Treaty of Peace used to be held between the Kings of *France* and Dukes of *Normandy*, and swore there should never be any more held in that place.

[4.] When *Thibault* Earl of *Flanders* and the *Ordnance* and Barons of *France* saw this obstinate humour of King *Philip*, they generously desist'd from all further Hostility, and said, They would never fight more against *Christians*, untill they return'd from their Pilgrimage to the *Holy Land*. Then the King of *France* seeing himself deserted by his Friends and Confederates, desir'd another Conference with King *Henry*, which he consented to; and on the Morrow, being the Sixth of *October*, they met at a place called *De Chasseaux*, where the Terms propounded were, That the King of *France* should resign what he had taken since the Truce, and that Earl *Richard* likewise should give up what he had taken from the Earl of *St. Giles*; but the King of *France* demanded of his Brother of *England*, that the Castle of *Passy* should, for the farther security thereof, remain in his hands as a Pledge: But upon King *Henry's* refusing to grant this, they parted as great Enemies as they came. Whereupon the King of *France* in his Return took the Castle of *Palud*, and passing on to *Castle-Raoul*, he led the Plundering *Brabanters* from thence to *Bourges*, promising them their Pay; but seizing on them there, he took away their Horses, Arms, and all their Baggage, and so left them to shift for themselves.

[5.] Then

Anno Domini
MCCXXXVII

K. Henry sends
to the King of
France, unless he
would make
Restitution.

The French
Historians lay
all the blame
of this War
upon King
Henry, but un-
justly.

[3.] Id. ib.
The Two Kings
meet at Gisors,
to treat of
Peace, but
can't agree.

The King of
France cuts
down the
Tree, and
swears there
never should
be any more
Treaties in
that place.

[4.] Id. ib.
Several French
Lords lay
down their
Arms.

The Treaty
of Peace re-
new'd, but
without ef-
fect.

The King of
France in his
Return takes
Palud-Castle.

He strips the
Brabanters of
their Horses,
Arms, and all
their Goods.

Anno Dom.
MCCXLVIII.

[9.] Id. ib.

Richard offers

to stand to his

Trial in the

French King's

Court.

[11.] Id. p. 370. a.

Another Trea-

ty between

the Two Ki.

where the K.

of France

makes very

fair Proposals,

but K. Henry

would not ac-

cept of them.

E. Richard

does Homage

and swears Fe-

alty to the K.

of France.

[12.] Col. 641.

R. de Dicars

larger Ac-

count of this

Transaction.

[13.] Col. 1536.

E. Richard

presses his Fa-

ther to be de-

clared his Suc-

cessor, and

why.

[14.] Col. 1536.

E. Richard

presses his Fa-

ther to be de-

clared his Suc-

cessor, and

why.

[15.] Col. 1536.

E. Richard

presses his Fa-

ther to be de-

clared his Suc-

cessor, and

why.

[16.] Col. 1536.

E. Richard

presses his Fa-

ther to be de-

clared his Suc-

cessor, and

why.

[5.] Then Earl Richard offer'd to come to King of France his Court and stand to the Law there, for what had been done between Him and the Earl of St. Giles, that so he might make Peace between the Two Kings; which Proposition much displeased his Father, that he should condescend so far without asking his Advice or Leave.

[1.] After this on the 19th of October they had another Conference between Bon. Molines, and Salicini, where the King of France offer'd King Henry apparently very fair Conditions, as to render back whatsoever he had taken by War, if he would give his Sister Alice to Earl Richard his Son, that she might at last become his Wife, and that he would permit him as his Heir, to receive the Homages and Fealties of the Subjects of all his Dominions: But King Henry being sensible of the ill consequences of that, and the great Injuries and Mischief he had received, by exalting his Son Henry to that Honour, utterly refused it, at which Earl Richard was exceedingly displeased, and therefore without the consent or so much as knowledge of his Father, He did Homage to the King of France for all his Father's Territories in that Kingdom, and swore Fealty to him against all men; and then King Philip in consideration thereof, gave him Castle-Raoul and that of Issoudun, with the whole Honour or Jurisdiction belonging to them.

[2.] But Bon. de Dicars gives us a somewhat different but larger account of this Transaction, and says, that at this Interview, when the King of France propos'd to restore those Places he had taken, since their engaging in the Crusade, and that all things should remain in the same state, as they were before that time, the King of England made Answer that he thought it more Reasonable to have a firm Peace made and established by the Advice of their Bishops and Barons, than to protract so dangerous a Controversy any longer; which fair proposal was oppos'd by Earl Richard his Son under this pretence, that if this Condition were agreed to, it would prove disadvantageous to himself; for then he must give up Cahors and all that Country, with many other parts of his Dominions, which were worth above a Thousand Marks a year, merely for the Peace of Castle-Raoul, and the Castles of Issoudun and Crassay, which were not his own Demesne neither, but only held of King Philip; whereupon the Earl pass'd off to another matter, desiring of his Father (by the mouth of the King of France) that the Lady Alice might be given him to Wife, and also that he would settle his Kingdom upon him, as being his Right Heir, which the King imprudently refused, saying, If ever he did this, it should be done voluntarily and not by compulsion; upon this his Son left him and went over to the King of France. Yet this Author says, he did Homage to that King for those Territories, saving the Fealty he owed to his Father, and referring to him the Interest he had in them, so long as he lived.

[3.] But if Girvase of Causerbury may be credited, he says, that the reason why Earl Richard was so urgent with his Father to be declared his Successor, was, because the common Report was, that the King design'd to defraud him of the Kingdom, and settle the Crown upon Earl John his younger Brother; which, whether true or false, I will not affirm, but this is certain, that Earl Richard upon

his Father's denying to secure his Succession to the Throne, presently fell into a great Passion, and said, *Well, That now seems to me very likely, which before was incredible.* What he meant by this, I will not take upon me to interpret; but our Author farther says, That immediately flinging away his Sword, he fell down on his Knees before the King of France, and did him Homage, imploring his Assistance, that he might not be defrauded of his Just Right: upon which all there present stood amaz'd, to see the Father and the Son parting from each other as utter Enemies; and the King himself was astonish'd at this Accident, as justly fearing the fatal Consequences of it; and indeed He had too much cause to repent his thus provoking his Son and Heir without any just occasion.

[4.] All that could be procured at this Meeting, was, That the Two Kings concluded a Truce until the Feast of St. Hilary; and not long after Cardinal Henry Bishop of Alba, whom the Pope had sent to reconcile the Differences between the Two Kings, Anathematiz'd Earl Richard as a Disturber of the Peace, which (to say truth) he seems to have justly deserved, for thus contradicting his Father's reasonable Proposals only upon the Account of his own private Interest: whereby He quite broke off a Treaty, that was very near being concluded; though why King Henry should deny him the Lady Alice for his Wife, there appears no reason, unless that were true which [5.] Bromton's Chronicle relates to be generally believed, that the King had then debauched her and kept her for his Mistress; which, if so, must needs raise a great heart-burning in Earl Richard against his Father, and perhaps might be one of the chief Causes of his taking part with the King of France against him. But whatever was the reason of it, 'tis certain King Philip gain'd a great advantage by thus setting the Son at odds against his Father, for otherwise he could never have been too hard for him: Thus all things continued quiet till the conclusion of the Truce.

This [1.] being the last Year of King Henry's Reign, he kept his Christmas at Saumur with but a very slender Company; for many of his French Earls and Barons had left him, and were gone with Earl Richard to the King of France, who both joyning together with the Bretons (to whom these Princes had given their Charters never to make a separate Peace without them,) they all in a hostile manner entered King Henry's Dominions, wasting and destroying them on every side.

[2.] During these Devastations, John, Cardinal of Anagnia, came as Legate from the Pope to the Two Kings to exhort them to Peace; and partly by Perswasions, and partly by Threats, obtain'd of them to stand to the Judgment and Determination of himself, and the Archbishops of Canterbury, Rheimes, Rouen and Bourges, and he appointed the day of meeting near Fertè Bernard to be Eight days after Whitsontide. Then the Cardinal and Four Archbishops pronounced Sentence of Excommunication against all Men, as well Clerks as Others, that should hinder the concluding of this Peace, except the Persons of the Kings themselves; who both met again at the Time and Place appointed, with the Earls and Barons of both Kingdoms. At this Conference the King of France again demanded of his Brother of

Anno Dom.
MCLXXXVIII.

He implores
the King of
France's Assi-
stance to pre-
serve his just
Right.

[4] R. D. Cal.
641.
R. H. p. 371. b.

A Truce con-
cluded, till St.
Hilary follow-
ing, between
the Two Ks.

E. Richard ana-
thematiz'd by
the Pope's Le-
gate.

[5.] Col. 1151.
Lady Alice
supposed to
be debauch'd
by K. Henry.

K. Philip takes
advantage of
the Difference
between K.
Henry and his
Son.

Anno Dom.
MCLXXXIX.

[1] R. H. p.
371. b.

The King of
France and E.
Richard waste
the K. of Eng-
land's Domi-
nions.

[2.] Id. ib.
All are to be
Excommuni-
cated that
should do any
thing to hin-
der the Peace,
except the
two Kings.

A fresh Trea-
ty between
them.

Ann. Dom.
MCCCLXXIX.

[3.] *Id. 37. a.*
Which again
broke off
without Suc-
cess.

[4.] *Id. ib.*
The King of
France values
not the
Threats of
an Interdict.

[5.] *Id. ib.*
The King of
France takes
divers strong
Castles and
Towns from
the King of
England.

K. Henry quits
the City of
Mans, tho' well
stocked with all
sorts of Provi-
sions.
Stephen de Tours
sets the Sub-
burbs on Fire,
which like-
wise burnt
the City.

[1.] *Id. ib.*
The King of
France defeats
K. Henry's Ar-
my.
The K. of Eng-
land with a
few Followers
gets into the
Castle of Chi-
non.

That of Mans
surrender'd to
the King of
France.

K. Philip takes
in his March
divers other
Castles.

England, that his Sister *Alice* might be given in Mariage to *Richard* Earl of *Poitou*, [3.] and that the Homages and Fealties should be made him as in the last Treaty; and that Earl *John* his Brother should receive the Cross, and go to *Jerusalem*.

But the King of *England* said, he would never consent to it; yet He offer'd the King of *France*, that, if he would please, his Sister *Alice* should be given in Mariage to his Son *John*, and that all other things should be perform'd more folly than he desir'd: but the King of *France* would not yield to this, and so the Treaty by the unreason- able Rissals of both Kings, broke up, without the wish'd-for suc- cess.

[4.] Then the Cardinal threatened the King of *France*, That if he made not Peace with the King of *England* upon those Terms, he would Interdict his Dominions: whereupon King *Philip* boldly told him, *he valued it not, and said it belonged not to the Church of Rome to pronounce Sentence against the Kingdom of France*, when only the King chastised his Vassals for their Contumacy and Rebellion, and the Injuries done to his Crown, and added, *That sure the Cardinal had felt some of the King of England's Sterlings, i. e. Pieces of Money* so call'd; and so they parted greater Enemies than before.

[5.] Whereupon the War breaking out afresh, the King of *France* immediately after laid Siege to, and took *Perre Bernard*, *Montfort*, *Beaumont*, and divers other strong Castles and Towns, for at that time nothing stood before him; but the King of *England* being then in the City of *Mans*, and understanding that the King of *France* and Earl *Richard* his Son were marching that way, as if they would be- siege that City, he was much alarm'd at it, and durst not stay and run the hazard of a Siege; but contrary to the Advice of his Bishops and Barons quitted the City, though it was well stored with all man- ner of Provisions: and lest the *French* should take the Subburbs, *Ste- phen de Tours* set them on fire, which getting over the Walls burnt down the City likewise.

In the midst of this Confusion, the King of *France* approach'd the Bridge, which *Geoffrey de Barillon*, with many of King *Henry's* *English* Souldiers endeavouring to break down, several of them were taken Prisoners, and *Geoffrey* himself in the Assault was wounded: but whilst the rest were trying to get back over the Bridge, the *French* enter'd the City along with them; [1.] King *Henry* perceiving this, (being not far off) though he had promised the Citizens Relief, yet presently fled with Seven Hundred Horse, the King of *France* pursu- ing him for Three Miles together; in which flight many of the *Welsh* Foot were slain, and if it had not been for the deepness of a Ford, which the *French* could not readily pass, many more had perished: the King with a few got into the Castle of *Chinon*, and there forti- fied Himself, the rest of his Followers returning back to the Castle of *Mans*, which still held out; but the King of *France* and Earl *Richard* were immediately after received into the City with solemn Procession, and then they fell to besieging the Castle, which by means of their Warlike Engines and their Mining, they got deliver'd to them in Three days, together with Thirty Knights, and Threescore Ser- vants. After this the King of *France* in his March took the Castles of *Trou*, *Monture*, *Castle Chamant* and *Amboise*, with divers others.

[2.] Then

[2.] Then the day after the Feast of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, the King of *France* came and sat down before *Tours*; and in a little time the River *Loyre* being then very low by reason of a great Drouth, the *French* got over, and clapping Scaling-Ladders to the Walls, took the Town by Storm, and in it Fourscore Knights and a Hundred Servants. And thus by the Treachery of the *Poitouins*, and Rebellion of the *Bretons*, the King of *France* had now Conquer'd all *Tou- rain* and *Main*.

[3.] But whilst he was employ'd in this Siege, *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, *William* Archbishop of *Rheims*, and *Hugh* Duke of *Burgundy*, came in an amicable way to the King of *England*, who was then at *Sanmur*, to make a Peace between Him and King *Philip*; which King *Henry* finding himself in a great streight, was fain to conclude upon the *French* King's own Terms.

Immediately after the [4.] Two Kings and Earl *Richard* with their Archbishops, Bishops, Earls and Barons of both Kingdoms met on the day appointed between *Tours* and *Arauc*, where the King of *England* entirely submitted himself to the King of *France* his Will, and then renew'd his Homage to him, because in the beginning of the War he had defied him, and renounced his Dominions, as held of him; and the King of *France* had also disclaimed his Homage.

[5.] These were the Terms of Peace which the King of *France* prescribed, and King *Henry* at last agreed to.

I. That his Sister *Alice*, whom the King of *England* had still in his Custody, should be deliver'd to one person of Five, whom Earl *Richard* should chuse, and that she should be married to him at his return from *Jerusalem*.

II. That Earl *Richard* should receive the Fealties of all Subjects within his Father's Dominions; and that no Baron or Knight, that left his Father to follow him, should return to him again, unless within one Month before they went toward *Jerusalem*.

III. The time of that motion should be in the middle of *Lent* next ensuing, when both the Kings and Earl *Richard* should be at *Vezelay* at that Season.

IV. All Citizens and Burghers of the King of *England's* own Towns, should be free all over *France*, paying only their old Customs; nor should be impleaded for any thing, unless for forfeiture in Felony.

V. The King of *England* should pay to the King of *France* Twenty Thousand Marks of Silver.

VI. All the Barons of the King of *England* should swear, That if the King of *England* doth not keep this Agreement, they would assist the King of *France* and Earl *Richard* against him.

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[2.] Id. ib.
He takes the
City of *Tours*
by Storm.

The Treachery of the *Poitouins*, and Rebellion of the *Bretons*.

[3.] Id. ib.
The King of *England* forced to conclude a Peace with King *Philip* upon hard terms.

[4.] Id. ib. l.
King *Henry* does Homage to the King of *France*.

[5.] Id. ib.
The Articles of Peace between the Two Kings.

Anno Dom.
MCLXXXIX.

VII. The Cities of *Mans* and *Tours*, the Castles of *Ligdi* and *Tron*, were to remain in the hands of the King of *France* and Earl *Richard*, until all these things were perform'd.

These Terms were very hard, and highly to King *Henry's* disadvantage; yet being now sufficiently humbled, he was forc'd to submit to them.

[1.] *Id. ib.*
Great Thunder and Lightning happen'd during the Interview.

K. *Henry* desires a List of the Names of those that had deserted him.

He finds his Son *John* the first Man there.

[2.] *Id. ib.*
He Curses his Sons, &c. would never release them.

The K. falls sick of a violent Fever, and dies in a few days.

[3.] *Id. ib.*
His Treasure and Wardrobe are rifled by his Servants, who leave his Body stark-naked, till it was cover'd by a Page.

[4.] C. B. Col.
1150.

It is buried at the Nunnery of *Font-Everard* in what State the shortness of time would allow.

[1.] But it is very remarkable what this Author further relates, that during this Interview, there happen'd a great Thunder, and a Flash of Lightening falling between the Two Kings, though without hurting any body, yet so affrighted them, that they drew back from each other for some considerable time; but then meeting together again, after a small Interval, it thunder'd again more terribly than it had done before, the Weather continuing still Fair; which so astonish'd poor Old King *Henry*, that he had fallen from his Horse, had he not been kept up by those that stood about him; and that he then wholly surrender'd himself to the King of *France's* Will, and sign'd the above-written Peace; at the Conclusion of which he desir'd to have a List or written Catalogue of the Names of all such as had privately deserted him, and adhered to the King of *France* and his Son *Richard*; which when he had receiv'd, and found his Son *John* the first man in it, he was strangely surpriz'd, as very well He might, since of all his Sons He had the least reason to complain of his Severity.

[2.] So the King in extreme Grief and Discontent departed to his Castle of *Chinon*, cursing the day in which He was born, and gave God's Curse and his Own to his Sons, which he would never release, though the Bishops and other Religious Men had often perswaded and admonish'd him to it. This grief and perturbation of Mind put him into a violent Fever, and soon finding that he was sick unto death, he caus'd himself to be carried into the Church, before the Altar, and there receiv'd the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, and then gave up the Ghost on the Sixth of July, after he had reign'd Thirty-four years, Seven months, and Four days; and was then in the Fifty-seventh Year of his Age.

[3.] As soon as the King was dead, his Servants all left him, some of them Plundering his Treasures, whilst others rifled his rich Wardrobe, leaving in the mean time his Body quite stript and naked, [4.] till one of his Pages, more human than the rest, coming in by chance, cover'd his Nakedness with a short Cloak or Mantle, by which (says my Author) was made good his old Sirname of *Cartmantel*, because he first brought the fashion of short Cloaks from *Anjou*.

But to return to the matter: Some of his most faithful Servants being at last mindful of their Duty, return'd again to the Corps, and without staying for the Embalming it, prepar'd all things for the Burial, and the next day convey'd it to the Nunnery of *Font-Everard*, (not far off) which he himself had founded with design to be buried there.

Then

Then the Body being bare-fac'd, and dress'd in Royal Robes with a Crown on the Head, and a Scepter in the Hand (according to the Mode of those Times) was carried on Men's Shoulders with as much State, as the shortness of the time would allow: but as it was on the way, Earl *Richard* hearing of his Father's Death, made haste to meet it, and bewailing his too sudden Fate, waited on it to the Church, where it was interr'd in the Choir, and * in which a stately Tomb hath been since erected for him and *Eleanor* his Queen, as also for his Son King *Richard* and his Queen, at the Charge of the late Lady *Abbeſs Jeane Baptiſte de Bourbon*, natural Daughter to King *Henry* the Fourth of *France*; their Effigies in Braſs (which before lay in other parts of the Church) being remov'd, and placed together in one Monument.

I cannot yet leave this Great King (the most Powerful that ever hitherto sway'd the *English* Scepter) without giving a Character of his Person and Qualities from *Giraldus Cambrensis*, *Petrus Bleſenſis*, and other Authors of that Age.

As to his Complexion, it was fair, his Hair somewhat inclining to reddish yellow; his Eyes grey, sparkling when angry, but otherwise sweet and mild; his Head and Breast large.

He was of a moderate Stature, but strong and well shaped, though a little inclining to Corpulency; but he did what he could by the constant Exercises of Walking, Hunting, and Hawking, to keep it down, loving these Recreations above all others; and when he was not abroad in the Field, he employ'd his Time in Reading of good Books, or in Conversing with Learned Men, by which means he became more Knowing than most Princes of that Age.

As for the Endowments of his Mind, he was naturally Eloquent, Valiant in War, and Prudent in Peace, still providing against the worst, yet valued his Souldiers most when he stood most in need of them, though he rewarded them well when they had served him faithfully; complying with their Humours in Time of Danger, but when that was over, was rigidly severe in his Discipline. Though he lov'd Peace, yet he did not abhor War, when it could not be avoided; He was extreme Severe to those that oppos'd him, but gentle to such as submitted; Courteous, nay often Profuse to Strangers, but hard to his own Servants and Subjects. Magnificent in Publick, Frugal in private, and Difficult to be reconciled to those he once thoroughly hated; no Slave to his Word, if it were to his disadvantage, yet knowing very well (when pressed) how to give doubtful and dilatory Answers, to what he did not care to grant; He was also a Depressor of the antient Nobility, rather chusing to employ such Men, whom he had raised himself, as finding them most subservient to his own humour: He was likewise a Delayer, and suspected for a Seller of Justice, of a vast and immeasurable Ambition, saying, when he was prosperous, *that the whole World was but sufficient for one Great Man*. He encourag'd Discord among his Sons, hoping by that means to enjoy peace himself, till at last they, seeing his Policy, joyned together against him. He was also very Devout, at least by fits, as appears by his great Devotion to *Thomas Becket*, whom from an Enemy he worshipped as a Saint.

E. Richard on the News of his Father's death, made haste, and attended at his Funeral Solemnity.

Vid. *Sandford's Genealogical History* of the Kings of England, p. 64, 65.

A stately Tomb erected there for him, & his Queen, & for his Son *Richard* and his Queen, by the Lady *Abbeſs Jeane Baptiſte de Bourbon*.

A Description of his Person.

His Complexion.

His Stature.

His Exercises.

The Endowments of his Mind.

A Depressor of the antient Nobility.

Of a vast Ambition.

Encouraged Discord among his Children.

Very devout, at least by fits.

His Amours.

One of the greatest Blots of his Life was the many Amours he had, especially after his declared Aversion to his Queen, either for the natural crossness of her disposition, or that She being some years older than himself, those Charms he first found in her soon decayed: but this is certain, that after She had openly stirr'd up her Sons against him, he never forgave her, but kept her always after like a Prisoner in some Castle or Palace: And indeed this Prince (however great in other things) knew not how to set bounds either to his Resentments, or his Lust, having divers Mistresses; of whom *Rosamond*, the most beautiful Daughter of *Walter Lord Clifford*, was the most Celebrated: but of her and her Sons I shall speak more by and by.

His dislike of his Queen.

Fair *Rosamond* his most Beloved Mistress.His vitiating the King of France his Sister, notwithstanding his Promise to marry her to his Son *Richard*.

Not very Cruel.

Covetous, but not often oppressing his Subjects with immoderate Taxes.

Kept several Bishopricks and Abbies vacant in his own hands.

But the greatest Demonstration of his Lasciviousness and want of Faith, was, the vitiating the Sister of the King of *France*, notwithstanding he had solemnly sworn to give her in Mariage to his Son *Richard*, and yet kept her in *England* Two and Twenty years without ever giving her to him, or sending her home to her Friends; which Amour, though it was kept secret during his Life, yet there was sufficient poof afterwards made of it by King *Richard*, as you will find in his Reign.

But this may be said in his Commendation, That though he was Voluptuous, yet was he not Cruel, unless when very much provok'd; as when he put out the Eyes of the young *Welsh* Noblemen, whom the Prince of *North Wales* had deliver'd to him as Pledges of his Fidelity; yet was he much more Merciful than his Grandfather King *Henry* towards Offenders that hunted in his Forests; for whereas the Former put them to death without Mercy, this King never exceeded Fines and Imprisonment, which Punishments were afterwards continued by his Successors: He was also very Covetous in hoarding up Money, as you may observe by the vast Sums he left behind him, yet we do not find that he often oppress'd his Subjects with immoderate Taxes; to avoid which, he kept divers vacant Bishopricks and Abbies in his hands, whereby he highly incurr'd the ill-will of the Clergy, though he strove to defend himself (as *William of Newburgh* informs us) by arguing thus: *Is it not better that this Money should be bestow'd on the necessary Occasions of the Kingdom, than on the Pleasures of these Prelates, who do not at all imitate the Examples of Primitive Bishops, but being voluptuous and remiss in their Duty, embrace the World with open Arms?* Thus he endeavour'd to put the best Gloss he could upon his Faults; yet we do not find he ever sold either Bishopricks or Abbies, like some of his Predecessors, though he was not very zealous, since no Prince of his Family built fewer Monasteries than he did, of which I find no more than the Abbey of *Waltham*; which he rather alter'd and augmented than founded anew, as you will find more at large in his Reign.

Let us now reflect upon the whole Course of this King's Life, and see what an equal distribution of bad and good Fortune he met with.

His good and bad Fortune.

He had so well Establish'd his Family, in all humane probability, by the Number of his Sons, and advantageous Alliances made by Marriages with his Three Daughters, that so long as the Affection and good Union continued between Him, his Queen, and Sons, he was one of the Happiest, as well as Greatest Kings upon Earth.

But

But alas! how little Certainty is there in all things here below, and how incapable is Sovereignty, even in its most exalted State, to lay a good Foundation upon which its long-liv'd Happiness may be built! So many Territories stirr'd up the joint-Envy of his Neighbours round about him; and that same flourishing Family, which was look'd upon as the Support of his Throne, undermin'd it, and became the Instruments of its Ruine.

In his latter Years he saw the Reverse of his Fortune, and how every thing turn'd against him with as much Constancy, as before they had contributed to his Successes. His Lawrels wither'd on a Sudden, and his Glory fail'd, like a Torch that is burnt out: and this remarkable Ingratitude and Undutifulness of his Sons seems one great Reason of their Misfortunes, all of them coming to untimely Ends before they came to Grey-hairs: A good Lesson, *that high Disobedience to Parents is rarely attended either with Worldly Prosperity, or Long-life.*

But to conclude the Re-capitulation of this Prince's Reign: He saw his Subject, mad with false Zeal, prove a Traytor to his King, that (as he thought) he might do Right to his Church; his Children turn Rebels, that they might Reign before he Died; And the K. of France (making use of these Confusions) endeavour to recover by Fraud, what he had lost by Folly; And at last his own Amours and his Queen's Resentments proved the worst and chiefest Cause of all these Mischiefs; so that giving up every thing to her Anger and Resentments, she thought she could never enough punish the Disloyalty of a Husband, to whom she had sacrific'd so much. A strange Effect of the Depravity of our Natures, who love others only from Motives of our own Pride and Self love; which is the reason, that so soon as we find we are slighted, we fly with Haste and Fury to be Reveng'd.

He was a Valiant and Magnanimous King, but an unfaithful Husband, an unkind Brother, and a Father too jealous of his Power; And if he had not stain'd his own House with Adulteries, and perhaps with Incests; if he had punish'd with less Severity the Jealousy of the Queen, whereof he himself was the Cause; and if he had treated with more Mildness and Equity his Brother and his Children, he had been an Excellent Man, and an Incomparable Prince.

Upon the whole matter; after so many Intrigues and cross Accidents, one may well doubt whether his Life was more illustrious, or more unhappy; since we find, that neither the Number of his Children, nor the Greatness of his Dominions, nor so many Eminent qualities as he was Master of, could make his Prosperity stable and lasting; so that for want of being able to conquer his Passions, and to rule over himself, he lost that Empire he had obtain'd over others.

The Issue of King HENRY the Second.

I shall conclude this King's Reign with an account of the Issue he had either by *Eleanor* Dutcheſs of *Aquitain*, his Queen, or by his Concubines. King *Henry* had Five Sons lawfully begotten.

I.
William.
[1.] G. N.

II.
Henry.
[2.] M. W.

III.
Richard.
[3.] R. D.

IV.
Geoffrey.
[4.] M. W.

V.
John.
[5.] M. P. p. 127.

[1.] I. *William* the Eldest died an Infant in the Second Year of his Reign.

[2.] II. *Henry* his Second Son by the same *Eleanor*, was born the 28th of February 1154. at *London*; and was, when but a Child, married to *Margaret*, Daughter to the King of *France*, by *Constance* his Second Wife; but he deceased without leaving any Issue by her, though she bore a Son, who only liv'd to be Christen'd, and dy'd presently after he was born; after King *Henry*'s decease she was married to *Bela* King of *Hungary*.

[3.] III. *Richard*, his Third Son, by the same Lady, was born at *Oxford* (in the Palace call'd *Beaumont* 1157.) and succeeded his Father in the Throne.

[4.] IV. *Geoffrey*, his Fourth Son, was born the Year following, and was, in Right of *Constance* his Wife, Earl of *Bretaigne* and *Richmond*; by her he had a Daughter call'd *Eleanor*, who dy'd unmarried in Prison, in the 28th Year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Third, as you will find more at large hereafter; and a posthumous Son (nam'd *Arthur*) of whom we shall say more when we come to the Reign of King

[5.] V. *John*, who was the Fifth and youngest Son of King *Henry*, and also born at *Oxford* 1166. and succeeded his Brother King *Richard* in the Throne, though unfortunately for himself, as well as the whole Nation, as you will see at large in his Reign.

Their Daughters.

I.
Maud.
[1.] R. D.

II.
Eleanor.
[2.] Id.

III.
Joan.
[3.] Id. 1176.

[1.] King *Henry* had likewise Three Daughters; *Maud* the Eldest, born *Anno Dom.* 1156. who was married to *Henry* Duke of *Saxony* in 1167. But she died immediately after the King her Father.

[2.] The Second, nam'd *Eleanor*, was born in the Year 1162. and, as *Radi. de Diceto* and Others relate, was married to *Alphonso* King of *Castile* A. D. 1169. though *R. Howden* places this Marriage in 1176. But which of them is in the right, is hard to determine at this distance of time, though this latter Account seems the more probable of the two, she being then about Fourteen years of Age.

[3.] *Joan*, the Third Daughter, was born in the Year 1165. and was married to *William* King of *Sicily* A. D. 1176.

His Base Issue.

[4.] Vid. Dug.
Baron. T. I. p.
175.

This King's base Issue (by Fair *Rosamund* above-mention'd) were these; [4.] *William Longespee*, or *Long-sword* (so call'd from the Sword he usually wore,) on whom King *Richard* his half Brother bestow'd in Mariage, *Ela*, the Daughter and Heir of *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, and with her that Earldom.

[5.] *Geoffrey*

[5.] *Geoffrey* his Brother by the same Lady; He was first made Bishop Elect of *Lincolne*, and so continued from the Year 1174, to the Year 1181, and then he renounc'd his Election, as you have already heard; but some years after he was better reconcil'd to the Episcopal Function, when he was in his Brother King *Richard's* Reign elected Archbishop of *Tork*, notwithstanding all the opposition that was made against it; of which you will find enough hereafter.

But to say somewhat more of the Lady *Rosamond Clifford* their Mother, and what become of her. [1.] *Bromton's Chronicle* relates, that King *Henry* kept this his beloved Mistress in an Apartment at *Woodstock* Mannour, built like a *Labyrinth*, lest his jealous Queen should come at her and do her some mischief; which that she ever did, our Authors are wholly silent; so that the old story of her being made to drink Poyson by Queen *Eleanor* is a meer Fable, fit for the *Bastard* made upon it: Only this much is certain, that she did not live long, though the time of her Death is not mention'd, only that she deceas'd and was bury'd in the Chapter-house of the Nunnery of *Godstow* near *Oxford*, where her Epitaph Resides (which he there gives you) was to be seen in his time.

[5.] R. D. . .
[1.] Col. 1151.
A Relation
concerning
the Death of
Fair *Rosamund*.

Besides these King *Henry* had, by another Concubine, the Daughter of Sir *Ralph Bleset* a Knight, one Son nam'd *Morgan*, who was by his Half Brother, the Archbishop of *Tork*, made Provost of *Beverley*; and being to be elected Bishop of *Durham* went to *Rome* for a Dispensation, because as a Bastard he was by that means incapable; but the Pope refusing to grant it, unless he would pass for the Son of *Bleset*, he plainly told him he would never deny his Father, and so chose rather to loose the Profit and Dignity of that rich Bishoprick, than that of his Blood, though but the Natural Son of a King.

K. Henry, by
another Wo-
man had *Mor-
gan*, Provost
of *Beverly*
[5.] R. H. sub
anno 1202.

Who refused
the Bishoprick
of *Durham*,
and why.

The LAWS of King Henry the Second.

I Shall now give you the Laws that were made in this King's Reign, and begin with

The Affizes or Statutes of King *Henry* made at *Clarendon*, Anno Dom. 1164. and renew'd at *Northampton* 1176.

Vid. R. Hove-
den Sub. An-
no 1176.

If any One shall be accus'd before the King's Justices of Murder, Theft, or Robbery, or for receiving any such Malefactors, or of Forgery or malicious Burning of Houses, he shall be try'd by the Oaths of Twelve Knights of the Hundred; and if there be not Knights present, then by the Oaths of Twelve Lawful Freemen, or by the Oaths of Four Men of every Town of the Hundred, or shall go to the Judgment or Tryal of hot Water, (i.e. Water-Ordeal) and if he appears guilty, One Foot shall be cut off: And at *Northampton* it was added for the greater rigour of Justice, that he should besides his Foot have his Right Hand cut off, and also abjure the Realm, and leave it within Four days; but if he were found innocent, then to find Pledges and Sureties, and stay in the Kingdom, unless

Note the Anti-
quity of the
Grand-Jury,
or Inquest.

he be accus'd of Murther or any hainous Felony by common fame, or report of Legal Knights of the Countrey; than though he be acquitted by the Tryal of Water, he shall depart the Kingdom within Forty days, and carry his Goods along with him, (still saving the Right of his Lords) yet to be at the King's pleasure as to the abjuring the Kingdom: This Statute shall take place from the day of the making of the Assize at *Clarendon*, until this present time, and as much longer as the King pleaseth. in Murther, Treason and malicious Burning, and in all things aforesaid, except in small Thefts and Robberies (committed in the time of War) as of Horses, Oxen and lesser things.

II. It shall not be lawful for any Man in a Borough or Town to Lodge a Stranger above one Night in his House, without bringing him to Examination, unless he hath a reasonable Excuse, which the Host is to make known to his Neighbours; and when he goes from his House, he is to do it openly, and in the Day time.

* *Propositum*, the same with our High Constable at this day, but was then of much greater Authority.

III. If any one be apprehended for Murther, Theft, Robbery or Forgery, or any other Felony he hath committed, and confesseth it before the * *Provost* of the Hundred or *Eorough*, and before Lawful men, he shall not deny it afterwards before the Justices; and if any one without being apprehended, shall confess or acknowledge any such crimes, before such persons, he shall not deny it before the Justices.

IV. If any Frank Tenant dye, his Heirs shall remain in such possession, as their Father had of his Fee (or Estate) in his life-time, and they shall have his Chattles or Goods to satisfy the Devise, or Legacies of the Deceased; and afterwards they shall repair to the Lord and satisfy him for his Relief, and do all other things as they ought concerning their Fee; and if the Heir be under Age, the Lord of the Fee may receive his Homage, and have the wardship of him, so long as he ought, and his other Lords (if he have any) may also receive Homage of him, and he shall yield them what he ought. The Relict of the deceas'd shall have her Dower (which by the Law in those days was a Third part, if the Dead left Issue, but a Moiety, if he were without Children) and part of the Goods, that belonged to her: If the Lord of the Fee denies the Seisin, or possession to the Heirs of the Deceased, which they claim, then the King's Justices may order or appoint the same, by the Inquisition of Twelve Legal men, and what sort of Seisin or possession the deceas'd had in his life time, shall according to the verdict be restored to his Heirs; and if any one shall act contrary to this Statute and be thereof convicted, he shall remain in the King's Mercy.

V. The King's Justices shall cause Recognition or Enquiry to be made of Disseisins, from the precise time the King came last into *England*, after the Peace made between Him and the King his Son.

VI. The Justices shall administer the Oath of Fealty to the King by the Close of Eight days after *Easter*, or at farthest Eight days after *Whitsunday*, to all Earles, Barons, Knights, Free Tenants, and also

to Rusticks or Husbandmen, who will stay in the Kingdom; and he that will not take the Oath of Fealty, shall be taken as the King's Enemy, and the Justices to have power to Command all such, as have not done Homage and Allegiance to the King, to come at a time appointed by them, and perform them as to their Leige Lord.

VII. The Justices shall execute all manner of Law and Right belonging to the King and his Crown by his Writ or the Writ of his chief Justitiaries in his absence, concerning half a Knight's Fee or under, unless the controversy be so weighty, as it cannot be ended without the King; or of such a nature, that the Justices ought to report it to him for his Satisfaction, or to his Chief Justitiaries, and they shall according to the best of their skill and power do what is for the advantage of the King.

VIII. The Justices also shall inflict such punishment upon Thieves and wicked Malefactors in those Counties they pass through, as is set and appointed by direction of the King, &c.

IX. The Justices shall also take care, that the Castles which are demolish'd be thoroughly ruined, and that such as are to be destroyed be levell'd with the ground; and unless they do this, the King will have them judg'd in his Court, as Contemnors of his Precepts.

X. The Justices shall enquire of Escheats of Churches, Lands, and Women that are in the King's Donation, or wardship.

XI. The King's Bayliffs shall answer at the Exchequer, as well for the Perquisites, as the set Rents in their Bayliwicks, except such as belong to the Sheriff and his Office.

XII. The Justices shall enquire of Castle-Guards, and from whom, and how much, and where they are due, and shall inform the King thereof.

XIII. A Thief when he is taken is to be committed to the Sheriff, if the Sheriff be not near, he is to be carried to the next *Castellan*, or Constable of a Castle, and he is to keep him until he delivers him to the Sheriff.

XIV. The Justices shall cause Enquiry to be made by the custom or Law of the Land, for such as are fled or gone out of the Kingdom, and unless they will return within an appointed time, and stand to Right in the King's Court, they shall be out lawed, and their names return'd into the Exchequer at *Easter* and *Michaelmas*, and from thence sent to the King.

I shall here also superadd the rest of the Constitutions made at *Clarendon*; And though they chiefly relate to Ecclesiastical Affairs, yet since they give great Light to the History of those times as well in Ecclesiastical as Civil matters, and have never been by any one put into *English*, as I know of, but are to be found in the Life of *Thomas Becket*, I will translate them from *Quadrilogus*, whose Copy of these

Constitutions, as being more exact than that in *Gervase of Canterbury*, and *Matt. Paris*, I rather chuse to follow : They begin thus.

In the Year 1164 of our Lord's Incarnation, and the 4th of the Papacy of Pope *Alexander*, and the Tenth Year of the Reign of the most Illustrious King *Henry*, in the presence of the said King there was a Remembrance, and Recognition made of some part of the Customs, and Liberties, and Prerogatives of his Ancestors, (*viz.*) of King *Henry* his Grandfather and others, which ought to be observ'd and maintain'd in his Kingdom; and because of the dissentions and discords, which have risen between the Clergy and our Lord the King's Justices, and the Barons of the Kingdom, concerning the said Customs and Prerogatives, this Recognition was made before the Archbishopps, Bishopps and Clergy, as also before the Earls, Barons and * Chief Men of the Kingdom; and the same Customs being acknowledged by the said Archbishopps, Bishopps, Earls, Barons, and others of the more noble and † antient Men of the Kingdom, *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Roger* Archbishop of *Tork*, &c. (where also follow the Names of all the rest of the Bishopps which need not be recited here,) who have all granted, and in the word of Truth, *ex viva voce*, have firmly promised shall be held and observed to our Lord the King and his Heirs *bona fide*, and without any evil meaning, in the presence of *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, *Reginald* Earl of *Cornwall*, *Conan* Earl of *Bretaign*, &c.

* Proceres.

† Antiquiores.

Then follow the Names of all the rest of the Earls and Chief Barons of the Kingdom (which I omit,) with many other Chief and Noblemen of the Kingdom, both Clerks and Laicks; which Customs and * Prerogatives of the Kingdom, being so recognized, some part of them is contained in the present Writing, of which these are the Heads.

* Dignitatum

This Article the Roman Church under Pope *Alexander* the Third, first of all condemned.

* *Curia Regis*.

This Article the Pope also condemned.

This the Pope tolerated.

This he condemned.

This he condemned.

I. The first is concerning the Advowson and Presentation of Churches, so that, if any controversy should arise between Laicks, or between Clerks and Laicks, it shall be handled and determined in the King's * Court, [1.]

II. The Churches belonging to the King's Fee cannot be granted for ever without his Assent and Consent.

III. Clerks arraign'd or accus'd of any matter being summon'd by the King's Justice shall come to his Courts, there to answer concerning what ever shall seem fit to the said Court for them to make answer to, and also in the Ecclesiastical Court, to what it shall there seem fit to be answer'd; so that the King's Justice may send into the Court of Holy Church to see after what manner the matter is there handled, and if a Clerk shall be convicted, or confess his Crime, the Church for the future ought not to defend him.

IV. It shall not be Lawful for the Archbishopps, Bishopps, or any other persons of the Kingdom to depart from the same, without the consent of our Lord the King, and if they so depart they shall give security, that they will not, either in going, staying, or returning back, procure any evil or damage to the King, or Kingdom.

V. Persons

V. Persons excommunicated ought not to give any *vadium ad Remanens*, i. e. Money or some other Pledge deposited in the Bishop's Court, but only Sureties and Pledges of standing to the Judgment of the Church, that they may be absolved. This he condemned.

VI. Laicks ought not to be accused, unless there be certain and legal Accusers, and that in presence of the Bishop, yet so that the Arch-Deacon may not loose his Right, nor any thing, which he may have from thence; and if they are such who are culpable, and that none either will, or dare accuse them, the Sheriff being required by the Bishop, shall cause Twelve Lawful Men of the Vicinage or Town to be sworn before the Bishop, that they will declare the truth according to their conscience. This he tolerated.

VII. No man who holds of the King *in Capite*, nor any of his chief Officers, shall be excommunicated; nor shall the Lands of any such Persons be put under an Interdict, unless our Lord the King (if he be then in the Land) be first made acquainted with it, or else his Justice, if he shall be out of the Kingdom; that he may do Right concerning such a person, so that what shall belong to the King's Court shall be there determin'd, and that which belongs to the Ecclesiastical Court, shall be sent to the same to be there dispatched. (i. e. Divine Service forbidden to be celebrated in those places.)
This he condemned.

VIII. Is concerning Appeals; which, when they arise, they shall proceed from the Arch-deacon to the Bishop, from the Bishop to the Archbishop, and if the Archbishop shall be wanting in doing Justice, it shall at last come before our Lord the King; that by his precept the Controversy may be determined in the Archbishop's Court, so that it ought not to proceed further, without the consent of our Lord the King. This he condemned.

IX. If any difference shall happen between a Clergy-man and a Lay-man concerning any Tenement, which a Clergyman would make to be an *Almes*, and the Lay-man to be Lay-Fee, it shall be determined by the Verdict of Twelve Lawful Men according to the Custom or manner of the King's chief Justice, and that before him, whither the Tenement belong to *Frank Almoign* or the Lay Fee; and if it be found to belong to the Former, the Plea shall be held in the Ecclesiastical Court; but if to the latter, the Plea shall be in the King's Court, unless both of them shall * claim to hold of the same Bishop, or Baron; and if each of them shall claim to hold of the same Lord [either Ecclesiastical or Temporal] the Plea shall be in his Court, yet so, that he who was first seized may not loose his Seisin, because of the Recognition so made to the other. * *Advocaverint*
This he condemned.

X. Whosoever is an Inhabitant of any City, Castle, Borough, or any Demesne or Mannor of our Lord the King, if he shall be cited by the Archdeacon or Bishop concerning any fault, of which he ought to answer them, and will not obey their Citations, it shall be Lawful to put him under an *Interdict*; but he ought not to be Excommunicated, before the King's chief Officer of that Town be made

This he con-
demned.

made acquainted with it, that so he may cause him to give satisfaction, and if such an Officer shall fail therein, he shall be in the mercy of our Lord the King, and then the Bishop may compel the party accused by Ecclesiastical Process.

* *Sequuntur.*

† *Curia Regis.*

This he tole-
rated.

XI. That all Archbishops, Bishops, and other Ecclesiastical persons of the Kingdom who hold of the King *in Capite*, may enjoy their Possessions of our Lord the King, as a Barony, and out of them answer the King's Justices and Officers, and that they * may pursue and perform all Royal Rights and Customs; and as Barons they ought to be present at the Judgments of the † King's Court with the lay Barons, till they come to Judgment or sentence of Death or loss of Members.

This he con-
demned.

* *Proceribus.*

† *Desertiorerit.*

* *Suis.*

† *Desertiarit.*

* *Reſtitutionem.*

This he tole-
rated.

XII. When an Archbishoprick, Bishoprick, Abbey, or Priory held of our Lord the King shall be void, it ought to remain in his hands, and he to receive the Rents and Issues thereof, as of his Demesnes; and when he pleases to provide for that Church, our Lord the King ought to send for the chief Persons of that Church, and the Election ought to be made in the King's Chappel, with the Assent of our Lord the King, and by the Advice of such persons whom he shall call to perform it, and the person Elect shall there do Homage to our Lord the King, as his Liegeman of Life and Members, and worldly honours, saving his Order before he was consecrated.

XIII. If any of the * Noblemen of the Kingdom shall † deny the Archbishop's, Bishop's, or Arch-deacon's Jurisdiction, concerning himself or * his Goods, the King shall do him Justice; or if any one should happen so to † deny the * Jurisdiction of our Lord the King, the Archbishops, Bishops and Archdeacons shall do Justice on him, that he may make satisfaction to our Lord the King.

This he tole-
rated.

† *Fide inter
posita.*

This he con-
demned.

XIV. That the Chattels of such as are under the King's Forfeitures may not be detain'd either in the Church, or Church-yard, against the King's Justice, because they belong to the King, whether they are within the bounds of Churches, or without.

XV. Pleas concerning Debts, which are owing upon *Naked promise* or without promise, shall be within the Justice of our Lord the King.

This he tole-
rated.

XVI. That the Sons of Country Clowns (or Villains) ought not to be ordained Clerks without the Assent of the Lord, in whose Lands they are known to be born.

These Ordinances or Statutes of *Clarendon* were sent to Pope *Alexander* the Third to be confirmed, but notwithstanding the great Importunity the King used to persuade him to it, he damn'd most, and only tolerated some of them, as we find in *Labbé's Tenth Tome of Councils*, Col. 1431, &c. and according to that Addition, to every Article we have (in the margin) put his Consent to, or condemnation of them.

Yet

Yet not withstanding the Pope's Prohibitions, the King's Court did not stick to proceed upon divers of those Articles, which are so condemned, particularly in the First, Fourth, Ninth, Twelfth and Fifteenth Articles, as may appear to any one that will take the pains to consult our Histories and Law-books concerning those matters.

Articles of Enquiry by the King's Commissioners Concerning the Extorsion and Abuses of Sheriffs and their Officers, &c made Anno Dom. 1170.

1. **A**S First, They were to enquire of all Sheriffs and their Bayliffs, R. H. what and how much they had received of every Hundred and Township, and of every particular Man since the King went last into *Normandy*, by reason whereof the Nation or any particular Men might be aggrieved, and what they had taken by Judgment of the Country or Hundred, and what without it, (that is unlawfully;) each of which was to be written, and noted by it self, &c.

2. Also they were to enquire what Lands the Sheriffs had bought, or received by way of mortgage.

Whence we may observe, what a vast power Sheriffs had in those days, and what a great opportunity was given them of enriching themselves; and therefore how necessary it was in after times to restrain them by divers Statutes both as to the time of their Continuance in their Office, and in the manner of their Administration.

3. Also they were to enquire of the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, Vavasors, Knights, Citizens, Burgesses, and their Senescals or Stewards, Bayliffs, or Ministers, what, and how much they had received in their Lands after the term aforesaid, or of every of their Hundreds, Townships, or of their particular Tenants, by Judgment, or without it; and likewise the prizes or takings, the causes and occasions of them were to be written, and noted distinctly.

4. They were also to enquire of all those, who had been Bayliffs under the King concerning any Archbishoprick, Bishoprick, Abbey, Baronie, Honour, or Elcheate, what, and how much they had gained in that employment.

5. Also they were to enquire of the King's Bayliffs and Officers, who managed the business, and what in any place had been given them.

6. They were to enquire concerning the Goods of such as fled by reason of the Affize of *Clarendon*, and what was received of every Hundred, Township, or Man upon that account; and likewise when any one was justly accused in that Affize, for hatred, or any other unjust means, &c. They were moreover to enquire concerning the late Aid to marry the King's Daughter, what was received in every Hundred and Township, and by whom.

That is, the
Archbishop
and his
Friends.

7. They were to enquire, what all Foresters and their Bayliffs or Servants had taken after the time aforesaid, or if by connivance they

they omitted taking what was due to the King for rewards, promises, friendship, &c. and also concerning such as forfeited in the Forests, about Hinds, Harts, or any other wild Beasts.

8. All that were accused of any Fault, were to give Security and Pledges to appear before the King on the day he should appoint, to do such Right to the King and his Subjects, as they ought, and such as had no Pledges were to be imprison'd.

9. They were to enquire, whither the Sheriffs, or any of their Bayliffs, or Lords of Towns, or their Bayliffs, had returned any thing they had unjustly taken, or had made their Peace with their Tenants or Vassals, to stop their complaints from coming before the King.

10. They were to enquire, who had been amerced, and if any one had been excused, or abated any thing of what he was first amerced, and by whom it was done.

Also they were to enquire in every Bishoprick, what, and how much, and for what cause, the Arch-deacon, or Deans (*i.e.* Rural Deans) took of any one, and the whole was to be written down, and noted; and they were also to enquire who owed Homage to the King, and had not done it to him, or his Son, and there was a Roll to be made of them.

The Assize or Law of Arms appointed by King Henry the Second, made in the Twenty-seventh Year of his Reign, Anno Dom. 1181.

Vid. R. Hoveden Sub hoc, Anno. p. 350 a.

I. **W**Hosoever hath a whole Knight's Fee, shall have a Coat of Mail, an Helmet, a Shield, and a Lance; and every Knight shall have so many Coats of Mail, Helmets, Shields, and Lances, as he hath Knight's Fees.

II. Every Free Lay-man who hath Goods or Rent to the value of Sixteen marks shall have a Coat of Mail, an Helmet, a Shield and a Lance.

III. Every Free Lay-man who hath in Goods to the value of Ten marks shall have an Iron Gorget, an Iron Cap, and a Lance.

IV. All Burgeses (that is, Inhabitants or Freemen of Burghs,) and the whole Community of Freemen, shall have a *Wambau*, (*i.e.* a thick Jacket quilted with Towe, or Wool, or such other materials) a Cap of Iron, and a Lance.

And every one of them shall swear, that before the Feast of St. Hilary he will provide these Arms, and be faithful to King Henry, the Son of Maud the Empress, and that he will keep these Arms for his Service according to his Command, for the defence of the King and Kingdom: And no Man when he hath these Arms shall sell, pawn, lend, or any way put them out of his Custody; neither shall his Lord take them from his Tenent * or Vassal by Forfeiture, Gift, Pawn, or Security for any thing, nor any other way; and when the possessor of these Arms dyeth, they shall remain to his Heir; and if

Every One to have Arms, and to keep them for the Defence of the K. and Kingdom.

* Homo,

if his Heir be not of such age, as he can use Arms, his Guardian shall have the Custody of his Arms, as well as of his Body, and shall find a man to use them in the Service of the King, till the Heir is of sufficient age. If any Burgeſs had more Armes than he ought to have by this Affize, he may ſell, or give them to any man that will uſe them in the King's Service; but no man may have and keep by him more Arms than he ought to have by this Affize.

Alſo no Jew may have a Coat of Mail, or a Jerkin of Mail in his Cuſtody; yet he may ſell, or give, or part with it, ſo that it may be for the Service of the King.

Alſo no Man ſhall carry Arms out of *England*, unleſs by the King's Command, nor ſell Arms to any Man that ſhall carry them out of the Realm; neither ſhall a Merchant or other perſon carry them out of *England*; and the Juſtices ſhall ſwear as many Knights, or other Free and Legal-Men in the Hundreds and Burghs of every County, as they think fit, whither they have Goods to ſuch a value as that they ought to have a Coat of Mail, an Helmet, a Shield, and a Lance; and that they ſhall diſtinctly name all thoſe in their Hundreds, Neighbourhoods, or Burghs, that have Sixteen Marks in Goods, or Rents; and then the Juſtices ſhall cauſe the Names of the Jurors, and all others who are to find theſe Arms, to be written in a Roll with the true value of their Goods or Rents; and then they ſhall cauſe this Affize to be read before all ſuch as are to find Arms, and cauſe them to ſwear, that they will provide thoſe Arms according to the value of their Goods, and Rents, and the Direction of this Affize; and that they will keep them for the Defence of King *Henry*, Son to *Maud* the Empreſs, and his Kingdom, according to his command: And if it happen, that any one that is to find Arms, be not in the County, when the Juſtices are there, they are to appoint him a time to appear before them in another County, and if they come not to them in any County through which they paſs, they muſt then come to *Weſtminſter* within Eight days after *Michaelmas*, and there take the Oath, as he loves himſelf and all that he hath; and then he ſhall be charg'd, that he have ſuch Arms as he ought, before the Feaſt of *St. Hillary* aforeſaid.

Alſo the Juſtices ſhall cauſe it to be publiſh'd in all Counties through which they go, that all may take notice, that the King will not puniſh ſuch as make default in their Lands or Goods, but in their Limbs or Members; and that none ſhall be upon the Jury, but ſuch as are worth Sixteen, or Ten Marks at the leaſt.

Alſo the Juſtices ſhall forbid in all Counties through which they paſs, any Man, as he loves himſelf, and all that he hath, to buy or ſell any Ship to be ſent out of *England*, or to carry or cauſe to be carried any Timber out of *England*; and the King Commands that none be received to take the Oath of Arms, but a Freeman.

Theſe are all the Laws and Conſtitutions that we can now find to have been made by this King; not but that there might be divers others which are now loſt, for in an antient Manuſcript in the *Cottonian* Library, I find all *Glanville's* Treatiſe written under the Title of the Laws of King *Henry*, as having receiv'd their Sanction from him.

I ſhall now in the laſt place, give the Reader a ſhort Extract of what Taxes were raiſed in this King's Reign.

None to have more Arms, than the Affize alloweth. No Jew to have a Coat of Mail in his Cuſtody.

All that have ſixteen Marks in Goods or Rents, to have of their own, a Coat of Mail, an Helmet, a Shield, and a Lance.

All that make Default to be puniſh'd in their Limbs or Members.

No Ship to be ſold, or Timber carryed out of *England*.

None but a Freeman to take the Oath of Arms.

* *Claudius D. 2.*

Taxes in this King's time.

First *Scutage*, near the beginning of his Reign, though 'tis not to be found how much it was.

[1.] C. G. Col.
1381. A. D.
1159. 5^o H. 2^d.
[2.] Lib. Rubr.
in Scacc. A. D.
1161.

[1.] A Second *Scutage* to raise Men for the Siege of *Tholouse* amounting to 180000 l.

[2.] A Third *Scutage* in the Seventh Year of his Reign for another Expedition to *Tholouse* of Two Marks out of every Knight's Fee, but what the exact Sum was, we know not.

[3.] C. G. Col.
1399. A. D.
1166.

[3.] In the Twelfth Year of his Reign, Two pence in the pound was given for the First Year, and a Penny in the Pound for Four Years after, out of all Rents and Moveables, for Defence and Assistance of the Church, or the *East*, (i. e.) the *Holy Land*.

[4.] Lib. Rubr.

[4.] A Fourth *Scutage* in the Fourteenth Year of his Reign, at a Mark a Knight's Fee.

A Fifth *Scutage* in the Eighteenth Year of his Reign, not known what it was. And

[5.] R. H. 1889.

[5.] In the last Year of his Reign a Tenth of all Moveables for the *Crusado*, or Expedition into the *Holy Land*.

And many more there might have been of this kind, seeing his whole Reign was a continual Course of War, and that very Expensive at home, in *France*, and *Ireland*; though we find no larger account of them.

THE

THE General History OF ENGLAND BOTH Ecclesiastical and Civil.

VOL. II. BOOK VI.

Containing the Reign of King
Richard I.

SOON as the Funeral-Solemnities of King *Henry* were over, the First Action of Duke *Richard* his Son and Successor seems very severe, and the more so, because none of the Authors of that time have given us the reason of it, which leaves us still in the dark, but doubtless he had very sufficient ground to justify him in it. It was his close imprisoning of *Stephen de Turons* (i. e. of *Tours*) Seneschal of *Anjou*, (Chief Minister under his Father,) and loading him with Irons, not suffering him to be released, until he had delivered up the Castles and Treasures of the late King, which were in his Custody: neither was this all, for he squeezed him to the utmost farthing, and (as *Richard* of the *Devises* in his Manuscript History tells us) kept him in Prison at *Winchester* in Fetters of Thirty Pound weight, till he would consent to pay down Thirty Thousand Pound of *Anjovin* Money, and engage for Fifteen Thousand Pounds more of the same Coin, which was to be the purchase of his Liberty. But to let you see that the Anger, as well as the Favour of Princes, is not of any certain long continuance; this very Man was not only pardon'd, but trusted again in the management of the King's Treasure, and by him left one of the Governors of *Cyprus*, after it was conquer'd, as you will find hereafter.

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[2.] *Id. ib.*
The Duke
soon after goes
to Normandy.

Receives Ab-
solution.

And is invest-
ed with that
Dutchy.

Receives the
Oaths of Feal-
ty from both
Clergy and
Laiety.

And then
meets the K.
of France at a
Treaty in *Veu-
xin François*.

The Result of
it.

[3.] *Id. ib.*
Q. Eleanor,
Duke Richard's
Mother, relea-
sed from her
long Impri-
sonment by
his Command
sets others free
for the good
of her Hus-
band's Soul.

Adversity the
best School to
learn Virtue
in.

[4.] *Id. ib.*
Her Acts of
Mercy.

And what sort
of Prisoners
she released.

[2.] The Duke having provided for the Security of *Tourain* and *Mein*, three weeks after the Death of his Father He went into *Normandy*, and at *Sees* was received by *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Walter* of *Roien*; but because he had made War against his Father, and had now undertaken the *Crusado*, he would therefore receive Absolution from them before he went for the *Holy Land*, and then going to *Roien* he was by that Archbishop solemnly invested with the Dutchy of *Normandy*, by the delivery of a Banner, and the girding of the Sword, in the presence of all the Earls and Barons of that Country; On the Twentieth of *July* (being the day after) he received the Oaths of Fidelity from all the Clergy and Laiety of that Dutchy, and on the Twenty Second of the same Month, he met the King of *France* at a Treaty between *Chaumont* and *Trie* in *Veuixin François*, where He demanded of the Duke the Town and Castle of *Gisors*, with the Country round about; but he supposing it would not only tend very much to his prejudice, but also be to the manifest diminution of his Honour, in part with that strong Fortrefs, (it being upon the very Frontiers of *Normandy*) he declined it; but, not to break with that King, He added Four Thousand Marks in Silver to the Twenty Thousand his Father had engag'd to pay him, and so for the present obtain'd his Friendship; and the King of *France* at the same time restor'd to him whatsoever he had taken from his Father in the last War, as well Cities as Castles, Towns and Territories.

[3.] While he remain'd thus in *Normandy*, his Mother *Queen Eleanor* (then a Prisoner in *England*) being set free by his command, went presently from City to City, and from Castle to Castle as she pleas'd; and also sent Commissioners into divers Counties with orders to release all Prisoners for the Good of the Soul of her late Husband King *Henry*, and having through her Husband's Severity suffer'd many Year's Imprisonment, she thereby learnt the better how to pity others in the like condition; which shews us, that Adversity is the best School to learn the Practice of vertue in, which she now exercised with that Generosity, that we do not find She troubled those who had been the unhappy Instruments of her Troubles: Yet her Son, not only set her at Liberty, but also gave her full power to direct and govern the Nation, as she thought fit in his Absence, and so by his Command (or at least Allowance) she perform'd many Acts of Mercy.

[4.] She likewise (having obtain'd his Orders for it,) commanded, that all who were taken up for Trespasses in *Forests*, should be set at Liberty, and all that were *Outlaw'd* for any Misdemeanors therein might return home free and acquitted from all Forfeitures.

That all such as had been taken, and Committed at the King's will, or the pleasure of his Justices, and were not imprison'd by the Common accusation of the Country or Hundred, or upon an Appeal, should be released; And that such as were accused by the Country, or Hundred, who could find Sureties for their Appearance and Tryal, if they were prosecuted, should be set at Liberty; nay, and those also that were imprison'd upon an Appeal for any heinous crime, if they had Sureties ready, might be set free,

“free; and that all such as were *Out-law’d* upon Accusations upon
 “Common Fame, might return and give security to stand Tryal; and
 “such as were *Out-law’d* upon Appeals, if they could make Peace
 “with their Adversaries, might be discharg’d. Those likewise that
 “were Appeal’d by such as confess’d themselves Malefactors, were
 “releas’d; and those Criminals who were pardon’d for their Appeal-
 “ing Others, were to abjure, and depart the Realm; and such
 “Malefactors who voluntarily Appeal’d others, without any prece-
 “dent pardon, were to be kept in Prison until further considera-
 “tion.

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[5.] After this was done, the Queen Commanded every Freeman
 of the whole Kingdom or Government to swear, that he would bear Faith
 to his Lord Richard, King of England, Son of King Henry and Queen
 Eleanor, for the preservation of his Life, Limbs, and Terrene Honour,
 as to his Liege-Lord against all persons living; and that he would
 be obedient to his Laws, and would Assist him in all things for the
 conservation of his Peace and Justice.

[5.] *Id. ib.*
 She commands
 every Free-
 man to swear
 Allegiance to
 R. Richard, &c.

This is the more remarkable, because it is the First Example we
 can find of any Oath of Fealty or Allegiance, that ever had been
 hitherto taken to a Prince, by the Title of King of England, before he
 was Crowned; and therefore, I very much doubt, whether or no
 there is not some mistake committed by this Author in the wording
 of this Oath, because it styles him King, when within Four Lines
 after, he calls him no more than Duke; and in the Oath of Fealty,
 which this very Author relates to have been sworn to John, this King’s
 Brother, it is there only recited to be made to John Duke of Nor-
 mandy, Son to King Henry; but of this, I have spoken more in ano-
 ther place.

This Oath
 much doubted
 to be taken by
 the title of K^e
 before he was
 crown’d.

[1.] Much about this time the Duke restored to Robert Earl of Lei-
 ceſter all his Lands which King Henry his Father had taken from him, and
 to all those who had been disinherited unjustly in the last Reign, he re-
 stor’d their former Rights; but he shew’d his dislike of those Clerks
 and Laicks that forsook King Henry, though they adhered to Him,
 and turn’d them out of their Offices; but those who had served his
 Father faithfully, he retain’d and enrich’d by his Bounty; so true is
 that old Maxim, that *Princes often love the Treason, yet hate the Tray-
 tor.*

[1.] *Id. ib.*
 The E. of
 Leicester and
 others restor’d
 to their Lands.

[2.] Then he went to Barſleur, and having first sent over Bald-
 win Archbishop of Canterbury, and Walter Archbishop of Rouen,
 with other Bishops of England and Normandy, he immediately took
 Shipping and landed at Southampton, (*Bromton’s Chronicle* says at
Portsmouth) where he was receiv’d with great Joy by the Clergy,
 and Nobility of the Kingdom, who all hop’d (as men commonly do
 at the beginning of a new Reign) for a great Reformation, and a
 more easy Government; Yet how much they found themselves mista-
 ken in their Account, the Event will shew: but Earl John came over
 in another Ship, and landed at Dover.

[2.] *Id. ib.*
 Duke Richard
 returns to Eng-
 land.

And is Joy-
 fully receiv’d
 by both Cler-
 gy and Laity.

Then the Duke went to Winchester, where he, to shew his Af-
 fection to his only surviving Brother Earl John, [3.] immediately
 invested him with the Earldom of Mortain in Normandy, and in Eng-
 land with those of Nottingham, Derby and Lancaster; He also gave him
 the Castles of Marleburgh, and Ludgershal, Pec, and Bolsover, and the

[3.] *W. N.*
 What Ho-
 nours he be-
 stow’d on his
 Brother Earl
 John.

Honours

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What he did
for William
Mareschal.

[4.] *Id. ib.*
Bishop of Ely
dies intestate,
and D. Richard
seizes his vast
Estate.

His Father's
Treasure won-
drous great.
[5.] p. 152.

What Ship-
ping he pro-
vides for his
Expedition to
the Holy-Land.

[2.] *Id. ib.*
His Coronati-
on at Westmin-
ster with great
Magnificence.

[3.] *Id. ib.*
Note the
A. Bp. Trier in
Germany came
over with the
Duke, but up-
on what oc-
casion our Au-
thors do not
mention.

Honours of *Wallingford* and *Tickhill* with their Appurtenances, but yet the Duke kept in each of those Counties some Castles, and Places of Strength in his own Power: He likewise not long after bestow'd *Avise*, the Daughter and Co-heir of the Earl of *Gloucester* upon his Brother in Marriage, together with that Earldom; but afterwards he found he had cause enough to repent his making him too great for a Subject, as you will see by the *sequel* of this History. He likewise gave to *William Mareschal*, the Daughter and Heir of *Richard* late Earl of *Striguil* in Marriage, together with that Earldom.

[4.] Whilst the Duke continued at *Winchester*, *Geoffrey Riddle* that Rich. and Pompous Bishop of *Ely* dy'd there Intestate, on the 21st of *September*, whereupon he seiz'd his Estate, which amounted to Three Thousand Marks in ready Money (a vast Sum in those days) Two Hundred Marks whereof were bestow'd toward the King's Coronation, and the rest was divided among his Courtiers: At the same time also he caused some of his Bishops, Earls, and Barons to look into his Father's Treasury, where they found great Sums, which according to Tale and Weight exceeded One Hundred Thousand Marks.

[5.] *Matt. Paris* says there were found above Ninety Thousand pounds in Gold and Silver, besides Utensils, Jewels, and Precious Stones, which would be a vast Treasure even in these days, and might be reckon'd then at Four times as much at least.

[1.] Having thus taken an Account of his Father's Treasure, he sent his Officers to all the Sea-Ports in *England*, *Normandy*, *Poitou*, and his other Dominions, to make choice of Ships of the greatest Burthen, and caused them to be well victualled, arm'd and equipp'd for his expedition to the *Holy-Land*, according to his Agreement with the King of *France*: (for you may remember, that Earl *Richard* had undertaken the Cross, and vow'd to go to the *Holy-Land*, before the King his Father's decease.)

[2.] From *Winchester* he came to *London*, where being met by the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons, and a great multitude of Knights, &c. He was by their Advice and Consent solemnly Crown'd at *Westminster* on the Third of *September*; the Ceremonies of which, since *R. Hoveden*, and *Rath. de Diceto*, (who were then alive) have set them down at large, I shall not omit giving you here, because it affords us an exact Account of the whole Form of an antient Coronation: and it was thus.

[3.] First the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, *Rouen*, * *Trier*, and *Dublin* with the other Bishops, Abbots and Clergy, apparell'd in Rich Copes, and having the Cross, Holy-water, and Censers carry'd before them, came to fetch the Duke at the Door of his Privy Chamber, and having there receiv'd him, they led him to the Abbey-Church of *Westminster* with a solemn Procession: in the middle of the Bishops and Clergy went Four Barons, each carrying a Golden Candlestick with a Taper; after whom came *Geoffrey de Lucy* bearing the Royal Cap, and *John the Mareschal* next to him, bearing a massy pair of Spurs of Gold; then followed *William* Earl of *Striguil* (and *Pembroke*) who bore the Royal Scepter, at the end whereof was a Cross of Gold; *William Fitz-Patrick* Earl of *Salisbury* went next to him, bearing the Golden Rod, having a Dove on the Top; then came four other Earls, viz, *David*, Brother to the King of *Scots*, as Earl

of

of *Huntington*; *John* the Duke's Brother, as Earl of *Lawcaſter* and *Derby*, with *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, each of them bearing a Sword upright in their hands, the Scabbards richly adorn'd with Gold, Earl *John* going in the middle, as in the moſt worthy place; after them went Six Earls and Barons bearing a * *Checker'd Table*, upon which were laid the King's Robes and ſome other *Regalia* to be uſed at the Coronation; then followed *William Maudvil* Earl of *Albemarle*, bearing a large Crown of Gold ſet with Precious Stones; after him Duke *Richard* himſelf (having the Biſhop of *Durham* on his Right hand, and *Reginald* Biſhop of *Bathe* on his left) over whom a Canopy of State was born by Four Barons; Then followed a Great Train of Earls, Barons, Knights and others as well of the Clergy as Laiety: In this Order he came into the Church at *Weſtminſter*, where before the *High-Altar* in the preſence of the Clergy and People, laying his hand upon the Holy *Evangelists* and Reliques of divers Saints, he took a Solemn Oath, *that he would obſerve Peace, Honour, and Reverence to Almighty God, his Church, and her Miniſters, all the days of his Life; that he would exerciſe upright Juſtice, and Equity towards the People committed to his charge; and that he would abrogate and diſannull all Evil Laws and wrongfull cuſtoms (if any were introduced within this Realm) and make, keep, and ſincerely maintain thoſe that were Good and Laudable.*

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* *Scaccarium.*

His Coronation Oath.
† *Ejus ordinatio.*

The A. Bp. anoints him.

Puts the Cap on his Head.

Delivers him the Sword of the Kingdom, to ſubdue the Enemies of the Church.

And forbids him to take upon him this Dignity unleſs he meant to keep his Oath.

The King's Answer.

His Offerings at the High Altar.

This being over, they put off all his Garments from his Middle upwards, leaving him only his Shirt, which was open on the Shoulders, that ſo he might be anointed; then the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* anointed him in Three Places, *viz.* on the Head, the Breſt and the Arms, which Unctions ſignify *Glory, Fortitude, and Wiſdom*: Then he cover'd his Head with a fine Linnen Cloath, and ſet the Cap thereon, which *Geoffrey de Lucy* carry'd, and then when he had put on his Surcoat, (*viz.* his upper Garment) call'd the *Dalmatica*, the Archbiſhop delivered to him the Sword of the Kingdom, to ſubdue the Enemies of the Church; which done, two Earls put Shoes upon his Feet, then having the Royal Mantle hung on him, He was led to the Altar, where the Archbiſhop charg'd him on God's behalf, *not to preſume to take upon him this Dignity, except he reſolved inviolably too keep thoſe Vows and Oaths, he had juſt then made, to which the King answer'd, that by God's Grace he would faithfully perform them all*; then the Crown was taken from beſide the Altar, and given to the Archbiſhop, who ſet it upon the King's Head, delivering the *Scepter* into his Right Hand, and the *Rod-Royal* into his Left; and being thus Crown'd, he was brought back to his Throne by the Biſhops and Barons with the ſame ſolemnity as before; then began High Maſs, and when they came to the *Offertory*, the King offer'd a Mark of pure Gold, as his Predeceſſors uſed to do at their Coronations; then the Archbiſhop lead him back to his Throne, and Maſs being ended, the Biſhops and Clergy attended him thus Royally array'd from the Church to a Chamber adjoining in like ſolemn Proceſſion as before; whence (after repoſing himſelf a while) he with the ſame Proceſſion return'd into the Choir, and having put off his heavy Crown and Robes, and taken others more light and portable, he went to Dinner.

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[4.] Col. 647.
Ralph de Diceto
his Account
of it some-
what differ-
ent.

Says nothing
of the A. Bp's
Prohibition.

But supposes
he was no K.
till sworn, and
actually
crown'd.

* *Promovendus
in Regem.*

[5.] R. H.
p. 374. b.

† *De Pincerna-
ria.*

* *De Coquina.*

The Corona-
tion Feast.

[1.] *Id. ib.*

Upon what
Account the
Jews happen'd
to be murder-
ed at it by
the Rabble.

[2.] W. N. L. 4.

cap. 1.

The Ring-
leaders taken
up next day,
and hang'd.

[3.] R. H. 1b.

The K. re-
ceives the Ho-
mages and
Fealties of his
Nobles.

[4.] *Ralph de Diceto*, than Dean of *St. Paul's*, who (as himself relates) in the vacancy of the Bishoprick of *London* assisted at this Coronation, and delivered the Hallowed Oyl or *Chrisme* with which the King was anointed, to the Archbishop, somewhat differs from the Precedent Account, for he only gives us some short Heads of the Coronation-Oath; that he would do his utmost, First, *That the Church of God and Christian People might enjoy Peace.* Secondly, *That he would prohibit all Rapine or Violence.* Thirdly, *That he would Command Just Judgments to be given with Equity and Mercy.* And though he says nothing of the before-mention'd Archbishop's Prohibition, yet that he did suppose this Prince was not compleatly King till he was actually Crown'd, appears by those words immediately forgoing, *viz. Richard Earl of Poictou, being by Hereditary Right to be * made King, after a Solemn and due Election by the Clergy and Laity, took a Threefold Oath, &c.* which words are so plain that they need no Comment.

[5.] At this Coronation-Feast which was kept in *Westminster-Hall*, the Citizens of *London* serv'd him as † his Butlers with Drink, and those of *Winchester* brought up his Meat from the * Kitchen; then the Archbishops and Bishops sate down with the King at the Table, every one according to his Order, whilst the Earls and Barons served in the King's Pallace, as their Places or Dignities required.

[1.] This Feast would have been every way Glorious, had it not been stain'd with Blood and Rapine, which it seems happen'd thus: The Jews had been particularly forbidden the day before to appear at the Coronation, but yet they could not forbear coming thither under a Pretence of bringing some Presents, but whither they were mov'd to it from Respect or Curiosity is uncertain; however the Common People were therewith so much incens'd, that they fell upon them, pillag'd them, and with blows drove them out of the Court, in which Tumult many of the Jews were hurt, and some kill'd; Nor were the Rabble contented with this, [2.] but there being a Rumour nois'd about, that the King had Commanded all the Jews to be exterminated, they not only kill'd all they could meet with, but fell upon their Houses and pillag'd them, and where they were too Strong, or too well defended to be broken into, they set them on Fire; nor did they stop there, but burnt the Houses of many Christians, so that this Disorder lasted all that day and the night following; and though the King sent *Ranulph de Glanvil* his chief Iustitiary to appease them, yet their Fury at that time was too great to be restrain'd by him.

The next day the King sent divers of his Officers into the City, who seizing upon the chief Ring-Leaders, caus'd them to be hang'd up immediately as they well deserved; but it is strange to observe the preposterous zeal of some of our Monkish-writers, who do not only excuse, but applaud this wicked fact, because (say they) it served to destroy the Enemies of the Christian Faith.

[3.] The day after the Coronation King *Richard* receiv'd the Homages and Fealties of all the Bishops, Abbots, Earls and Barons; which I take notice of here, because it hath been since the custom of the Bishops and Nobility to do their Homage so soon as ever the King is Crown'd.

[4.] Then

[4.] Then the King being in great want of Money for his intended Voyage to the *Holy Land*, sold many of his Mannors and Castles to divers persons; as to *Hugh Bishop of Durham* his Mannor of *Sadbery* with the *Wapentac* belonging thereunto for Six Hundred Marks; and presently after he sold him the Barldom of *Northumberland* to be held with the said Bishoprick; [5.] with this Jest upon it, That *He had made a Young Earl of an old Bishop*: Nor was the Bishop content with this, but he gave the King besides, One Thousand Marks more to be one of his chief Justitiaries in his Absence, so excessively ambitious was this Prelate of Secular Power: But with these payments the Bishop's Treasure was so much exhausted, that he had not Money enough to undertake his Voyage to the *Holy Land*, as he had vow'd; and therefore excusing himself because of his old Age, declin'd the Journey. Nor did the King empty the Bishop's Bags only, but sold many other Mannors and Lands to such Bishops and Abbots as would buy them of him, they being then the only mony'd Men of *England*, by which means he raised a vast Sum of Money towards his Intended Expedition.

* *Richard* of the *Devises* further adds, That the King was now in such want of Money, that even *William Longchamp* (his Favourite) pay'd no less than Three Thousand Pound to have the Great Seal continued in his Custody during the King's Absence, and that when he had sold his Mannors to those that would bid most for them. and was question'd by one about him why he did so; his Answer was, *That he would sell London it self if he could find a good Chapman*; so mightily was he set upon this needless Expedition. And further, all the Sheriffs of *England* having incurr'd his displeasure for Abuses in their Office, were upon very slight Accusations depriv'd of their Places, and made to purchase the King's Pardon with a great Sum of Money.

[1.] On the Sixteenth of *September* the King went to the Abbey of *Pipewell* in *Northamptonshire*, where he held a Great Council, or Synod of all the Bishops, Abbots and Priors of the Kingdom, to consider how to fill up the vacant Sees and Abbies; and by the Advice of his Bishops and other Great Men he conferr'd on his Brother *Geoffrey* the Archbishoprick of *Tork*; on *Godfrey de Lucy* the Bishoprick of *Winchester*; to *Richard* Arch-deacon of *Ely*, he gave the Bishoprick of *London*; to *Hubert Walter* then Dean of *Tork*, the Bishoprick of *Salisbury*; and to *William Longchamp* his Chancellor, the Bishoprick of *Ely*; all which is thus to be understood, that though the Persons were nominated by the King, with the Advice of this Council, yet they were notwithstanding elected by the Representatives of the Particular Chapters and Convents according to the Canons: and when this was done, they were still to be confirm'd by the King; for *William of Newburgh* tells us, that King *Richard* would not agree to confirm the Election of his Brother *Geoffrey*, (though made by the Dean and Chanons of *Tork*,) till he had pay'd a good round Sum of Money towards his intended Expedition; which, if so, was very hard usage to so near a Relation.

[2.] At this Council the Archbishop of *Canterbury* challeng'd the Consecration of *Geoffrey* Archbishop Elect of *Tork*, and forbad him receive it from any Other than himself, producing before the King and

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[4.] *Id p. 375* a
Where see the
King's Charter.

His Sale of divers of his Mannors and Castles.

[5.] *W.N. ib. c. 5.*
Bp. of *Durham* gives the K. a Sum of Money to be Justitiary in his absence.

The Bps. and Abbots then the only monied Men in *England*.

* *M. S. in Bib. Cotton. Julius. A.*

William Longchamp gives a great Sum for the Custody of the Great Seal during the K's absence.

The K. offers to sell *London*, if he could get a Chapman, so bent was He for the *Holy Land*.

[1] *R. H. ib.*
He disposes of the Bishopricks and Abbies by the Advice of his Bps and Great Men.

[2] *R. H. ib.*
Archbishop of *Canterbury* challenges the Consecration of the Archbp. Elect of *Tork*.

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all the Clergy and Laity there present, the Charter of King *William the Bastard*; wherein it was specified, That *Thomas*, then Archbishop of *York*, had receiv'd his Consecration at the hands of *Lanfranc* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Primate of all *England*; and had then promised him Canonical Obedience together with all his Suffragan Bishops, as to their Primate; this Charter also testified, that these things were done at *London* according to the definitive Sentence of Pope *Alexander* the Second.

[3.] C. B. Col.
1162.
Whom the K.
constitutes his
Justitiaries of
England.

Ranulph de
Glanvil re-
signs his Of-
fice, and for
what Reason.

[3.] Then the King constituted *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham*, and *William* Earl of *Albemarle*, Justitiaries of *England*, and associated to them in the Government of the Kingdom, *William* Earl *Mareschal*, and *Geoffrey Fitz Peter*, *William Briwere*, *Robert de Whirefield*, and *Robert Fitz Reinfeld*; for *Ranulph de Glanvil* Chief Justitiary of the Kingdom, being now in Years, and also not approving of some things which were lately order'd by the King, had a little before resigned the Office, that so he might the better prepare himself for his Voyage to the *Holy-Land*, which he had vow'd, as had also *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Richard of the
Devises parti-
cular Account
of his not only
being displac-
ed, but sent
to Prison, and
he paid 50000
for his Liberty.

But *Richard* of the *Devises* gives us a more particular Account of this *Ranulph de Glanville*, that being a Man of great Eloquence and Estate, the King was so displeased with him for some things that he had done in his Father's Reign, that he not only turn'd him out of his Place, but committed him to Prison, and he could not be discharged before he had actually paid Fifteen Thousand Pound for his Liberty; a vast Ransom in those days for a private Man to pay.

[4.] R. H. p.
376. a.
Ambassadors
arrive from
France, and
what they
did.

[4.] In the Month of *November*, *Rotrod* Earl of *Perche*, and other Ambassadors of the King of *France*, came into *England* and acquainted King *Richard*, that in a Great Council at *Paris*, their King and all the Great Men of his Kingdom who had undertaken the *Crusado*, had sworn (God willing) to be at *Vezely* in *Burgundy* in the close of *Easter* to go forwards towards *Jerusalem*, and to satisfy him of the reality of this Oath, they brought him the Charter, desiring that he with his Earls and Barons would give the like Security to be there at the same time: whereupon King *Richard* and those Earls and Barons who had undertaken that Service, in a Great Council at *Westminster*, did all Swear, That by the help of God, they would be there also at the stated time, ready to undertake that Voyage as King *Philip* had desired; then *Rotrod* Earl of *Perche* and the rest of that King's Ambassadors swore the same thing on their Master's behalf before the Council, as did also *William* Earl *Mareschal* and others for the King of *England*, in the Presence of the *French* King's Ambassadors; in Testimony whereof King *Richard* also sent him his Charter under his Seal. Which great Caution, though it may seem at this distance very odd and impertinent, since the King himself had before Sworn to observe it, yet it was according to the Custom of those Times, when the Oaths of Princes were not alone thought sufficient, without those of certain *Fide jussors*, or Sureties, who were also to Swear on their behalf, and were often oblig'd to take part with their Master's Enemy, in case he first broke the Agreement.

The K. and
Nobility did
swear to be
ready at a Sta-
ted time to go
to the Holy-
Land, in a
Great Council
at Westminster.

[5.] R. H. p.
377. a.

[5.] In the same Month *Geoffrey* Archbishop Elect of *York*, with the Barons of *Yorkshire*, and the Sheriff, by the King's Command, went

to the River *Twede*, and there receiv'd *William* King of *Scots*, and conducted him to the King at *Canterbury* in *December*, who there did him Homage for the Honours he enjoy'd in *England*, as his Brother *Malcolm* had done before; and then King *Richard* deliver'd up to him the Castles of *Roxburgh* and *Berwick*, and also acquitted Him and his Heirs for ever from all Fealty and Allegiance to Himself and Successors, Kings of *England*, concerning the Subjection of the Kingdom of *Scotland*: for which Restitution of his Castles, and Release of the Fealties of his Tenants of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, he gave him Ten Thousand Marks Sterling, as appears by the Charter which King *Richard* then made to the King of *Scots*, whereby he discharg'd him of all those Pacts or Agreements which King *Henry* his Father had extorted from the said King, after his being taken Prisoner: from all which it plainly appears, That there was no Homage due to the King of *England* for *Scotland* before that time, as the Reader may find in the Charter it self, as it is recited at large in *R. Hoveden*.

[1.] The same day also *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham*, and *Hubert* Bishop of *Salisbury* appeal'd to the Pope before the Cardinal his Legate, against the Election of *Geoffrey* Archbishop of *York*, as did also *Bucard* Treasurer of that Church, because the Archbishop Elect was not only born of a Concubine, but was also an Homicide; yet for all these Objections, the Cardinal Legate confirm'd his Election.

Then King *Richard* farther bestow'd upon his Brother Earl *John*, as an additional Augmentation of his Honour, the Earldoms of *Devonshire*, *Dorset*, and *Cornwall*. So that he had now the Titles and Revenues of no less than Six several Counties; yet would not all this satisfy his unbounded Ambition, nor keep him firm to the King his Brother's Interest, but he most ungratefully rebell'd against him, as you will find hereafter.

The King also at the same time bestow'd upon the Queen his Mother, (besides what had been settled upon Her by the King Her late Husband) the same Dower or Joynture which Queen *Mathilda* Wife to *Henry* I. had before enjoy'd. Thus, as Queen *Eleanor* lov'd King *Richard* above all the rest of her Children, so was he not wanting to her in all Filial Duty and Affection.

[2.] These Great Affairs being thus dispatch'd, *Geoffrey* Archbishop Elect of *York* having a little before fallen into the King his Brother's displeasure, he not only refus'd to restore him the Temporalties of that Archbishoprick, but likewise seiz'd all the *Lay-fees* or Estate which King *Henry* his Father had given him either on this side, or beyond the Sea. And now finding that without Money he could not obtain the King his Brother's favour, he promised him Three Thousand Pounds Sterling, upon which the King restor'd him the Archbishoprick (*i.e.* the Temporalties thereof) together with the rest of his Estate in *England*, besides the Earldom of the late Earl *Giffard* in *Normandy*, and the Honour of *Balangy* in *Aquitain*.

* The King also at the same time for ever discharg'd the said *Geoffrey* and his successors, and all their Lands, with those of the Chapter of *York*, from all Exactions and Grievances of the Forests, and gave them free leave and power to Hunt in all their Lands in *Nottingham* and *Yorkshire*.

Anno Dom.
MCLXXXIX.

The K. of Scot.
conducted to
K. Richard at
Canterbury, and
what Homage
was paid him
there.
What Castles
the K. there-
upon deliver'd
up to him.

No Homage
due to the K.
of England be-
fore that time
for Scotland.

[1.] *Id. ib. b.*
The Pope ap-
peal'd to, a-
gainst the
Election of
Geoffrey A. Bp.
of *York*, and
why.
But the Car-
dinal Legate
confirm'd the
Election.

The King be-
stows more
Honours on
his Brother
E. *John*.
But yet they
could not fix
him to his In-
terest.

What the K.
gave to his
Mother Q.
Eleanor.

[2.] *Id. ib.*
The K. seizes
on all the Lay-
fees of his
Brother *Geof-
frey*, A. Bp.
Elect of *York*.

But upon the
promise of
3000 *l.* Ster-
ling, he re-
stores him the
Temporal-
ties, &c.

* *Id. p. 378.*
Many Privi-
leges and Im-
munities
granted to
the Church
of *York*.

Anno Dom.
MCLXXXIX.

[3.] *Id. ib.*

[4.] *Id. ib.*
The Bps of
Durham and
Ely made the
K's Chief Ju-
stitiaries in
his absence.

They fall into
disputes about
their Powers.

[5.] *Id. p. 375. b.*
The King ob-
tains the Pope's
Bull to excuse
those from the
Service of the
Crosi that
would pay
to the King
so much Mo-
ney.

[1.] *Id. p. 377. b.*
Several Pre-
lates protest
against the
Election of
Geoffrey A. Bp.
of York.

[2.] *C. G. Col.*
1520, 1523,
& *dein.*

Great Quarrels
between Bald-
win A. Bp. of
Canterbury and
the Monks of
the Holy Trini-
ty, about the
former's sei-
zing the Tem-
poral Reve-
nues of that
Abbey.

The A. Bishop
pays no Obe-
dience to the
Pope's Bulls,
commanding
him to restore
the Monks
their Lands.

[3.] Then the King leaving *Canterbury* embark'd at *Dover*, and pass'd over to *Callais* on the Eleventh of *December*, being accom-pany'd by *John* the Cardinal Legate, *Walter* Archbishop of *Roüen*, *Henry* Bishop of *Bayeux*, and *John* Bishop of *Eureux*, and other Great Men; and so soon as he landed, *Philip* Earl of *Flanders* met and receiv'd him with great Joy, and conducted him into *Normandy*.

[4.] Sometime before he left *England*, he appointed *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham*, and *William* Bishop of *Ely*, his chief Justitiaries, and had associated to them *Hugh* Bardolf, *William* Earl Mareschal, *Geoffrey Fitz-Peter*, and *William* Briwere; but he deliver'd to the Bishop of *Ely* his Chancellor his Chief, or Great Seal, by which all his Writs or Precepts were to be made in the Kingdom; he deliver'd to him likewise the Custody of the Tower of *London*, and to the Bishop of *Durham* the Castle of *Windsor*, with the Forest and County: But the King was no sooner gone, than his Two Chief Justitiaries fell into Disputes about their Authority; that which pleas'd the one, displeasing the other, as is usual, when great Power is divided into several hands.

[5.] So soon as the King had resolv'd on this Voyage to the *Holy-Land*, he sent to Pope *Clement* and obtain'd his Bull, That all such as would stay at home for the Guard of his Kingdom upon paying money to the King, should be acquitted from the Service of the *Crosi*; by which means he amass'd very great Sums.

I shall conclude this Year with an Account of the rest of the Ecclesiastical Affairs that happen'd in it. [1.] Some time before the King's deparrure, *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham*, and *Hubert* Bishop of *Salisbury* appeal'd to the Pope against *Geoffrey* Elect of *York*, endeavouring to prove his Election void, because they who were to have had the chief Suffrages were not present; and *Bucard*, Treasurer of the Church of *York*, and one *Henry*, Dean of the same, did also Appeal against him, denying his Election to have been Canonical, for that he was a Manslayer, and One begotten in Adultery, and born of an Harlot; but all this came to nothing, for *John* Cardinal of *Anagnia* the Pope's Legate, who was lately arriv'd here, confirm'd his Election; and he afterwards obtain'd the Pope's Bull to the same purpose, though he was not Ordain'd Archbishop till some time after.

But to speak further of this Cardinal's Errand into *England*; the Reader is to understand, [2.] that there had been for several Years before great Quarrels between *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Prior and Monks of the Monastery of the *Holy Trinity*, now call'd *Christ Church*, about the Archbishop's seizing into his hands the Temporal Revenues belonging to the said Abbey, and his building a Chappel and a House of Chanons in the Subburbs of the said City, near *St. Stephen's Church*; which the Monks fearing lest it should be made the Chapter of the Archbishop, and so in time should rob them of the Right of their Election, they had some years since Appeal'd to the Pope against those Proceedings: and though he sent over several Bulls to the Archbishop on behalf of the Monks, Commanding him to cease from Building and Endowing the said Chapell, and to restore unto the Monks their Lands; notwithstanding all this, the Archbishop was so far from yielding any Obedience thereunto, that having the late King on his side, he had resolv'd to starve the Monks

Monks to a compliance, by hindering all Provisions from coming to their House from their Farms in the Country: so that the poor Monks being almost starv'd, were fain'd to live upon Alms; yet did not this at all bring down their stomachs, for knowing they had the Pope for their Friend, to whom they had appeal'd, they still held out stoutly against the Archbishop: and so soon as King *Richard* came to the Crown, they implor'd his Assistance against these violent Proceedings. This is the sum of a long and tedious Relation which *Gervase* (a Monk of this Church) has given us concerning these Disputes; to whom I refer the Curious Reader for further satisfaction.

[3.] But in the mean time the Pope had sent over *John* the Cardinal above-mention'd to compose these Differences, who Landing at *Dover*, while the King was gone into *Suffolk* on Pilgrimage to *St. Edmund's* Shrine, Queen *Eleanor* his Mother (then at *Canterbury*) immediately sent a Message to the Legate, forbidding him to proceed any further without the King's License, which was done on purpose that so this difference might be concluded without his Interposition; for the King had before Summon'd a Council of the Bishops, Abbots and Great Men of *England*, to decide this Controversy: where also *William* King of *Scots* and his Brother Earl *David* were present, so that there was never before seen so great a Concourse of People at *Canterbury*.

[4.] So soon as the King arriv'd, this Council began, in which after a long Debate among the Bishops concerning this matter, at last by the Judgment of the King and Bishops, with the Assent of the Archbishop and Monks, the Difference was determined upon these terms, viz. that *Roger de Norreis*, whom the Archbishop (against the will of the Monks) had made Prior of that Church, should be depos'd, and the New Chappel demolish'd which the Archbishop had built in the Subburbs of *Canterbury*; and that the Monks should perform their wonted profession of Obedience to the Archbishop as their Predecessors had done; upon which Accord, the King at the request of the Archbishop made the deposed Prior, Abbot of *Evesham*.

The next day the Archbishop came into the Chapter-house, and restor'd to the Convent their Farms; saying, That he had dismiss'd the Prior from his Office, and for the future would preserve the due Rights of the Monastery: but instead of the Chappel, which was then demolish'd, the Archbishop built another at *Lambes* (now *Lambeth*) and endow'd it with those Revenues, which he had intended for his Chappel at *Canterbury*; but of this Foundation also, those Monks were so Jealous, that some years after they procured a Bull from the Pope to have it dissolv'd, as you will find in due time.

[5.] After this Reconciliation the King sent for Cardinal *John* the Legate who came to *Canterbury*, and was receiv'd with solemn Procession, yet he took it ill, that the Agreement had been made between the Archbishop and Monks without him, and would fain have found some occasion to have revived the difference, that so there might have been work for another Appeal; but perceiving the King and the Archbishop with the rest of the Bishops to be all agreed against him, he was obliged to take his leave and depart, after a very few days stay

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MCLXXXIX.

Who are forced by his means to live upon Alms, or Starve; but they still vigorously hold out against the A. Bp.

[3] *Id. ib.*
The Pope sends a Cardinal over to determine it; but being at *Dover*, he is forbid to come any further without the K's Leave. A Council of the Kingdom summon'd to end this Controversy.

[4] *Id. ib.*
At last by the Judgment of the King and Bps, &c. the Difference was determin'd.

And upon what Terms.

The A. Bp. restores their Farms, and promises to preserve their due Rights. Another Chappel built at *Lambeth*.

The Monks grow jealous of it.

[5] *Id. ib.*
John the Legate takes it ill that this Agreement was made without him.

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MCLXXXIX.

And not being
able to get a-
nother appeal,
he takes his
leave, and de-
parts.

[1.] *Id. ib.*

The A Bishop
puts all Earl
John's Terri-
tories under
Interdict, be-
cause he mar-
ried a Cofin
in the Second
degree.

Earl John ap-
peals, the
Pope's Legate
receives it, &
so his Lands
are discharg'd
from that
Sentence.

Anno Dom.
MCXC.

[2.] *R. H. p.*
378. a.

A firm Peace
establish'd be-
tween the Ks
of England and
France.

The Articles
of Peace.

[3.] *Id. ib.*

K. Richard
sends for his
Mother, Sister,
his A. Bp. Bps.
and Brother
John to come
to him into
Normandy.

stay in England, having first waited on the King to *Dover*, full fore
against his will.

I have been the more particular in this Relation, that so the Reader
may observe, how in those days, if the King and the Archbishop of
Canterbury held but a good correspondence, all that the Pope's Bulls
could do, signified little or nothing; for the Legate durst not then
come into *England* without the King's Licence.

To conclude this year; it is worth our observing, [1.] that before
the late Mariage of Earl *John* with the Daughter of the Earl of
Gloucester, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* forbade the Mariage, because
they were Cofins in the Second Degree; but not finding himself here-
in obey'd, he put all the Territories of Earl *John* under an *Interdict*
notwithstanding his Appeal to the Pope; against which Sentence the
Earl complaining to the Bishops at the late Council at *Canterbury*,
the Pope's Legate received his Appeal, and so the Earl's Lands were
discharged from that Sentence.

[2.] King *Richard* being now arriv'd in *Normandy*, kept his *Christ-
mas* at the Town of *Buers* with the Great Men of that Dutchy;
after which Solemnity, He and *Philip* King of *France* met, and
establish'd a firm Peace between themselves and their Kingdoms,
which was put into Writing, and confirm'd by their Oaths and
Charters on the Feast of *St. Hillary* (*January* Thirteenth) and the
Archbishops and Bishops in the *Word of Truth*, with the Earls and
Barons of both Kingdoms sincerely agreed to it, and the Temporal
Lords also swore that they would faithfully maintain that Peace,
which was to this effect.

"That the Two Kings should preserve each other's Honour,
"and keep Faith to one another in defence of their Lives, Limbs,
"and Terene Honours, and not be wanting to each other in the
"management of their Affairs; but that the King of *France* should
"help the King of *England* to defend his Territories as if he were
"to defend the City of *Paris*, if it were besieged; and that King
"*Richard* should defend the King of *France*'s Dominions, as he
"would defend *Rouen*, if that were besieged. Then the Earls and
"Barons of both Kingdoms swore, that they would not depart from
"their Fealty to their several Kings, nor make any War or Distur-
"bances within their Dominions, while they were in their Peregri-
"nation; and the Archbishops firmly promised, in the *Word of Truth*,
"that they would Anathematize the Transgressors of this Peace.

"It was likewise agreed further, That if either of the Kings dy'd,
"the Survivor should have the Money, and Men of the deceas'd,
"to carry on the service of God; but because they could not be ready
"by the Close or Octaves of *Easter*, they deferr'd their Voyage un-
"til *Midsummer*: But the sudden death of the Queen of *France* retard-
"ed that King's departure for some longer time.

[3.] After *Candlemas* King *Richard* sent for Queen *Eleanor* his
Mother, *Alice* Sister to *Philip* King of *France*, *Baldwin* Archbishop
of *Canterbury*, and Earl *John*, together with the Bishops of *Norwich*,
Durham, *Winchester*, *Bathe*, *Ely*, *Salisbury*, and *Chester*, who all pas-
sed over into *Normandy*, to wait on the King; and He by their Advice,
consti-

constituted *William* Bishop of *Ely*, then Chancellor, his Chief Justiciary of *England*: He also made his Brothers, *John* Earl of *Moreton*, and *Geoffrey* Blect of *York*, to take an Oath, that they would not go into *England* within three Years next following without his License; yet soon after he released his Brother *John* from his Oath, and gave him leave to return home upon his taking another Oath, that he would faithfully serve him in his Absence; but he was not so favourable to his Brother the Archbishop.

[4.] From *Normandy* he sent the Bishop of *Ely* his Chancellor into *England*, to prepare all things necessary for his Expedition; and resolving to exalt him above all degrees of Men in his Kingdom, he sent to Pope *Clement* and prevail'd with him to invest him with the Legantine Power over all *England* * and *Wales*, with that part of *Ireland* which was then under the Dominion of Earl *John* the King's Brother, as appears by the Purport of the Pope's Bull cited by [5.] *Rad. de Diceto*.

Then [1.] the Chancellor at his Return encompass'd the Tower of *London* with a deep Ditch, designing to have the *Thames* flow round about it, and also took for the King's use of every City of *England* two Palfreys, or Saddle Horses, and two Sumpters, as an Aid, and the like of every Abbey, one of each sort, and though for what use these Horses were now taken, unless for the Chancellor himself, I cannot tell, neither does my Author acquaint us.

[2.] Not long after the Chancellor's return, the Common People of divers Towns and Cities of *England* rose against the *Jews*, not so much (as [3.] *William* of *Newburgh* well observes) out of a zeal for Christianity, as envy of their Riches, and Covetousness to enjoy them; the first Disturbance began at the Town of *Lynne*, about a *Jew* who was turn'd *Christian*, and being therefore persued by the rest of his Nation, had taken refuge in a Church, and being there likewise assaulted, the foreign Mariners belonging to that Port did not only defend the new Convert by repelling the fury of the *Jews*, but falling upon their Houses, pillaged and burnt them, murdering the Owners, and when they had done so, they carri'd the plunder to their Ships; so that when this Tumult came to be examin'd, the People of the Town cast all the blame upon those strange Mariners who were gone.

[4.] Some time after, another insult was made upon the *Jews* at *Stamford Fair*, which was held in *Lent*, when the People that came from divers parts envying the *Jews*, and thinking they should do God good Service in destroying those whose Goods they coveted, fell upon them and plunder'd their Houses, killing as many as they could light on, but some of them saved themselves in the Castle: and when the Rabble had done this mischief, (being most of them Strangers) they march'd off with their Booty.

[5.] The People of *Lincoln*, hearing what had been done to the *Jews* in other places, also rose against them of that City, who being already warn'd by the destruction of their Country Men in other Places, retired into the Castle with their Goods and Families; so that only a Few of the poorer sort suffer'd by their Violence: and though there was not much harm done, yet a severe Enquiry was made by the King's Officers after the Offenders.

Anno Dom.
MCXC.

His Chancel.
for the Bishop
of *Ely* made
Chief Justifi-
ary of *England*.

His Brothers
Earl *John*,
and *Geoffrey*
swear, not to
go into *Eng-
land* in three
years without
his Leave.
But he relea-
sed his Brother
John from his
Oath.

[4.] *Id. ib.*
The Bp. of *Ely*
comes into
England.
The K. writes
to the Pope
to make him
Legate.

* *R. Hoveden*
here adds *Scot-
land*, but that
is a mistake.

[5.] *Col. 55.*
[1.] *R. Id. ib.*

The Tower
of *London* en-
compass'd
with a deep
Ditch.

[2.] *Id. p. 379. a.*
The People's
Insurrection
against the
Jews.

[3.] *L. 4. c. 7.*
The first Di-
sturbance be-
gan at *Lynne*
& upon what
Occasion.

[4.] *Id. ib. c. 8.*
The next at
Stamford Fair.

[5.] *Id. ib. c. 9.*
The Third at
Lincoln.

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[1.] *Id. ib. c. 9.*
But the great-
est of all was
at York.

Their Houses
pillaged and
burnt, but the
Owners of
them get into
the Castle.

[2.] *Id. ib.*
Præf. Pro-
vincia.
And shut
themselves
up in it, re-
fusing to de-
liver it upon
demand of
the High-
Sheriff.

[3.] *R. H. p.*
379. a.

The Chancel-
lor with a
great Army
comes to York,
and displaces
the Sheriff and
Constable of
the Castle.

** Qui ad Restum
moluerunt ve-
nire.*

[1.] But the greatest fury of the Common People against the Jews was exerted at York, where neither the King's late prohibition against disturbing them, nor even Common Humanity could restrain them; but falling first upon the Houses of *Benedict* and *Joseph*, two of the great Usurers in England, and whose Magnificence, and too great Riches they chiefly envied, (though *Benedict*, having been baptized against his will after he was cruelly beaten and wounded at the King's Coronation, was lately dead) the Rabble not only pillaged and burnt those Houses, but also those of all the rest of the Jews in that City, though Owners most of them escaped their fury by getting into the Castle, carrying most of their best Goods and Money along with them by the Constables connivance; and He happening to go out of the Castle about some business, was shut out by those Jews that were within, fearing lest by some means or other he might be set against them, and they could not be prevail'd on to re-admit him.

[2.] In the mean time the * High-Sheriff of the County coming thither, was highly incensed against them, for thus detaining the Castle, and having demanded it, and they refusing to deliver it, thereupon the Citizens and Strangers who came to the County-Court, at the Command of the Sheriff, made an Assault upon them, which continued Night and Day; so that at last the Jews offered a great Sum of Money for Liberty to be gone, but the People would not accept it; and therefore when the Jews saw their case thus desperate, the greatest part of them by the persuasion of an ancient Rabin, (who asserted self murder in this case to be Lawful) agreed to cut one another's Throats, rather than dye by the hands of the Uncircumcized Christians, which they perform'd with a most desperate Resolution, having first set the Castle on Fire.

[3.] Sometime after Easter the Bishop of Ely, now Justiciary and Chancellor, came to York with a great and powerful Army, to seize those Malefactors who had destroyed the Jews, and knowing it was done by the Command (or permission at least) of the Sheriff and Constable, he displaced both of them, and took of the Citizens an Hundred Pledges or Sureties, for their keeping Fidelity and Peace to the King and Kingdom, and for their standing to the Law in the King's Court concerning these Offences. And the Knights or Military Tenants of the County (that is, the Suitors that came to the County-Court,) who refused to appear to the * Accusation, he caused to be apprehended.

I have have been the more particular in Relating these Tumults, that so the Reader may see, how highly the People were now incensed against the Jews for their Usury and Extortion, albeit they were maintained and protected by the Government to Peel the People, that so they themselves might be squeez'd, and their Riches taken from them whenever the King had occasion; and likewise that he may observe how Violent the Common People (or Mobas we now call them) have been in former Ages against those whose Religion they had in abhorrence, and therefore were resolutely bent to despoil them of their goods.

[4.] Not

[4.] Not long after this *Hugh de Pufets* or *Pudsey*, Bishop of *Durham*, by the King's permission, returned into *England*, and meeting the Chancellor at *Blake* in *Nottinghamshire*, he there delivered to him the King's Letters Patents, by which he had made the said *Hugh* Justiciary from the River *Humber* unto the Confines of *Scotland*. The Chancellor told him he was ready to obey the King's Commands, and carried him with him as a Prisoner to *Southwell* in the same County, and kept him there, until he had delivered up *Windsor* Castle and the rest of the strong Places of which the King had given him the Custody. And he was also fain to deliver his Son *Henry de Pudsey* and *Gilbert de Lucy* as Pledges for his Faith to the King and Kingdom. So soon as the Bishop was set free, he went to his Town of *Hovedene*, where he had not been many days, before there came *Robert Longchamp*, Brother to the Chancellor, and *William de Strateville* with several armed Men, and would have carried him away by the Chancellor's Order; but he gave them security that he would not stir from thence without leave either of the King or Chancellor. Upon this the Bishop presently sent Messengers to acquaint the King with what the Chancellor had done; but it seems they did not overtake him till he came to *Marseilles*, and there being inform'd of the Injuries done to the Bishop by the Chancellor, he sent a Precept for the delivery and free possession of the Earldom of *Northumberland*, and Mannor of *Sadbery*, according to the Charter he had lately made him.

Richard of the *Devises* farther adds, That the Chancellor also ousted the Bishop of *Winchester* of the Custody of that Castle, as also of the Sherifdom of *Hampshire*; whereupon the whole Kingdom being disturbed at these violent proceedings, the Bishop of *Winchester* went over to the King to make his complaint, and from him receiv'd Orders to the Chancellor to have Right done him, which were obey'd accordingly upon his Return: and though the Bishop of *Durham* had the like for his Earldom, yet the Chancellor pretending he had receiv'd other Instructions, refus'd to obey them, which is particularly related by the same Author, viz. That the Chancellor meeting the Bishop at *Lincoln*, the Bishop shew'd him the King's Letters, and demanded Restitution of his Right; upon which the Chancellor desir'd a week's time to give him a positive Answer, and appointed him to come to the Castle of *Tikehill* to receive it: when he came thither, and had left his Attendants without the Gates, the Chancellor shew'd him some Letters from the King of a later date, which contradicted the former; and farther told him, That it was now his turn to speak; and, that the King was alive, and well, and therefore the Bishop should not go out from thence, before he had given Pledges to deliver up to him all the King's Castles which he had then in his keeping: So there being no contradicting or resisting so great a Power, the Bishop was forc'd to give Pledges to surrender up those Castles accordingly.

These Transactions (though happening some time after the King's departure) I have here put together, that I might not break the thread of the Narration concerning the King's passage through *France*.

Anno Dom.
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[4.] Id. ib.
The Bishop of *Durham* returns into *Eng-land*, and shews the Chancellor that the K. had made him his Justiciary from *Humber* to the Confines of *Scotland*.

He is forced to deliver up *Windsor* Castle, &c. to the chief Justiciary.

And give Pledges for his Fidelity to the K. and Kingdom.

Being set free, he goes to his Town of *Hovedene*, but is ill treated there by the Chancellor's Order.

He by Messengers informs the K. of it, and is by his Precept restor'd to his Possessions.

The Chancellor ousted the Bp. of *Winchester* of that Castle, and the Sherifdom of *Hampshire*.

Who upon Complaint to the King, obtains Orders to have Right done him.

The Chancellor refuses to obey the Orders in behalf of the Bp. of *Durham*.

And shews Letters from the K. of a later date to countermand the former.

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[5] R. H. p.
379 b.

K Richard at
Chinon makes
several Bi-
shops, &c.
his Admirals.

[1.] Id. ib.

Maritime
Laws made
for prevent-
ing of Quar-
rels, and pre-
serving Peace
and Amity in
the Fleet.

[2.] Id. ib.
King Richard
receives the
Scrip and Staff
of Pilgrimage,
and then mar-
ches forwards
to Lyons, where
they part
companies.

Who attended
him to Mar-
seilles to go for
the Holy Land.

[5] From Normandy the King removed to Chinon in Anjou, and there made Gerard Archbishop of Auxerre, Bernard Bishop of Bayeux, Robert de Sabloil, Richard de Camvil, and William de Forz, Admirals, or Commanders of his whole Fleet, which then lay on the Coast of France, and consisted of a Hundred Sail of Ships, besides Fourteen great Busses or Vessels of Burthen; and these being to Sail round Spain, were to meet the King at Marseilles!

[1.] These Admirals, or Constables (as our Historian calls them) being thus appointed, the King by the Advice of his Noble and Discreet men made divers notable Maritime Laws or Orders to prevent all Quarrels and Mischiefs, and preserve Peace and Amity in the Navy, which were to this effect: *That if any one kill'd a Man in a Ship, he was to be bound to the Dead Man, and to be flung into the Sea. If any one was convicted by Lawful Witnesses that he drew his Dagger or Knife to hurt another, or draw Blood, he was to loose his Hand. If any one struck another with his open Hand without effusion of Blood, he was to be Duck'd thrice over Head and Ears in the Sea. If any one gave his Companion opprobrious Language, so often as he did it, he was to give him so many Ounces of Silver. If a Man Stole any thing, his Head was to be shaved, and boiling Pitch poured upon it, and Feathers stuck in it, that so he might be known, and the first Land the Ship touch'd at, he was to be thrown out of it.* This Edict is by way of Charter, but in another Edict or Writ he Commanded, *that all Persons in his Fleet should obey the Commands and Orders of the Officers he had appointed.* These Laws are the more remarkable, as being the most antient I can find to have been made by any English King concerning Maritime Discipline.

[2.] From Chinon he went to Tours, and there received his Pilgrim's Staff from the hands of the Archbishop of that Place, (a Ceremony then thought necessary for so Holy an Undertaking) and from thence he passed on to Vezely, where he met the King of France; and after two days stay there, they both left that Place on the first of July, and so went forwards to Lyons, and passing the Bridg over the River Rhosne, it brake so soon as ever both Kings were got over by reason of the great number of followers; so both Men and Horses falling down into that rapid stream, several of them were drowned. The two Princes being much concern'd at this sad Accident, to avoid such disorders as are often caused by vast multitudes marching together, they resolved to part for the present; So the King of France travell'd by the way of Genoa, and the King of England by that of Marseilles; to which Place Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury, Hubert Bishop of Salisbury, and Ranulph de Glanville, late Justiciary of England, attended the King; where presently going on Shipboard, they had a prosperous Voyage to Acon: but not long before John Bishop of Norwich, who had also undertaken this Crusado, repenting of his Vow, went to the Pope, and being by him absolved from it, had leave to return home; But as soon as the King had intelligence of it, he demanded a Thousand Marks of him for his composition, to be freed from his promise of undertaking the Crusado, according to the Power the Pope had given him, of receiving the compositions of those who desired to be dispensed from it.

[3.] The

[3.] The King being now at *Marfeilles*, stay'd there Eight days in expectation of his Fleet, which under the Command of his Admirals, *Richard de Camville* and *William de Forz* had been appointed to meet him there, but part of his Fleet having been driven into the River of *Lisbon*, and the rest into other Parts of *Portugal* by a great Storm, they were there for some time detained by the Entreaties of King *Sancho*, who was then hardly beset by *Boiac*, the *Miramolin* or *Saracen* Emperor of *Spain* and *Morocco*: wherefore the King sent to the *English* Ships for their Assistance, which presently lending him Five Hundred brave Men, they march'd up into the Country to relieve a Castle call'd *St. Herena*, which was at that time besieg'd by the *Moors*; but so soon as the *English* came thither, they received News of the sudden death of the *Moorish* Emperor, and of the Retreat of his Army: whereupon the Men return'd to their Ships, very well satisfied and rewarded for their Pains.

[4.] In the mean while *Richard de Camville* the King's Admiral arrived at *Lisbon*, with Sixty Sail, and sometime after *William de Forz* with Thirty more; which with those that had come thither before, made up One Hundred and Six Sail of stout Vessels, and having no more to do in *Portugal*, they presently made the best of their way to *Marfeilles*; [5.] but finding King *Richard* gone from thence, (after some day's stay to Careen their Ships) they Sailed for *Messina*, whither they heard he had design'd.

For the King having stay'd in expectation of his Fleet Eight days at *Marfeilles*, and not knowing what was become of it, began to be out of patience, and so hired Ten great *Busses*, and Twenty Gallies, and in them Shipped off as many of his Men as he could, and then setting Sail he soon arriv'd at *Naples*, where going on shore, and sending his Ships to *Sicily*, he went by Land to *Salerno*, where he stayed for some time, till he heard of the arrival of his whole Fleet at *Messina*, [1.] (which came thither on the Fourteenth of *September*) Upon this News he went by Land to the Priory of *Labanarie*, seated on the farthest Point of *Italy*, where he passed over the Streight called *Faro de Messina*, and arrived at that City on the Twenty Second of the same Month, attended by a great many Ships and Gallies, that were sent out to receive him; so he entred the Port with a Magnificent Naval Pomp. The King of *France* (who was arrived there some time before) and his Nobles with the Chief Men of the City stood on the shore expecting his Landing, and as soon as he arrived, he was congratulated by that King, with whom he had a private Conference, and who that very day went on board his Fleet in order to Sail for the *Holy-Land*; but the Wind being contrary, forced him to stay there for some days; during which time the Two Kings often visited each other with all the outward Demonstrations of Amity imaginable.

[2.] Then King *Richard* sent and demanded of *Tancred* King of *Sicily*, to return him his Sister Queen *Joan*, Widow of the late King *William*, who was then kept like a Prisoner; whereupon *Tancred*, not daring to refuse it, sent her from *Palermo* to *Messina* by Sea, and King *Richard* went out in Person to meet her at her Landing.

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[3.] *Id.* p. 380. a.
K. *Richard's* Fleet separated by a Storm, and where driven.

The K. of *Portugal* hardly beset by *Boiac*.

Sends for the *English* Ships to assist him with Men.

Upon *Boiac's* Death the *Moors* draw off, and the *English* return well rewarded.

[4.] *Id.* *ib.*
The whole Fleet sail to *Marfeilles*, but missing the K. go on for *Messina*.

[5.] *Id.* p. 383. a.

[1.] *Id.* *ib.*
The K. at *Messina* meets his Fleet, as also the King of *France*.

[2.] *Id.* *ib.* b.
K. *Richard* demands of the K. of *Sicily*, his Sister *Joan*, Widow of the late K. *William*, who is sent to him.

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[3.] *Id. ib.*
The Citizens
of Messina Jeal-
ous of the K.
and why.

[4.] *Id. R. R.*
Lib. 2. cap. 12.

[5.] *Id. cap. 15.*
16.

The K. takes
Messina.

[4.] *Id. ib.*
Which had like
to have occasi-
on'd a Breach
between the
Two Kings.

[3.] *G. F. R.*
R. R.
But it was
made up by
the Mediation
of some Great
Men.

[1.] P. 384. a.

The Custody
of the City de-
liver'd to the
Knights-Hospi-
tallers and Tem-
plars, with K.
Richard's de-
mands were
satisfied.

[3.] Then the day following the King seized the Monastery of the *Griffons*, being a strong place seated on a Rock in the midst of the Streight between *Messina* and *Calabria*, and driving out the Monks put a Garison into it, and made it a Magazine for the Provisions that he had brought in his Fleet: but when the Citizens saw this, and that he had also put his Sister into the strong Castle called *la Baniare* lying on the other side of the *Faro* or Streight of *Messina* with a sufficient Guard, they grew very suspicious of the King, lest he should also seize on the whole *Island*; and this discontent was much increased the next day, when there arose a great Quarrel between the King's Souldiers and the Townsmen, who were a mungrel Race between the *Lombards*, and *Saracens*, and are [4.] by *Geoffrey Winsaulf* called the *Griffons*; but this Quarrel (as this Author relates) began upon no greater provocation, than the taking of a Loaf by one of the King's Souldiers from a Market-woman, at a less Price than she was willing to sell it for; who thereupon crying out, and calling in the *Mob*, or vulgar Townsmen, to her Assistance, they not onely cruelly beat and almost killed this Souldier, but falling upon the Rest of the King's men, began to treat them in the same manner: so that these being forced to defend themselves, there began a most cruel Conflict between them, which came to that Heighth, that the Kings of *France* and *England* being then in a Treaty of Peace, the Latter was fain to break off, and draw out his Men, and presently march to the Assistance of the Rest; who being now joyn'd, fell upon the Townsmen, and not only repuls'd them, and routed those that resisted them, (though underhand supported by the *French*;) but the King also enter'd and took the City, notwithstanding all the opposition could be made against his Forces.

The Taking of this Place had like to have occasion'd a Breach between the Two Kings; for *Philip* envying *Richard's* success when he saw the City was taken, would have had the *English* Banners pull'd down from the Walls, and his own set up in their steads, especially in that part of the City which he had taken up for his own Quarters; [5.] but King *Richard* refusing so to do, it produced very angry words between them: Yet at length, through the Mediation of the Great Men on both sides, the Quarrel was for the present made up, and the King of *France* his Men were to have the Guard of some of the Towers, upon which his Ensigns were also set up, until such time as the Resolutions of King *Tancred* could be known.

[1.] *Roger Hoveden* differs somewhat from *Geoffrey Winsaulf's* Account of this Transaction, and says, That to give the King of *France* some satisfaction, King *Richard* order'd his Ensigns to be taken down from the Walls, and then deliver'd the Custody of the City to the *Knights-Hospitallers*, and *Templars*, until all things that he requir'd from the King of *Sicily* were perform'd: But indeed there was some Reason why the King of *France* should be displeased that King *Richard* should thus mount his Ensigns on the Walls, since the Former having a Part of the City assign'd to him and his Retinue for their Quarters, it seem'd too great an Assuming in the Latter to challenge the whole as his own single Dominion.

[2.] But

[2.] But this Difference being for the present made up, on the Eighth of October the Two Kings, in the presence of their Earls and Barons, with their Clergy and People, again renew'd their former Oaths of Confederacy, that each of them as well in the Pilgrimage as in their Return from thence, should Faithfully defend each other and their Armies; and then all the Earls and Barons swore likewise, that they would observe the same Conditions: Upon this the Kings, by the Consent and Advice of the Commanders and Officers of both Armies, ordain'd certain Rules, or Laws, concerning what Share of their Goods, the Pilgrims who should die in this Expedition might dispose of, for they were to remit nothing home: So at last one half of all such Goods were to be deliver'd into the hands of *Walter* Archbishop of *Rouen*, with the other Bishops and Noblemen there named; for the Succor of the *Holy Land*.

[3.] After this, by the consent of both those Princes, Ambassadors were sent to King *Tancred*, to demand satisfaction of him for the Injuries which had been done to their Subjects; and besides, King *Richard* had further Demands to make on the behalf of his Sister Queen *Joan*; for *Tancred*, Bastard-Brother, and Successor to the late King, then with-held her Dower, and detain'd from her the Personal Estate belonging to her.

At length, after divers Conferences about it, *Tancred* agreed to pay King *Richard* Twenty Thousand Ounces of Gold in Lieu of his Sister's Dower, and Twenty Thousand more in consideration of a Marriage to be contracted between *Arthur* Duke of *Bretagne*, King *Richard*'s Nephew, and *Tancred*'s Daughter: Also upon sealing the Charter of Peace between them, King *Tancred* paid him Twenty Thousand Ounces of Gold more, to be free from all other Demands concerning the Plate, and other Rich Moveables belonging to the late King, as appears by King *Richard*'s Charter to *Tancred*; which is at large in [4.] *Roger Hoveden*.

Then the Earls, Barons and Bishops of each King swore on the behalf of their respective Masters, that they should truly observe the Peace now made; and that whosoever of them first broke it, the Great Men belonging to that Prince should immediately deliver themselves up Prisoners to the other, if they were so required.

[5.] And King *Richard* the better to assure *Tancred* of the Sincerity of his Intentions, as to whatever he had promised, then wrote Letters to the Pope, wherein he gave him a full Account of this Agreement, desiring his Holiness's Confirmation of the said Contract of Marriage, and that he would be his Guarantee for the performance of it; in which Letter he also declares his Nephew Duke *Arthur* his Heir, in case he himself should dye without Issue; as may be seen in the Epistle it self recited at large in the same Author.

[6.] Our Author likewise tells us, that King *Richard* had before demanded of *Tancred* a Golden Table Twelve Foot long, with a great deal of Plate and other Rich Moveables, all which he claim'd to be due to him as Heir to his Father King *Henry*, to whom the late King *William* had bequeath'd them on his Death-bed; he also demanded on the behalf of his Sister a Gold Chair with several Lands and Territories for her jointure: but at last all these Rich moveables were released upon payment of the Sixty Thousand Ounces of

Gold

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[1.] *Id. ib.*

The Two Kings renew their former Oaths of Confederacy.

[3.] *Id. ib.*

G. V. R. R.
L. 2. c. 17. 18.
Ambassadors sent to K. Tancred to demand Satisfaction for Injuries done.

What *Tancred* gave King *Richard* on Sealing the Charter of Peace.

[4.] *Id.*

The Earls and Barons of each King take an Oath on the behalf of their respective Masters.

[5.] *Id. p. 386. a.*
King *Richard* gives the Pope an Account of his Agreement with *Tancred*.

King *Richard* writes to the Pope to confirm the Contract of Marriage between his Nephew *Arthur*, and *Tancred*'s Daughter.

[6.] *P. 383. b.*
King *Richard*'s Demands upon K. *Tancred*.

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[2.] *Id. ib. p.*
390. b.

The Deaths of
several Great
Persons in
their Pilgrimage to the
Holy-Land.

Gold abovemention'd, which vast Sums he divided with the King of France, though it was more than he was obliged to do by his Contract with him.

I can find nothing else worth noting to have happen'd this Year in Relation to our *English* Affairs; [2.] but the Deaths of divers Persons of great Quality in their Pilgrimage to the *Holy-Land*; such as were *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, who died in *Romania* in his Journey thither; as likewise *Ranulph de Glanville* the late Justiciary, and *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who both deceased near *Acon* during the Siege there; besides a great many other Princes, Bishops, and Noblemen of Foreign Countries, whose Names our Author hath left us, but which are needless to be recited here; who all died during the tedious Siege of that Place.

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[3.] *G. p. b.*
R. R. l. 2. c. 24.

He invites the
K. of France to
a splendid Entertainment
at Messina, and
makes him
mighty Rich
Presents.

[4.] *Id. cap. 22.*
R. H. p. 391. b.

The Kings of
England and
Sicily at an Entertainment
solemnly take
leave of one
another.

[5.] *Id. p. 392. a.*

The supposed
Treachery of
Philip K. of
France.

Who, by a Letter
sent to the
K. of Sicily, declared
the K. of England a
Traytor to
him.

And promised
him his Assistance
to destroy that
Prince and
his Army.

The King of
England assures
him he would
observe the
Peace so long
as he lived.

[3.] King *Richard* continuing still at *Messina*, there kept a Magnificent *Christmas* in the wooden Fort or Castle called *Mase Griffon*, (*i. e.* a Match for the *Griffons*), which he had lately built for his own Security; and thither he invited the King of *France* with all his Nobles to a very splendid Entertainment, where he gave the *French* King many Rich presents; and our Author relates him to be so Liberal, that he gave away more in one month than his Predecessors had done in a whole Year. But to return to more serious matters.

[4.] Not long after this Festival, there was a solemn Interview between the Kings of *England* and *Sicily* at the City of *Catanea*, where they took their leaves of each other with Extraordinary tokens of Honour and Respect; and from that time forward there was a firm Peace maintain'd between the King's Subjects and the Citizens of *Messina*, so long as he continued there. *Geoffrey Winsaulf* makes this Interview to have been before *Christmas*, though I rather chuse to follow *R. Hoveden*, who places it sometime after.

[5.] But I cannot here omit what the last Author also relates, concerning the Treachery of *Philip* King of *France*, which (if true) would derogate very much from the Honour of that Prince, to whom the *French* give the Surname of *Augustus*; it was thus. *Tancred*, as he brought back King *Richard* on his way towards *Messina*, before they parted, shewed him a Letter, which he said he had received from the King of *France* by the Duke of *Burgundy*; in which he declared, That the King of *England* was a Traytor, and would not keep the Peace he had made with him; and that if he would set upon him by Night, he would assist him with his Forces to destroy that Prince with all his Army; To whom King *Richard* reply'd, "That he never had been nor would be a Traytor; and for the Agreement he had made with him, he would observe it so long as he liv'd, and that he could not easily believe the King of *France* would send him such a Letter. To whom *Tancred* answer'd, That if the Duke of *Burgundy* should deny that he gave him those Letters as from the King of *France*, he was ready to disprove him by one of his own Dukes; whereupon *Richard*, at his Return to *Messina*, presently appeared very strange and reserved towards the King of *France*, who enquiring into the Reason of it, the King sent him word by the Earl

of

of *Flanders*, that he had receiv'd such a Letter with the contents of it; and gave it to the Earl to peruse, and then desired him to shew it to King *Philip*; which he did: whereupon the King of *France* was struck silent for a while; but at last recovering himself, said; That this Letter was only a Trick of King *Richard's* to get rid of his Sister *Alice* (whom he had sworn to marry) and then threatned, That if ever he left her and married another Woman, he would be his Enemy as long as he lived.

Yet upon the whole, this I think may be said in behalf of both these Princes, that they seem to be persons of too great Honour, the One to write such a Letter, or the Other to forget it; and that the cunning *Sicilian* used this Stratagem to work them up to a hatred and distrust of each other, that so they might not combine together to do him any prejudice. But be this as it will;

[1.] The King of *England* return'd in answer to King *Philip's* Threats, That he could by no means make that Lady his Wife, because his Father had already layn with, and begotten a Son of her, and offer'd to prove it by good Witnesses: Whereupon, the matter of Fact appearing to the King of *France* to be so, there was, by the Advice of the Earl of *Flanders* and Others of his Great Men, a Composition made between them on these Terms, (*viz.*) the King of *France* was to acquit him of the Oath and Agreement he had made concerning his Sister *Alice*; and on this consideration King *Richard* was to pay him for Five years next ensuing the Sum of Twenty Thousand Marks, whereof he then paid Two Thousand in hand, and was besides to deliver up *Gisors* and what else the King of *France* had given him on Account of that intended Mariage; and upon this he was at Liberty to marry whom he pleased: And the Agreement further was, That by his Charter the King of *France* granted that the Duchy of *Bretaigne* should for ever belong to the Dominion of the Duke of *Normandy*, and that the Duke of *Bretaigne* should always be his * *Fendatary* for it, and should perform all things to him as to his *Liege Lord*; but that the Duke of *Normandy* should answer to the King of *France* for both Dukedoms.

And thus for the present they were outwardly made friends, and the Agreement was confirm'd by their mutual Oaths and Seals, with the Addition of many Witnesses. But notwithstanding all this, King *Tancred's* late Information bred such a Distrust and Jealousy between these Two Princes, that they were no more to be reconciled; the King of *France* ever after endeavouring to do King *Richard* all the mischief he could, as will be further seen in the sequel of this History.

[2.] All things being thus agreed, in the Month of *February* following, King *Richard* sent his Gallies from *Messina* to *Naples*, to fetch his Mother Queen *Eleanor* and the Lady *Berengera*, Daughter to *Sanctio* King of *Navarre*, whom he intended to marry: It seems they had come through *France* and *Italy* to *Naples* by Land, and had been in all Places received with great Honour by the Subjects of King *Tancred*.

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And sends the E. of *Flanders* to the King of *France* to acquaint him with the Contents of the Letter.

How he gets off it, and threatens K. *Richard*, if he marries not his Sister *Alice*.

This was supposed but a Stratagem of the *Sicilian* Prince.

[1.] *Id. ib.*

K. *Richard* offers to prove that she had had a Child by his Father, and therefore he could not make her his Wife.

The Two Ks. come to a Composition.

The Duchy of *Bretaigne* to belong to the Dominion of the Duke of *Normandy*.

* *From suus.* And the Duke of *Normandy* to answer to the K. of *France* for both Dukedoms.

The Agreement confirm'd by their mutual Oaths and Seals, and many Witnesses to them.

[2.] *Id. ib. b.*

King *Richard* sends his Gallies from *Messina* to *Naples*, to fetch his Mother and the Lady *Berengera*.

But

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But before I conclude the Relation of what had happened at *Messina*, shall mention an Accident, which though of no very great moment in it self, yet since it gives us some clearer knowledge of this King's Temper, methinks deserves a little of our Observation.

[3.] It happened that King *Richard* having spent the Holy-day (by us called *Candlemas-day*) very pleasantly with some of King *Philip's* Officers, they rode out towards Evening to divert themselves without the Town, and in their way met a Peasant driving an Ass that was laden with Canes, which they soon eased the Beast of, and began to throw them at each other in sport, therein imitating the *Moors*, who mightily use this Recreation: but this Jestling did not end till it came to Earnest; for King *Richard* having chosen one *William de Barres*, a French Knight, of great Valour and Strength, for his Antagonist, he so roughly encounter'd the King, that he tore his Cloaths; which provok'd him to that degree, that presently clapping Spurs to his Horse, he ran with such Violence against him, as made him stagger in his Saddle; but he not falling, the King redoubled his Blow, the force of which made the Saddle of his own Horse to turn round, insomuch that he was immediately obliged to leap off, and mount a fresh one; but the obstinate Resistance of *De Barres* still more and more inflam'd the King, who strove all he could to make him quit his Stirrups, though he was not able to gain his Point, I mean, to dismount his Antagonist, who ought to have had so much complaisance for a King, as to suffer himself to be dismounted by him: However he shew'd a particular Generosity in this, that he would not permit the Earl of *Leicester* to meddle in the Fray, though he offer'd to come in to his Assistance. The King perceiving he was not able to get the better of him, was so enraged, that had he not had recourse to some remains of Reason left in him, he would certainly in the Heat of his Transport have done him some mischief: but to prevent that, he made use of his Royal Authority, and all on the sudden said, Go, retire, and take care never to appear before me, for I will never pardon you, and you and I must be eternal Enemies for the future. Whereupon *De Barres* beginning to recollect, that he with whom he had thus engaged, was not his Equal, but a King, yielded to his Command; and bowing, immediately retir'd to relate this Adventure to his Master King *Philip*; who being very much concern'd at it, went the next day to King *Richard* to desire pardon for him, supposing that by that time the King's Passion might be abated; when, contrary to his Expectation, he would not, for all the Entreaties he could use, be reconciled to *De Barres*, or grant him his Pardon, unless he would come and cast himself at his Feet, and confess his Fault; which the Knight being too stout to submit to, the King of *France* was forced for a time to dismiss that gallant Man his Service, because he would not displease King *Richard*.

This Story lets us see, that as the King had the Courage, so he had likewise somewhat in him of the fierceness of that Beast, from whence he afterwards obtain'd the Sirname of *Cœur de Lyon*.

But



But it is now Time to look back to *England*, and see what hath been transacted there during the King's Absence; where it seems [4.] had happen'd a great Dissention between the Bishop of *Ely*, Chief Justiciary and Chancellor, and Earl *John* the King's Brother, and the other Great Men of the Kingdom, which grew to such an Heighth, that they all wrote to the King concerning the sad State of the Realm, and the Grievances the People sustain'd by the Chancellor's Arbitrary Government; who despising all those whom the King had left to be his Copartners, would allow no Man, no, not so much as the King's Brother, to be his Equal; but oppressed the People of *England* with cruel Exactions, and took both from the Clergy and Laity their Churches, Lands, and Possessions as he pleased, challenging to himself all Rights and Prerogatives appertaining to the King.

And whenever this Bishop travelled, it was with such Pomp of Attendants, and such a Superfluity of Horses, Dogs, and Hawks, that if in his Progress he happen'd to stay longer than one Night at any Bishop's See, Abbey, or other Religious House, they were not able to recover themselves again in Three Years. Such was the State of Affairs in this Kingdom soon after the King's departure the last Year, and they still grew worse and worse, till he now receiv'd Letters [5.] out of *England*, which gave him a large and full Account of the lamentable State of his Kingdom, and the great Grievances the People sustain'd by the Chancellor's evil Government; who upon the receipt of these Letters presently sent from *Messina*, *Walter* Archbishop of *Rouën*, and *William* the Marechal, Earl of *Striguil*, Commanding his Chancellor, That all things relating to the Kingdom should be transacted by the Advice and Assistance of the Archbishop of *Rouën*, and the joynt Advice and Direction of *William* the Marechal, *Geoffrey Fitz-Peter*, *Hugh Bardolph* and *William Brimere*.

You may find in \* *Rad. de Diceso*, that the King's Order was much more express; for therein he ordained, that if his Chancellor did not faithfully manage the Affairs of the Kingdom according to the Advice of the Parties above-mention'd, they might then act without him, and dispose of all things relating to publick Affairs, as also to his Castles and Escheats, and that without any delay; and that thereupon *Walter* Archbishop of *Rouën* returning into *England* about the end of *April*, brought along with him the King's Letters directed to *William* Bishop of *Ely* his Chancellor, and *Geoffrey Fitz-Peter* and the other Noblemen above-mention'd; wherein he orders them to act nothing without the Advice of *Walter* Archbishop of *Rouën*, whom he had sent over to them for the better defence of the Kingdom: Therefore what was done afterwards by Earl *John* and the said Archbishop in rising against, and deposing the Chancellor from his Office, as you will find anon, was not done (as \* *Dr. Brady* would have it) by the fury of a Treiterous Faction, but by the King's own Authority, and in persuance of his Commission against a Man, who (as *R. Hoveden* tells us) kept the whole Kingdom in such Awe, that when the Archbishop and Earl arrived here, they durst not deliver him the King's Letters, for he despised his Mandates, and would admit of no Equal in the Government of the Kingdom.

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[4.] *Id. ib.* 387. b.  
W. N.

Great Dissention during the King's absence from *England* between his Chief Justiciary and Earl *John*, &c.

The Bp. of *Ely* rules by an arbitrary Power, not suffering so much as Earl *John* to be his Equal. The extravagant Pomp of his travelling.

[5.] *Id. p.* 391. b.

King *Richard* sends *Walter* A Bp. of *Rouën*, and *Wm.* Earl of *Striguil* with Letters to the Chancellor, that they and others should be joyn'd in the Administration of the Government. \* *Col.* 659.

\* *Comp. Hist.*  
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[1.] *Belfrey*, p. 563. a. K. Philip earnestly presses the K. of England to go along with him to the Holy Land, but he puts it off, and for what Reasons.

[2.] *Id. R. R. ib. c. 26.* The Queen-Mother, and Lady Berengera, arrive at Messina.

[3.] *R. H. 392. b.* The King of France with his Army arrives at Acon.

[4.] *Id. ib.* King Richard sends to the Pope to confirm and consecrate his Brother Geoffrey A. Bp. of York.

[5.] *Id. ib. b.*

[1.] *Id. 392. b.* Pope Clement the Third dies, and Jacinthus succeeds him by the Name of Celestine III. He crowns the Emperor Henry and Constantine his Wife in person.

The Manner of their Coronation.

But it is time to look back to the Affairs in *Sicily*, where (as the [1.] *French* Historians relate) the Spring being now come, King Philip was eager to set Sail for the *Holy Land*, and earnestly press'd King Richard to accompany him, who still put it off as long as he could; and the reason they assign for his so doing, is, that he stay'd behind to assist Tancred against the Emperor Henry his Competitor: But this is not at all likely, since I cannot find the Emperor had at that time begun any War with Tancred: but the Truth is, the King had hitherto stay'd in expectation of his Spouse, who was but just then arrived; He was also forced to new rig and careen all his Fleet, which was very much worm-eaten in those Seas; besides, he had built many new ones for his intended Voyage, and those were not yet ready. But to proceed in our History.

[2.] The King having (as you have heard some time before) sent his Gallies to fetch his Mother and his Spouse Berengera from *Naples*, they both safely arrived at *Messina* on Saturday after Lady-day, and were received by King Richard with great Joy and Complaisance; for that young Princess being very Beautiful, and of an excellent Disposition, he had been in Love with her before he was King.

[3.] Immediately after their Arrival, the King of France departed from *Messina*, being attended by King Richard to the Sea-side, where he embarked with all his Army, and in Two and Twenty days got as far as *Acon*, a City in *Palestine*, antiently call'd *Prolemais*, from *Prolomy* King of Egypt, its Founder.

[4.] Within Four days after King Philip's departure, Queen Eleanor also took her Leave of the King her Son, in order to go for *England*, by the way of *Rome*; and by her, the King sent to the Pope, humbly requesting of him, that he would confirm the Election of his Brother Geoffrey, and consecrate him Archbishop of *Tork*, or permit it to be done by some other person; the reason of which, I suppose, was, because he would thereby avoid the old Controversy that was again revived by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s late Appeal concerning the new Archbishop's making profession of Obedience to him.

[5.] After the Departure of Queen Eleanor, the Lady Berengera remain'd in the Company of Queen Joan, Dowager of *Sicily*; but the Princess was not married to King Richard till his Arrival in the Isle of *Cyprus*, in the Month of *April*, as you will find anon. But to proceed to other Affairs.

Whilst the King continued at *Messina*, [1.] Pope Clement the Third deceased, to whom succeeded Jacinthus, Deacon Cardinal of *St. Mary* in *Cosmedim*, and in May following he was consecrated Pope by the name of Celestine the Third; the day after whose Consecration, the Emperor Henry the Sixth, with Constantine his Empress, arrived at *Rome*, to be there Crowned by the new Pope, which Ceremony he perform'd in Person; and the Manner of it being extraordinary, I shall here give it you from our Author *R. Hoveden*.

The Pope being seated on high in his Pontifical Throne, the Emperor and the Empress kneeled down before him, and he holding the Imperial Crown between his Feet, therewith first put it upon the Emperor's Head, and afterwards upon that of the Empress: To which



which our Author further adds, That so soon as the Pope had thus Crown'd the Emperor with his Feet, he with one of them struck off the Crown to the ground, to denote, that as he had bestow'd the Imperial Crown upon him, so he had power also of Deposing him if he thought good. By this we see to what a Height the Pope's Power was then grown? And though his Predecessors not many years before could never be ordain'd till the Emperor had confirm'd the Election, yet he then claim'd to make and depose Emperors at his pleasure. But to return to our History.

I can find nothing else remarkable to be perform'd by King *Richard* during his Stay at *Messina*, [2.] but that famous Law he had made there concerning Shipwrecks; which was to this effect:

That for the Good of his own and his Parent's Souls, every person that suffer'd Shipwreck, and got safe on shore, should enjoy all his Goods; but if he died on Shipboard, his Children, or other nearest Relations, were to have the Goods, according as they could make out their being next of Kin; but if they had no Heirs, nor Near Relations, then the King was to have their Goods. This Concession of Wrecks the King made by way of Charter, dated in *October*, in the Second Year of his Reign, in the presence of *Walter* Archbishop of *Rouen*, and divers other Bishops; which shews, That the Law concerning Shipwrecks was very severe, if not cruel, before this King's Concession of them to the Sufferers, or their Relations.

[3.] Also this Year, (but whither it were done at *Messina* or not, our Author does not mention) the King conferr'd upon his Nephew *Otto* Duke of *Saxony*, Son to his Sister *Mathilda*, the Earldom of *York*: But though many Tenants had acknowledged him, and done their Homages and Fealties to him, yet several refused it, saying, They could not depart from their Fealty to the King, till they had his consent by word of mouth: wherefore the King gave the said Duke the Earldom of *Positow* in Exchange; but that he ever enjoy'd it, I can no where find.

[4.] King *Richard* had been now Six Months at *Messina*, and having made all things ready for his departure, at last, about the end of *April*, he Embark'd, and set Sail with his whole Fleet, (consisting of One Hundred and Fifty great Ships, and Fifty Three Gallies well arm'd.) On *Saturday* following there happened a great Storm from the South, which separated the Fleet, and the King with part of it was driven into the Isle of *Crete*; from thence he sailed to *Rhodes*, and staid there Ten days to refresh himself, (being very much discomposed) and also to wait for those other Ships and Gallies he had left behind him, and which he expected would follow him thither: But the great Buss, which had in her the Queen of *Sicily*, the Lady *Berengera*, and many of the King's Servants, with Two other Busses, were driven upon the Isle of *Cyprus*. After the Storm was over, the King sent out some Gallies to seek for the Royal Buss, and at last found it without the Port of *Limezan* in *Cyprus*; but the other Two perish'd at the Entrance into the Port, and with them many Knights and Servants of the King. Upon this *Isaac* (or, as others call him, *Corfæ*) then King of *Cyprus*, who also stiled himself Emperor of *Greece*, seiz'd on all the Goods of the Shipwreck'd Vessels, and those persons that escap'd he rifled and imprison'd, and would not per-

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The Pope  
Crowns the  
Emperor with  
his Feet, and  
afterwards  
kicks it off his  
Head to the  
ground.

[2.] *Id.* p. 386. b.

K. Richard's  
Law that he  
made at *Messina*  
concerning  
Shipwrecks.

[3.] *Id.* p. 390. a.  
The K. con-  
ferr's on his  
Nephew *Otto*  
the Earldom  
of *York*.

Several refuse  
to pay Ho-  
mage and Fe-  
alty to him  
for it.

Whereupon  
the K. gave  
him the Earl-  
dom of *Positow*  
in Exchange.

[4.] R. H. p.  
393. a.  
King *Richard*  
Embarks from  
*Messina*.

His Fleet  
separated by a  
great Storm;  
some part of  
it with him-  
self driven in-  
to the Isle of  
*Crete*.

The great Buss  
with the Roy-  
al Princesses  
driven on the  
Isle of *Cyprus*.

The King of  
*Cyprus* his In-  
humanity to  
the Ladies,  
and the other  
Shipwreck'd  
persons.



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[1.] *Id. ib.*  
The K. of Eng-  
land hearing  
where the Buss  
& other Ships  
were gone,  
went after  
them with his  
Fleet, & found  
them exposed  
to the Wind  
and Sea.

He sends to  
the Emperor  
to release his  
Prisoners, but  
he will not.

[1.] *Id. ib.*  
*It. R. H. l. 2 c. 32.*

King Richard  
takes *Limezun*  
by Assault, and  
puts the Em-  
peror and his  
Army to  
flight.

[2.] *R. H. 393. b.*  
King Richard  
enters the Ci-  
ty in Tri-  
umph.

[3.] *Id. ib.*  
The Greek  
Emperor de-  
sires Peace of  
K. Richard by  
his Ambassa-  
dors, and up-  
on what terms.

He waits up-  
on him in  
Person, and  
swears Fealty  
to him.

mit the Great Buss wherein the Princesses were to enter into his Har-  
bour.

[5.] King *Richard* receiving Intelligence whither the Buss and the Other Ships were gone, made what hast he could after them; and coming to their Assistance with all the rest of his Fleet, found the Buss (as I said before) without the Port, exposed to the Wind and Seas; for the Queen and Princess, and those that attended on them, durst not go on Shore, because of the Emperor's perfidiousness, and the vile Treatment the Islanders had shewn to those that had been Shipwreck'd: Whereupon the King sent to the Emperor, and pressed him with much Earnestness, (and that more than once,) to release the Prisoners, and restore them their Goods; but he still return'd haughty Answers, and would not comply with so just and reasonable a Request.

[1.] The King being provok'd with these Barbarities, presently call'd for his Arms, and leaping into a Boat, Commanded his Sould-ers to follow his Example; and meeting in the Port with Five *Cyprian* Gallies, besides many small Boats, He either took or put them all to Flight, and was himself the first that leaped on Shore, notwithstanding all the Resistance the Emperor and his Forces (who were drawn up there) could possibly make; He then and part of his Army being Landed, soon utterly routed the Enemy, and took the City of *Limezun*, or *Limisso*, which was antiently call'd *Amathus*, and put the Emperor and his Army to Flight, having been vanquish'd in another Battle, as also in a Skirmish the Day following, in which King *Richard* routed a great part of the *Cyprian* Army with no more than Fifty Horse, the Emperor himself shamefully running away to a Castle call'd *Nicossia*.

[2.] Upon which King *Richard* made a Triumphant Entry into the City of *Limezun*, and about Three days after, *Guy*, King of *Jerusalem*, arrived there from the *Holy-Land* to implore the King's Assistance for the Recovery of his lost Kingdom, being attended by *Geoffrey* his Brother, *Raymond* Prince of *Antioch*, and *Boamond* Earl of *Tripoly*, his Son, with divers other Noblemen, who all did Homage to the King, and swore Fealty to him against all Men.

[3.] The same Day the *Greek* Emperor seeing himself without any hopes of Assistance, sent Ambassadors to the King, desiring Peace, upon these Conditions:

First he proffer'd the King Twenty Thousand Marks of Gold in compensation of the Damages that he had sustain'd, with all the Prisoners that had been taken, as also their Goods, and that he would accompany the King in Person in this Expedition to the *Holy-Land* with Five Hundred Horse, and as many Foot, all well Armed; and that for the performance of these Articles, he would deliver his only Daughter as a Pledge of his Fidelity, together with several strong Castles, into the King's hands, and would swear Fealty to him, and ever after hold his Empire of him.

These Conditions, which were very honourable for the King, being by him accepted, the Emperor thereupon waited on him in Person, and there before the King of *Jerusalem*, the Prince of *Antioch*, and the rest of the Great Noblemen, he swore Fealty to the King; as also, that he would not leave him till he had perform'd whatever had been thus solemnly



solemnly agreed on between them: Upon which the King was so well satisfied, that he restored to the Emperor all his Rich Tents and Plate which had been taken from him in the last Battle, and also assign'd him a Guard for his Person; but it seems the very same day, He repenting of this Agreement, fled away privately, whilst his Guards (during the Heat of the Day) were gone to sleep; and then he sent the King word, that he would not make Peace with him upon any Terms. The King was not much concern'd at this piece of Treachery, but, like a Wise General, He presently gave part of his Army to King *Guy*, and to the Prince of *Antioch*, with some others, ordering them to pursue the Emperor and take him if they could; he likewise divided his Gallies into Two Squadrons, and delivered one half of them to *Robert de Torneham*, commanding him to take all the Ships and Gallies he could meet with, whilst the King himself sail'd round the other side of the Island to do the like: But the Governors of the Cities and Castles on the Sea-Coasts presently surrender'd them up either to the King or *Robert de Torneham* upon their approach; and the Emperor's Subjects flocked in to the King, and submitted themselves to him, though he himself fled away to the City of *Famagosta*, where we shall leave him for some time.

[4.] In the mean while King *Richard* repos'd himself some days at *Limezon*, and that he might at last enjoy the Fruits of his Labours, was there married to the Lady *Berengera* on the Twelfth of *May*, by *Nicholas* his Chaplain, with as much Solemnity, as the Shortness of the time would permit, all the Bishops and Great Men who attended him, being present at the Nuptials. Then, on the same day, he made his Bride to be Solemnly Crowned Queen of *England*, by *John* Bishop of *Eureux* and some other Bishops, who assisted at the performance of that Ceremony.

But I must here take notice, that I find some small difference between *Roger Hoveden* and [5.] *Geoffrey Vinsauf*, concerning the Manner of the late Interview between the King and the Greek Emperor; the Former making him to have come to the King, whilst the Latter says, That they met in a great Plain near the City of *Limezon*, lying between the High-way leading to it and the Sea-side, which seems the more probable of the two; and he also gives us a pompous Description of the Magnificence of the King's Habit, and how bravely he was mounted on a *Spanish Ginnel*, with other particulars of this meeting, too long to be here inserted. I shall only observe, that the Author last mention'd, gives us an Account why the Emperor broke his Word with the King, which was by reason of the Villany of a certain Common Souldier, who stealing by Night from the King's Quarters to the Emperor's Camp, in hopes of a Reward, made him believe how King *Richard* intended that Night to set upon him by Surprise, and take him Prisoner; the Emperor too easily giving credit to him, in a great Fright stole away privately, leaving all his Tents and Baggage behind him, and fled to the City of *Famagosta*, as has been already related.

But to give you the rest of this Transaction all together; upon news hereof, King *Richard* after his Mariage followed him thither by Sea, having in the mean time committed the Conduct of his Army to *Guy* King of *Jerusalem*, who was to march with it to *Famagosta*; the

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But the same day he flies privately away, and sends the K. word he would not stand to the Peace.

The K. pursues him with part of his Army.

But he gets to *Famagosta*.

[4.] *Id. ib.*

King *Richard* is married to the Lady *Berengera*.

[5.] *L. 2. c. 36.*  
Some different Relations about the K's Interview with the Greek Emperor.

The Emperor upon a false suggestion of a Souldier, flies to *Famagosta*, and leaves his Tents and Baggage behind him.



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K Richard following him, he retires to the Mountains with his Souldiers for their greater Security.

The K. going to take Nicotia, is assaulted in the way by the Greek Emperor.

[1.] *Id. ib.*

C. 39. But the King puts him to flight, and takes many of his Souldiers Prisoners.

Nicotia surrenders to him.

[2.] *Id. ib.*

Several of the Emperor's Castles taken by K. Richard's Army.

*Cherimes* surrendered, and the Emperor's only Daughter.

[3.] *Id. ib. c. 40.*

The Emperor being discouraged by these Losses, submits to the King's Mercy.

Who receives him kindly, and orders his Daughter to be brought to him.

The K. having taken all Cyprus, with a vast Treasure, returns to Limexun.

[4.] *Id. ib.*

Before his Departure, he sends the Emperor to Tripoly, bound in Silver Fetters.

And commits his Daughter to the Care of Q. Berengera.

King being arrived there, found the City deserted by the Emperor, and his Souldiers; who, to avoid the Siege, had fled into certain mountainous and woody Places for their greater security. King *Richard* being come before that City with his *Galley's*, staid there Three days, and from thence march'd to take *Nicotia*, but in his way thither, he was set upon by about Seven Hundred *Greeks*, that lay in Ambush to intercept him, and were commanded by their Emperor in person; but He finding he could not break the King's Ranks himself, shot certain poisoned Arrows at him, which put King *Richard* into such a passion, that he spurred his Horse with a full Career and Resolution to run the Emperor through with his Lance; [1.] but he perceiving the Danger, presently fled himself away upon a swift Courser to a Castle call'd *Candayra*; his Forces being routed, and many of his Men taken Prisoners, the King came to *Nicotia*, which voluntarily surrender'd it self, and here he staid some time for the Recovery of his Health, which was much impair'd by his late fatigues.

[2.] But while He lay thus indisposed, the King of *Jerusalem* having divided King *Richard's* Army into Three parts, march'd to besiege Three strong Castles of the Emperor's, Two of which were presently taken; and the Third (call'd *Cherimes*) being stronger than the other two, was invested both by Sea and Land; but at last the Besieged, finding no hopes of relief, surrender'd it together with the Emperor's only Daughter, and a great deal of Treasure; the news of which made him almost desperate, Upon this King *Guy* return'd with the Army to *Nicotia*, from whence *Richard*, so soon as he was recovered, went and besieged, and took another strong Castle called *Bufferentum*, which was till then thought impregnable.

[3.] When the Emperor saw his Daughter and all his strong places thus suddenly taken, and that no hopes were left in Resistance, He, (as proud and insolent Men, when Conquer'd, being always most mean and abject) now resolved speedily to submit himself to King *Richard's* mercy; and having sent some Messengers before to mollify his Anger, he himself, from his Castle of *Candayra*, came in a mournful Habit, and cast himself down at the King's Feet; who being moved with a tender Compassion, presently raised him up, and set him by his side; and then ordering his Daughter to be brought forth, the Emperor most tenderly embraced and kiss'd her.

Thus King *Richard* took the whole Island of *Cyprus*, together with the King, or Emperor, and a vast Treasure in Jewels, ready-mony, plate, and other precious moveables; which being so happily dispatched, He returned to the City of *Limexun*, where he had left his Queen, and all his Carriage.

[4.] But his affairs now requiring his speedy departure, (the King of *France* having sent Messengers to hasten him to the Siege of *Acon*) he then delivered up the Emperour *Isaac*, bound in Silver Fetters to the custody of King *Guy*, who sent him Prisoner to *Tripoly* in *Syria*; for the King having promised him upon his surrendring himself (and at his earnest desire) that he should not be put in Irons, the foolish Prince had (it seems) forgot, that Chains might be made of any other mettle: but for the Princess his Daughter, she was committed to the care of Queen *Berengera*.

Then



Then the King put the Government of the Island of Cyprus into the hands of *Richard de Camville* and *Robert le Torneham*, who staying behind, receiv'd one half of the Goods and Riches of all the Inhabitants of the Island, on Condition that they should have those Laws and Privileges confirm'd to them which they had enjoyed in the time of *Emanuel*, late Emperor of *Constantinople*.

But before I come to King *Richard's* arrival at *Acon*, it may not be improper for the Instruction, as well as Diversion of the Reader, to give some Account both of the Beginning and Progress of those former Expeditions to the *Holy Land* (commonly stiled *Crusadoes*) till we bring them to this present time, in which this Prince made so great a Figure; which in short is thus.

The superstitious zeal of this, as well, as of the former Century, being kindled by the Pope, and certain Bigotted Monks, had so prepossessed all Ranks of Men, both Princes and Subjects, that they believed these Warlike Pilgrimages to be the most Holy and Meritorious Actions that *Christians* could possibly undertake, since they thereby proposed to rescue *Jerusalem*, and the Sepulchre of *Christ*, out of the hands of Infidels.

And they received the name of *Crusadoes* from the Figure of the Cross, which all those that had vow'd this Pilgrimage, wore upon their upper Garments: these consecrated Armies were list'd at divers times, under several *Christian* Princes, according as their present Zeal excited them; yet the Pope was commonly esteem'd their Head, and his Legates often presid'd in their Camps; and without their Approbation they seldom engaged in any Enterprize.

I shall therefore a little to refresh the Reader's memory put him in mind, [5.] that the first of these *Crusadoes* (for I do not make any Account of the unfortunate Expedition under *Peter the Hermit*) was undertaken *A. D.* 1096, when all *Palestine* was conquer'd from the *Saracens*, and *Jerusalem* made the Capital City of that Kingdom, under *Godfrey of Boloigne*.

The Second Expedition of any note was undertaken by *Lewis* the Seventh, King of *France*; to expiate the terrible Slaughter that had been committed by his Orders at the Siege of *Vitry*, who was also assisted by *Conrade*, Emperor of *Germany*: But of whom I shall say no more, than that through the Treachery of the *Greek* Emperor *Emanuel*, his whole Army perish'd by the way, without ever reaching the *Holy Land*.

But as for the Occasion of this Expedition, we must look somewhat Higher; [1.] for after *Godfrey of Boloigne* had been succeeded by his Brother *Baldwin*, and He by his Cousin of the same Name, all Three valiant and pious Princes, who kept by their Wisdom what they had at first acquired by their Valour; their Successors not inheriting their virtues, though they did their Crowns, lost that Kingdom which had been gain'd with the Expence of so much Blood and Treasure; since by quarrelling among themselves, they more eagerly sought each other's ruine, than how either to defend themselves, or Conquer their Enemies.

[2.] For *Fulk*, Earl of *Anjou*, who had, in Right of his Wife *Melissende*, succeeded to the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, deceasing after Eleven Year's Reign, she took upon her the Government with the Guardianship

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A short Account of the Beginning & Progress of the former Expeditions to the Holy Land.

The superstitious Zeal of this and the former Century for Crusades.

From whence the Name Crusado came.

The first Crusado was undertaken *A. D.* 1096. [5.] *Id.* Hist. Will. Tyr. l. 1, 2.

The 2d Crusado. *A. D.* 1146. *Id.* l. 16.

The Occasion of this Expedition. [1.] *Id.* l. 9, 10, 11, 12.

[2.] *Id.* l. 14. *A. D.* 1131.



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[3] Id. l. 16.  
A. D. 1143.

The intestine  
Quarrels in  
Baldwin's Mi-  
nority gave  
the Saracens  
an easy en-  
trance into  
Palestine.

A. D. 1146.  
[4] Id. ib.

K. Lewis get-  
ting as far as  
Antioch, is  
joyfully re-  
ceived by P.  
Raymond.

Who would  
fin have had  
him use his  
Forces against  
the Saracens in  
those parts, but  
the K. refusing  
it he became  
his Enemy.

The K. steals  
away by night  
for the Holy-  
Land, his For-  
ces following  
after.

But having  
no good suc-  
cess there, he  
and his Queen  
return into  
Europe.

A. D. 1148.  
[5] Id. ib.

[1] Id. l. 17.  
A. D. 1162.

On Baldwin III.  
Death, Amaury  
his Brother  
succeeds to  
the Crown,

Who reigns 11  
years, and dies.

Baldwin the  
Leper, his ori-  
ginal Son suc-  
ceeds him.

A. D. 1173.

[2] Jacob de  
Verraco, Hist.  
Hierosol.

The Earl of  
Tripoly helps  
Saladin to take  
Acon.

Ship of his Two Children, [3.] Baldwin the eldest being then but Thirteen years old, in whose Minority happen'd those Quarrels, Disorders and Confusions, which gave the Saracens a safe and easy Entrance into Palestine: For Sanguin, Sultan of Babylon, had some time before seized the Principality of Edessa, one of the Provinces of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and now vigorously attacked the rest.

Upon this news, King Lewis renew'd his Vow for the Crusado, being highly encouraged to it by the Pope himself, excited by St. Bernard, who preach'd up, and prophesied (though falsely) all good success to this Expedition. [4.] In short, King Lewis getting with great difficulty and dangers as far as Antioch, he was there joyfully received by Raymond, Prince of that Territory, and Uncle to Queen Eleanor, who accompanied the King her Husband in this Expedition.

But Raymond hoping to make his best advantage of the King's Forces, would fain have perswaded him to have used them against the Saracens in those parts, which the King refused, because he resolved to pursue his design for the Holy Land: This so far incensed Raymond, that of a Friend he became an Enemy, and did the King under hand all the mischief he could by alienating the Affections of the Queen his Neice from her Husband, who had, or else pretended to have, very good cause to be jealous of her. This ill treatment so much disobligh'd the King, that sending the Queen away before, he himself stole away by night (his Forces following after) for the Holy Land; where when he arrived, he endeavoured to carry on the War against the Infidels, but with very ill success; for either by the Divisions or Falseness of the Christians of those parts, the King's Forces succeeded in nothing they undertook; so that at last being quite tired out and discouraged, he with Eleanor his Queen return'd into Europe the Year following; Conrad the Emperor being return'd home the Year before with very ill success likewise.

[5.] After their Departure, the Affairs in those parts growing still worse and worse, I shall relate them as briefly as I can.

[1.] King Baldwin the Third, a Prince of noble Qualities, dying in the Flower of his age, being (as it was supposed) poisoned by his Physician, his Brother Amaury (a Prince likewise of great Courage) succeeded him, and reigned but Eleven Years, and then dying, left only one Son, called Baldwin the Leper; \* who being weak both in Body and Mind, died at Twenty Five, and left his Sister's Son of his own Name his Successor, then but Eight years old. This Child was put under the Guardianship of his Mother Sibylla, and Boamund Earl of Tripoly, by whom he was soon after poison'd, or rather by the procurement of his own Mother, who (as some Writers relate) sacrificed her own Son to the cursed Ambition of reigning her self; [2.] and then She with her Husband Guy of Lusignan took upon them the Title of King and Queen of Jerusalem: So that after this young King's Decease, there happen'd a great Division among the Princes and Noblemen of that Country, some taking part with the new Queen, and her Husband, and others with the Earl of Tripoly; who, not long after, out of a preposterous hopes of the Crown of Jerusalem, joined with Saladin, and helped him to take Acon, and farther permitted him to have a free passage through Galilee, which that Earl then possess'd in Right of his Lady, who was Daughter to the late Prince

of



of that Province : Yet for all this, I find [3.] that Earl Raymond with- in a little while left *Saladin*, and made his Peace with King *Guy* ; and though he was never afterwards much trusted by him, yet it is certain that he had the Command of part of the *Christian* Army at the Battle of *Tiberias* (of which more by and by;) but because he escap'd from thence safe, when the King and all the rest were taken Prisoners, he was look'd upon as a Traytor, tho' he did not long survive the taking of *Jerusalem*, being found dead in his Bed ; and (as some relate) was privately circumcised, but that he ever publicly renounced the *Christian* Religion, and turn'd *Mahometan* (as some will have it) I do not find.

Anno Dom.  
MCXCI.

[3] *Besold. de Bello sacro.*  
Earl Raymond Commands part of the Army at *Tiberias*.

Is look'd upon as a Traytor.

But to return to *Saladin*, [4.] who after this push'd on his good Fortune with such great Bravery and Success, that he quickly made himself Master of *Egypt* ; and joyning with Sultan *Noradin*, (who about the same Time over-ran *Palastine*) took *Gaza*, and upon the Death of *Noradin*, easily conquer'd *Syria*.

[4] *ib.*

*Saladin* makes himself Master of *Egypt*.

And upon *Noradin's* Death conquers *Syria*.

Routs the *Christian* Army, and seizes all the Places of Strength beyond *Jordan*.

[5] *Vid. eund. sub A.D. 1187.*

Most of the Great Men that escaped his Sword, taken Prisoners.

*Jerusalem* besieg'd, and in 14 Days surrender'd upon hard Conditions.

Then taking advantage of the Quarrels among the *Christians*, he enter'd *Galilee*, and seiz'd upon all the Places of Strength beyond *Jordan*. [5.] after he had routed the *Christian* Army at the great Battle of *Tiberias* ; at which King *Guy*, the Marquess of *Montferrat*, the Master of the *Knights-Templars*, and all the Great Men who escaped the Enemy's Sword, were taken Prisoners.

Some time after this Victory, *Saladin* took *Sydon*, *Joppa*, and divers other strong Places, and then besieg'd *Jerusalem* : At first the Besieg'd being summon'd to Surrender, gave a Courageous Answer, That they were resolv'd to defend the City to the last Extremity : But when the battering Engines had open'd a Breach in the Walls, on the Fourteenth day they desired to Capitulate, and then agreed to Surrender on these hard Conditions ; viz. That the *Christians* of the *Greek* Church should have Liberty either to be gone, or to stay there ; but the *Franks* or *Latines* were all to depart, and only to take away with them such Goods as they could carry : whereupon many of the meaner Sort carried away their Children upon their Backs as their chiefest Riches.

[1.] *Saladin* punctually kept the Articles agreed upon, and used his Victory with great Moderation ; he enter'd the City Triumphantly amidst his Victorious Army, bringing along with him the Captive King, and about Twenty Thousand Prisoners ; then he strictly forbade all Injuries and Violence, publicly declaring, that he took the *Christians* into his Protection ; and therefore, that they should no ways be molested in the Exercise of their Religion : An Example which (by the way) may serve as a Reproof to some Princes of this Age, who assume a Sovereignty over men's Consciences as well as over their Persons ; an Usurpation, not only contrary to the Spirit of the Gospel, but such, as a *Mahometan* Prince thought unworthy the Doctrine of the *Alcoran*.

[1] *Besold. ib.*  
*Saladin* uses his Victory with Moderation.

And declares, that the *Christians* should not be molested in the Exercise of their Religion.



But though he permitted the *Christian* Monks to have the Use of the Church of the *Holy Sepulchre*, yet he turn'd that which stood in the Place of *Solomon's* Temple into a *Mosque*, having first caused it to be wash'd all over with *Rose-Water*. Not long after this Success, Queen *Sibylla*, who was got into *Ascalon*, surrender'd that Place to *Saladin*, as a Ransom for her Husband, and the Master of the *Templars*.

Q. *Sibylla* surrenders *Ascalon* to *Saladin*, as a Ransom for her Husband, and the Master of the *Templars*.



Anno Dom.  
MCXCI.

With the loss  
of Jerusalem,  
that Kingdom  
expired, after  
the Christians  
had enjoyed  
it 87 years.

The A. Bp. of  
Tyre comes in-  
to Europe to  
solicit the  
Assistance of  
the Christian  
Princes against  
the Common  
Enemy.

The Kings of  
France & Eng-  
land, &c. un-  
dertake the  
Crusado.

But it was put  
off by the War  
which then  
broke out be-  
tween the two  
said Kings.

And upon the  
Death of his  
Father, King  
Richard and  
the French K.  
anew engage  
in it.

[2.] G. V. II.  
R. R. ib. c. 44.  
King Richard  
goes to the  
Siege of Acon.  
And near the  
Port meeting  
with a Turkish  
Man of War,  
fell upon, and  
sunk her.

[3.] Id. l. 3. c.  
1, 2.

Saladin had so  
shut up the  
Christian  
Camp, that  
no Provisions  
could be  
brought into  
it unless by  
Sea.

The King of  
France meets  
K. Richard at  
his Landing.

It is reported that divers strange Signs and Prodigies were the Fore-runners of the taking of *Jerusalem*, which I shall not take upon me either to relate or confute, since I look upon them as Stories made in Imitation of those Prodigies recorded by *Josephus* before the *Romans* took that City. But with the Loss of *Jerusalem*, and all the Inland Places, that Kingdom expired, after its being in the *Christian's* possession Eighty-seven years.

The Affairs of *Palastine* being in this desperate Condition, the Archbishop of *Tyre* undertook a Voyage into *Europe*, to solicit the *Christian* Princes for their Assistance against the Common Enemy; and upon his being supported with the Pope's Authority, *Philip* King of *France*, *Henry* King of *England*, with his Son Earl *Richard*, and many other Princes and Great Men undertook the *Crusado*, (as you have already heard in the last Reign:) Which Expedition, when it was almost ready to be perform'd, was interrupted, and laid aside by that unfortunate War that then happened to break out between the Two Kings above-mention'd, which proved fatal to *Henry*: after whose Decease, his Son *Richard*, and the present *French* King, being for some time Friends and Confederates, re-assumed their former Design, and undertook the present Expedition to the *Holy-Land*, as hath been already related, and to the History of which we now return; and I hope the Reader will not think this Digression either tedious, or unnecessary.

[2] King *Richard* having thus settled his Affairs at *Cyprus*, set Sail from thence on *Thursday* in *Whitsun week*, and the next day he arriv'd at *Tyre*; and only touching there, persued his Voyage to *Acon*, which was still besieg'd by the *Christian* Army. Not far from this Port, the King met with a great *Turkish* Man of War, full of Officers and Soldiers, and well stored with all sorts of Arms and Provisions, going for the Relief of that City; which Vessel being set upon by some of the King's Fleet, made such a Vigorous Resistance, that He, finding he had no other way to take her, was forced to order his Gallies to run against her with their sharp Iron *Bow-Sprits*, which immediately sunk her down to Rights, with all her Men and Lading, except Thirty-Five persons; part of whom were Commanders, and part Engineers: But if this Vessel had arriv'd at *Acon*, the City had not been taken at all, or at least not without very great difficulty, for the Siege had been for Two Months last past carried on but very slowly by the King of *France*, because of King *Richard's* Absence.

The Reader is here also to take notice, [3.] that when the King arriv'd at *Acon*, it had been besieg'd by the *Christians* near Two years, a great Multitude of whom had perish'd by the Sword, Famine, and Pestilence: For though *Saladin*, King of the *Turks*, was unable by his own Strength to raise the Siege, yet he had so possessed himself of all the Avenues to the *Christian* Camp, that no Provisions could be brought to it, unless it were by Sea; therefore it was no wonder, if there were Great Joy at King *Richard's* Arrival; so that the King of *France* with his Nobility going out to meet him, they accompanied him from his Landing to his Tents, which he had ordered to be pitched as near the City as he could: here, not long after his Arrival, he fell very sick of a disease, call'd by our Authors the *Arnoldia*, which we cannot now tell what it was, though it is very like to be a sort of Fever, taken by



by the evil Air of that Country, and of which he languish'd for some days.

In the mean while the King of *France* resolving no longer to spend the time in fruitless delays, resolv'd to make a vigorous Assault upon the City, which was executed on the *Monday* after *Midsummer*-day with all the Forces they could muster up: but though the *French* and other Nations perform'd as much as could be expected from Gallant Men, yet they were not then able to take the Town, because the Garison within were very numerous, and made a brave Resistance; as likewise because *Saladin* with Great part of his Army assaulted the *Christian* Camp at the same time, endeavouring to fill up their Trenches; so that these Forces, not being sufficient at once to Assault the City and defend themselves against the *Turks*, were forced at last to Sound a Retreat, that they might repulse the *Turks* who lay so hard upon them.

In the mean time the *Turkish* Garison cast Wildfire upon the King of *France*'s Warlike Engines, and destroy'd them; which Accident, with the Disappointment in the late Assault, put that King into so great a Consternation, that he fell very sick, either through Discontent, or else by the Infection of the Place, it being much the same kind of Distemper with King *Richard*'s: wherefore by reason of the Sickness of both Kings, the Siege was but slowly carried on for some days.

[4.] But the King of *France* first recovering, and being much encouraged by the Arrival of many Noblemen, both of the *French* and *English* Nation, together with their Retinues, he renew'd the Siege, not by Storm, but with other battering Engines of King *Richard*'s, called *Petrars*, which cast out Stones with such a Force, and they were of so vast a weight, that they were able to shake, and in some time to batter down the strongest Walls and Towers; and one of them belonging to King *Richard* shot a Stone with that Force, that it kill'd Twelve *Turks* at once; Of such Effect were these battering Engines before the Invention of Great Guns.

It would be tedious to recite all the Particulars of this Remarkable Siege, and the several Mines, Batteries, and Assaults that were then made by the *Christians* without success: But at last the Garison, by the Sword and by Sickness, being reduced to about Six Thousand Men, and those much impaired by their Wounds and continual Watchings, the Towers and Walls being also very much weakened and battered by the Warlike Engines, the *Turks* found it their best way (before it was too late) to think of a Surrender: And since *Saladin* was no longer able to relieve them, they (by his consent) treated with the Kings, and surrender'd the City to them upon these Articles, which I have taken from *Roger Hoveden*.

I. That *Acon* should be deliver'd up safe with Five Hundred *Christian* Captives, that were therein.

II. That the true Cross of Christ should be restored, which had been before taken by King *Saladin*.

Anno Dom.  
MCXCIII

The French K.  
assaults the  
City.

But without  
any effect.

The Army is  
forced to re-  
treat.

The French K's  
Warlike En-  
gines are  
burnt.

[4] Id. ib.

The King of  
*France* renews  
the Siege with  
other batter-  
ing Engines.

And at last  
the City was  
surrender'd.



Anno Dom.  
MCXCI.

III. That of all the *Christian* Captives whom *Saladin* had taken, Three Thousand (*Vinsauf* says but Twenty-five Hundred) chosen by the Two Kings, should be deliver'd.

IV. That the *Turks* should carry out nothing with them but their Cloaths.

V. That for the Redemption of their Heads, they should pay Two Hundred Thousand *Bisantines*, and they themselves should remain still in Custody. And that if these Articles were not made good within the Space of Forty days, they should be wholly in the King's Mercy for their Lives.

100 of the  
chiefest Offi-  
ces of the  
*Turks* kept for  
Hostages.

But *Saladin*  
takes no far-  
ther care to  
perform the  
Articles.

These being agreed upon, and sworn to on both sides, the Two Kings sent their Officers and Souldiers into the City, and chusing out an Hundred of the chiefest and richest of the *Turks*, kept them for Hostages in a strong Tower, and secured the rest in some Houses of the City: But when *Saladin* had heard what Conditions his Men had made with the *Christians*, he pretended they were not with his Approbation, and therefore took no care to perform the Articles, which cost the *Turkish* Captives their Heads.

\* *Histor. Ducum  
Austriae.*  
The Duke of  
*Austria* sets up  
his Banner on  
a Tower,  
which being  
flung down  
by *K. Richard's*  
Order, the  
Duke quits  
the Service.

Before I leave this Subject, I must not pass by an Action, which tho' of no great Importance in it self, yet since it proved of fatal consequence to this King whose Reign I write, it deserves our notice; and because it is related divers ways by our own, as well as Foreign Historians, I will give you that which seems most likely to be true, which is what \* *Cuspinian* relates, That upon the Surrender of the City of *Acon*, *Limbold*, or *Leopold*, Duke of *Austria*, having taken possession of one of the Towers, order'd his Banner to be there erected, which so soon as it was espied by King *Richard*, he was very much displeased at it, and presently ordered his Men to pull it down, which they not only perform'd, but also tore it to pieces, and trampled it in the Dirt; or (as some Authors relate) flung into a more nasty Place.

When the Duke heard of this, he demanded satisfaction from King *Richard*; and though at the same time he was perswaded to pass it by for the Common peace of the Confederate Princes, yet the King refusing to acknowledge the Affront, the Duke presently quitted the Service, and return'd into his own Country, together with several other *German* Noblemen, who all resented this Injury as done to themselves: But the Duke afterwards found a Time severely to revenge this Affront, as you will read hereafter; which may serve as a Warning to more Potent Princes, not to insult over those that are weaker than themselves, since there may some unexpected opportunity happen for their Adversaries to be even with them. But to return to our History, from which we have somewhat digressed.

[5.] *Id. ib. c.*  
16, 17.  
The Kings of  
*France* & *Eng-*  
*land* divide the  
Spoil of the  
City among  
themselves.

[5.] After the City was surrender'd, the Kings of *France* and *England* march'd into it with their Forces, and there divided the Captives, and the rest of the Spoil between themselves, without distributing any part of it to the other Princes, Noblemen, and Officers of the Army, which caused a general Discontent.

This



This being dispatch'd, the Two Kings accommodated the Difference between *Guy* King of *Jerusalem* and *Conrade* Marquess of *Montferrat* concerning that Kingdom, on these Terms; *viz.* That *Guy* should enjoy it during his Life, and the other should have it after him, as having married the Daughter and Heir of the late King *Almaric*.

[1.] After this Agreement there was nothing considerable done by these Princes, only King *Richard* required of the King of *France*, that they two should each take an Oath to stay in the *Holy Land* for Three years; but he refused it, and the reason was soon discover'd; for Two days after he sent to the King of *England* the Bishop of *Beauvais* and the Duke of *Burgundy* with other Noblemen, by whom he asked his permission to return into his own Country, alledging his great want of Health, and that he had now perform'd the Vow he had formerly made of going to the *Holy Land*. To this King *Richard* objected the great Disgrace it would be to the King of *France*, if he should offer to leave the business they came for undone: but however, if he found himself infirm, or that he was afraid he should dye there, he might do his pleasure. King *Philip* hereupon grew very uneasy, and about a week after sent again to the King of *England* for his Consent to return home; but he could not obtain it, until he had taken an Oath, that he would protect his Dominions and People until his Return, and would do no damage to them, nor suffer any to be done by others. This being perform'd, and the King of *France* having made the Duke of *Burgundy* his General, and left with him the Greatest part of his Treasure to pay his Army, he departed from *Acon* on the Thirty-first of *July*, and went to *Tyre*, taking with him the Marquess of *Conrade*, and the Chiefest of those Prisoners that fell to his share; and delivering them to the Custody of the Marquess, he sailed from thence for *France*; where being arriv'd, how well he kept his Oath to King *Richard* not to disturb his Territories, will appear hereafter.

As soon as the King of *France* was departed, King *Richard* took the whole Burthen and Care of the War upon himself, being rather hindered than assisted by the Marquess of *Montferrat*, who refused to join with him, and only minded his private Interest.

[2.] The King having well rewarded all the Souldiers that served in the late Siege of *Acon*, both Those that belong'd to the King of *France* and other Princes, as well as his Own; and having also repair'd the Walls of *Acon*, and made them stronger than they were before the Siege began, resolv'd to proceed to some new Expedition, and only waited to see whither *Saladin* would perform the Articles agreed upon at the Surrender of the City: But at length finding that the subtle *Saracen* had not only let the Day prefix'd for the Delivery of the *Cross* and Redemption of the Prisoners slip, without performing any thing at all, and that he still put him off with delays, requiring longer time for the performance of his Promise; he saw plainly that he was deluded, and therefore resolved to put to death all the *Turkish* Prisoners he had in his Power. But before he did this, he quitted his Camp without the Town, and removed it nearer to that of the Enemy, which still lay in view of him, and there remain'd for some days; but on the day of the King's removal, *Saladin* sent him a Message, with divers Rich Presents, desiring him, that he would defer the day appointed for executing

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MCXCI.

The Two Ks.  
accommodate  
the Difference  
between the  
K. of *Jerusalem*  
and the Mar-  
quess of *Mont-  
ferrat*.

[1.] 16. c. 18.  
R. H. p. 396.

The King of  
*France* desires  
leave of King  
*Richard* to re-  
turn into his  
own Country.

But could not  
obtain it, till  
he had sworn  
that he would  
protect K. Ric.  
Dominions  
and People  
till his return.

He goes for  
*France*, but  
does not ob-  
serve his Oath.

The King of  
*England* takes  
the whole Bur-  
then of the  
War upon  
himself.

[2.] G. V. 16.  
R. R. 16.

And resolves  
upon a new  
Expedition.

But upon *Sal-  
adin's* not per-  
forming the  
abovesaid Ar-  
ticles, King  
*Richard* re-  
solves to put  
to death all  
his *Turkish*  
Prisoners.

[3.] R. H. p.  
397. a.

*Saladin* by  
Rich Presents  
desires him  
to defer it  
for some time,  
but he refuses.



Anna Dom.  
MCXCI.

Saladin, to be before-hand with him, beheads all the Christian Captives.

K. Richard Beheads all the Turkish Prisoners, but some few of the Chiefest, whom he kept for Ransom.

A Difference between R. Hoveden and Geof. Vinſauf concerning the Number of the Prisoners now slain, and how it may be reconciled.

This Infidelity of Saladin makes his Garisons presently to surrender.

[4.] R. H. 2. 397. b.

King Richard resolves to march from Acon to Joppa.

[5.] G. V. R. R. l. 4. c. 18, 19, 20. & de in.

Saladin by his frequent Skirmishes destroys a great many of the K's Men.

Yet the King reaches Joppa.

Saladin thereupon dismantles several Strong places.

The Christian Army by their Idleness and Debauchery, very much weakened.

[1.] Id. ib. c. 28.

A great Deliverance of K. Richard from the hands of the Turks.

ting the Prisoners to some longer time: But King Richard would neither receive his Presents, nor prolong the Day; when Saladin found this was his peremptory Resolution, that he might be before-hand with Him, he order'd all the Christian Captives he had then in his Custody to be Beheaded: and on the same day King Richard march'd his Army towards Saladin's Camp, and Assaulted it, though without any great success, for many fell on both sides.

But though the King knew of this Massacre of the Christians, yet would he not anticipate the time he had appointed for putting the Saracens to death; but on the Twentieth of August He caused all the Turkish Prisoners to be Beheaded without the Camp, in the sight of Saladin, only some of the Chief Officers and Commanders were kept alive, and reserv'd for Ransom.

But indeed there is some difference between R. Hoveden's and Geofrey Vinſauf's Relation of this Business: the former of whom says, the Number of those Turks that were then put to death, amounted to Five Thousand; whereas the latter makes them to be but Twenty-seven Hundred in the whole; which yet may be thus reconciled, that the one includes all the Prisoners then slain, as well by the Duke of Burgundy, as by King Richard; whereas the other reckons only those that fell by the King's own Orders: But whatever the Number was, it was certainly a piece of great Cruelty to put so many innocent Prisoners to death in cold Blood; since, though they were not redeemed according to Agreement, yet they might have been sold for Slaves, which would have been much better than to exercise such Barbarity only to satisfy that inhuman Passion of Revenge; nor did Saladin reap any benefit by his Barbarity, but on the contrary, none of his Garisons would afterwards venture to hold out a Siege: so that he was forced in the End to demolish all his Castles in those parts.

[4.] After this, King Richard with his own, as well as the French Army, under the Command of the Duke of Burgundy, resolved to march from Acon to Joppa, and to take in the Country, and Fortify the strong Places by the way: But Sa'adin, although he durst not meet and fight the Christians fairly, [5.] yet did all he could to hinder their March by perpetual Skirmishes and Ambuscades, which he laid for some part or other of the Army, and in which many Brave and Gallant Men, both French and English, were destroy'd: Notwithstanding this, King Richard with his Army at last reached Joppa; which when Saladin perceiv'd, and that he could no longer hold that part of Palestine, he dismantled Ascalon and all the other Strong places, except Jerusalem, Chrac, and Daram.

King Richard hereupon stay'd Seven weeks at Joppa to refresh his Forces, and to recruit his Army by the arrival of a Great many Souldiers who were gone to Acon and other Places; whilst they stayed at Joppa, the Christian Souldiers giving themselves to Idleness and Debauchery, and the Discipline being relax'd, the Army was thereby very much weakened.

I cannot here omit a remarkable Deliverance of King Richard from the hands of the Turks, which happened thus: [1.] The King going out one day a Hawking with but few Attendants, and being tired with his Sport, and not in the least suspicious of any Enemy near him, would needs lay himself under a Tree to sleep, which a Party



Party of *Turks*, who were thereabouts, having notice of, they resolved to lye in Ambush for him, and sent some of their Party to set upon the King, and provoke him to Fight; which when they had done, and then fained to fly before him, they drew him into their Ambush, and rising on the sudden, set upon Him and his Company; and he had certainly been taken Prisoner, had not a Gentleman, one of his Attendants, called *William de Pratellis*, saved him by suffering himself to be taken in his stead, by crying out in the *Saracen's* Tongue, *I am Melec* (that is, the King;) upon which they all fell upon, and took him, whilst in the mean time the King, with divers others of his Followers made their Escapes; yet notwithstanding he lost several Others who would needs fight it out. But though this was a very Noble Action of this Gentleman thus to deliver his Prince, yet however he was blamed for his so rashly exposing of himself; but his greatest fault was his too great Courage, being always the first in making an Assault upon the Enemy, and the last that retreated.

Anno Dom.  
MCXCI.

A noble Action in a Gentleman, who suffer'd himself to be taken Prisoner to save his Prince.

[2.] Some time after King *Richard* having recruited his Army, and left a sufficient Garison in *Joppa*, he march'd out into the adjacent Country with part of them; and having routed the *Turks* in Two Engagements, (in one of which they were Assailants, and in the other lay in Ambush to surprize him) he took and repaired several Castles to secure the Country; which made *Saladin* seem inclinable to a Peace, and offer'd to give up the whole Territory of *Jerusalem* from the River *Jordan* to the *Western* (i. e. the *Mediterranean*) Sea; though, it seems, he did this only to gain time, for sending his Brother *Saphadin* to the King with Rich Presents, he only amused him with feigned Treaties of Peace, until he had ruined all those strong Places he had a mind to quire, and well fortified those he intended to keep: but the King at last discovering their Deceit, broke off the Treaty, and renew'd the War.

[2.] *Id ib. c. 29, 30, 31.*  
The K. afterwards routs the *Turks* in Two Engagements, and repairs several Castles.

*Saladin* upon this seems inclinable to a Peace, and makes great Offers only to gain time.

The K. discovering the Cheat, renews the War.

[3.] *Id ib. c. 34, 35.*  
But is dissuaded from undertaking the Siege of *Jerusalem*.

[3.] But though the *Christian* Army had many Skirmishes with the *Turks*, and had endured great Hardships in their Marches towards *Jerusalem*, which the King then intended to besiege, yet got no farther than a little Castle called *Berenoble*; where after the Army had suffer'd very much by the wetness of the Season, the King was at last dissuaded by the *Knights-Templars*, *Hospitalers* and Others from undertaking that Siege, having neither Forces sufficient to carry it on, nor indeed to keep the City if they should take it.

But before we conclude this Year, methinks it will be necessary to look back, and give you an Account of what happened in *England*. You have already heard of the great Tyranny and Oppression of the Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of *Ely* (above-mention'd) who ruled all things at his own Will and Pleasure, to the great Discontent of Earl *John*, and the Major part of the Nobility; and he was so great a Grievance to them, that they watch'd for an Occasion to bring down the exorbitant Pride and Power of this Imperious Prelate; and not long after there happened a very fit one, which was thus: [4.] *Gerard de Camville*, a very Rich Nobleman, had bought of the King just before his departure, the Government of the Castle of *Lincoln*, (to which he had also some pretence in Right of his Wife) as likewise the Sheriffdom of the Adjacent County for a certain time: But the Chancellor having at that time all the other strong Places of *England* in his Custody, demanded this also; but *Camville* refusing to deliver it to him, the

[4.] *R. H. p. 398. b.*  
The Nobility of *England* watch for an Opportunity to humble the Chancellor, & find a very fit one.  
The Chancellor Besieges the Castle of *Lincoln*.

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But being terrified by Earl John's Message to him, he forthwith raises the Siege. And they both come to an Agreement by the Mediation of the Bps.

Chancellor raised Forces out of the Neighbouring Counties, and laid Siege to it: In the mean time *Camville*, having no other remedy, went, and implored the Assistance and Protection of Earl *John*; who thereupon levying a Considerable Body of Men, easily surprized the strong Castles of *Nottingham* and *Tikhill*, and sent to the Chancellor, and acquainted him, That unless he would immediately Raise the Siege, he would force him to do it. He being terrified at this Message, presently drew off from the Place, and by the Mediation of some Bishops and other Friends, an Agreement was made between them: But this being too long, and not much conducing to the main design of this History, I shall only give you the Heads of it.

[5.] *Id. ib.*  
The Heads of that Agreement.

[5.] First, The Castles of *Nottingham* and *Tikhill* were to be kept in Indifferent hands till the King's Return; as also all other Castles belonging to the Honours which the King had given Earl *John* were to remain in the Custody of the King's Liegemen; (*viz.*) *Wallingford* in the Custody of the Archbishop of *Rouen*; that of *Bristol* in the Bishop of *London*, &c. and the like was agreed concerning all the rest of the Castles there mention'd, which were to continue in the Custody of those in whose hands they then were, who were all sworn to keep them faithfully for the King's use; and if he should in the mean while happen to dye, then the Guardians were to render them to Earl *John*, and the same was also provided for the Castles of *Nottingham* and *Tikhill*.

\* *i. e.* Inferior  
or Meane  
Tenants.

Secondly, It was also agreed, that the Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, \* *Vassals* and Free Tenents should not be disseised of their Lands or Goods at the pleasure of the Justices or King's Ministers, but by the Judgment of his Court, according to the Lawful Customs and Statutes of the Kingdom, or by the King's Mandate; and Earl *John* should cause the like Rule to be observed in his Lands and Possessions; and if any One presumed to do otherwise, upon the Complaint of the Earls and Barons, he was to be punished or fined by the Archbishop of *Rouen*, and the Justitiaries, &c.

Thirdly, Those Castles which had been built, or begun since the King went beyond Sea, were to be demolish'd, and no new ones to be erected, unless by the King's special Command, except in some particular Cases there mentioned.

Fourthly, The Sheriffwick of *Lincolnshire* was to be re-deliver'd to *Gerard de Camville*, who was at the same time to engage, that he would stand to the Judgment of the King's Court concerning the Right he had to it: but the Lord *John* was not to protect him against the said Judgment, nor receive Out-Laws, nor any of the King's Enemies, nor permit them to be harbour'd in his Lands, &c.

[1.] *Id. ib.*  
And both gave Security for the due Observance of this Agreement.

[1.] Then the Earl and Chancellor putting their hands within the hands of the Archbishop of *Rouen*, gave Security for the Observation of this Agreement, in good faith and without any Artifice; and Fourteen Barons of both Parties swore the same, whose Names need not be repeated. Note, These things were done, *saving the King's Authority and Command in all things*, &c. and so Matters were pieced up for a time.

[2.] But



[2.] But not long after this Agreement there happened a new Cause of Dissention between the Bishops and the Chancellor through the latter's violent and haughty Temper; and it was occasioned thus: *Geoffrey*, Archbishop Elect of *York*, had been lately consecrated to that See by the Archbishop of *Tours*, upon the Pope's Command: After this, not regarding the Oath he had taken to the King his Brother, that he would not return into *England* within Three Years after his departure, he presently came to *Whitsand*, and lay there ready for his passage; but the Chancellor hearing of it, forbade him to come over: However, He not valuing that Prohibition, landed at *Dover* in the Month of *September*, where the Chancellor had before appointed Officers to apprehend him; but he having notice of it, changed his Cloaths, and mounting a swift Horse got to the Monastery of *St. Martins*, adjoining to that Town, and took Sanctuary in the Church: whereupon the Chancellor's Officers guarded the Place so strictly, that he could not stir out; and not being content with this, they took him while he was standing at the Altar in his Episcopal Vestments, and dragging him out of the Church through the dirty Streets, deliver'd him to *Mattheu le Clerc*, Constable of *Dover Castle*.

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[2.] *Id. p. 190.*  
A new Dissention between the Bishops & the Chancellor about the A. Bp. Elect of *York* his not observing the Oath he had taken to the King.

Who, upon his coming to *England*, was apprehended and deliver'd Prisoner to the Constable of *Dover*.

[3.] *Id. ib. b.*  
But, upon his Complaint, the Chancellor was summon'd to answer for it in the K's Court.

But he neither came nor sent any One to answer in his behalf.

The Earl and Bps repair to *London* to consult with the Citizens what to do with the Chancellor.

A Skirmish between the Earl's and the Chancellor's Men.

One of the Earl's Knights kill'd in it.

[4.] *Id. ib.*  
The Chancellor accus'd of several Crimes

[3.] Earl *John* hearing of this, sent Orders to the Chancellor to release him: Upon which *Geoffrey* coming to *London*, complained to the Earl, Bishops, and Great men of the Injury he had receiv'd from the Chancellor; whereupon the Earl commanded that he should answer the Law in the King's Court for that, and for the Injury he had done to *Hugh Bp* of *Durham*; the Chancellor notwithstanding deferred his Appearance, yet the Earl with the Archbishop of *Rouen*, as also the Bishops and Chief Men of the Kingdom, appointed him a peremptory Day at *Reading*, whither Earl *John* and almost all the Bishops, Earls, and Barons of the Kingdom came in expectation of him, but he neither came himself, nor sent any to appear for him: Then the Earl and the Bishops that were with him, set out toward *London*, that so they might consult before a great Audience of the Citizens what they should do with the Chancellor that had so troubled the Kingdom, and refused to stand to the Law: He hearing of this, left *Windsor*, and went up to *London*, and by the way his and the Earl's Retinue, that is, their Tenants or Knights, met and fought, in which Skirmish one of the Earl's Knights, *Roger de Plesne* was kill'd; yet he had the better, and the Chancellor fled to *London*, and with his Followers got into the Tower.

[4.] On the Tenth of *October* Earl *John* and the Archbishop of *Rouen*, with the Bishops, Earls, Barons, and Citizens of *London*, met in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, where they all accused the Chancellor of several Crimes, but especially of the Injuries he had done to the Archbishop of *York* and Bishop of *Durham*: those also whom the King had associated with him in the Government, accused him, saying, That he wholly despised their Advice, and managed all the Business of the Kingdom by Violence, and according to his own Will. Upon this the Archbishop of *Rouen* and *William* the Earl-Mareschal shew'd their Letters under the King's own Seal from *Messina*, by which they were associated with the Chancellor in the Government, and whereby he was to do nothing without their Advice; and if he did, and it should prove to the detriment of the Kingdom, he was to be deposed, and the Archbishop of *Rouen* to be put into his place. So, upon a solemn hear-



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He is deposed  
from his Of-  
fice.

[1.] *Id. 16.*  
The K's Justi-  
ces grant to  
the Citizens  
of London to  
have their  
Community,  
or Corpora-  
tion.

And the Citi-  
zens swear Fe-  
alty to King  
Richard and  
E. John.

The deposed  
Chancellor  
delivers up the  
Tower, and  
Windsor-Castle.

[1.] *Id. p. 400. a.*  
Hugh de Nu-  
nant's Episto-  
lary Account  
of this Chan-  
cellor's pro-  
ceedings.

[2.] *Id. p. 401.*  
At Canterbury  
he laid down  
the Cross of  
his Legantine  
power, to take  
up that for the  
Holy Land.

He disguises  
himself in Wo-  
men's habit to  
go beyond Sea,  
but is disco-  
ver'd.

He is soundly  
beaten, drag'd  
in the Dirt, &  
then thrown  
into a Cellar,  
till Earl John's  
pleasure could  
be known.

[3.] *Id. p. 402. b.*  
He is releas'd,  
and goes into  
Normandy.

And from  
thence to Pa-  
ris.

ing of the whole matter, it was adjudged by all there present, that the Bishop should be thenceforth deprived from having any thing more to do in the Government of the Kingdom.

[5.] The same day the Earl John and the Archbishop of Rouen, and other the King's Justices (that is, the Commissioners in the Govern-ment) granted to the Citizens of London the free enjoyment of their Community, that is, their Rights and Privileges; and at the same time the Earl and Archbishop, and almost all the Earls and Barons of the Kingdom did swear firmly and resolutely to uphold that Commu-nity, so long as it should please the King: And upon this the Citizens of London did swear faithful Service to King Richard and his Heirs; and if he should dye without Issue, then they would receive Earl John his Brother for their King and Lord, swearing Fealty to him against all Men, saving their Fealty to King Richard his Brother; and the deposed Chancellor swore he would deliver up all the Castles of Eng-land into his hands, and presently deliver'd to him the Tower of Lon-don, and Windsor-Castle, together with some others.

[1.] Our Author has likewise given us a long Epistle of Hugh de Nunnant, Bishop of Coventry, wherein he sets forth the insolent and arbitrary Proceedings of the Bishop of Ely; and [2.] how, after his Deposition, he went to Canterbury, and there laid down the Cross of his Legantine Power, and took upon him the Crusade to go to the Holy-Land; and from thence went to Dover, where staying a few days in the Castle with the Constable his Kinsman, he resolv'd to go over beyond Sea; but fearing to be again seized if he were known, he dis-guised himself in Women's habit; and taking a Web of Linnen Cloth with an Ell under his Arm, as if he were a Linnen Pedlar, went down and sat by the Sea-side upon a Rock, expecting a Boat to carry him on Shipboard: but whilst he was there, a Seaman coming that way by chance, and taking him for a Woman, went about to Kiss him, and then offering at farther Indecencies, thereby discover'd that he was a Man, yet said nothing of it: A little while after a Woman coming that way, she began to cheapen the Cloth he had in his hand, but he could make her no tolerable Answer, because (being a Frenchman) he understood but little English; more Women also coming in, and finding that he would not speak to them, they pull'd up the Hood with which he cover'd his Face, and then presently saw his black Beard (though newly shaven:) Upon which crying out to certain Men that were not far off, they came running in, and laying hold of him, and banging him soundly with their Fists, they dragg'd him through the Dirt, and put him into a dark Cellar, till they had made Earl John ac-quainted with their Proceedings.

[3.] Eight days after this his Imprisonment, Earl John gave Orders for him to be released, and to go beyond Sea: Whereupon he went into Normandy, and there, by the Command of the Archbishop of Rouen, he was reputed as an Excommunicated person; insomuch that in all places where-ever he came in that Diocese, all Divine Offices ceased during his stay there; for the Archbishop of Rouen, and several of the Bishops had taken upon them to Excommunicate him for what he had before done to the Archbishop of York: Therefore, not finding any good Reception in Normandy, he went to Paris, and from thence

sent



sent Letters to Pope *Celestine*, therein setting forth how ill he had been used by Earl *John* and his Accomplices, who had banish'd and drove him out of the Kingdom, and desired that Restitution might be made of what had been thus wrongfully taken from him, and farther offer'd to stand to the Law, and answer for what he had done amiss.

But as to what the Pope did on his behalf, I shall refer you to the Ecclesiastical Affairs at the end of the next Year; then the Bishop himself wrote to the King, representing to him the violent and unjust Usage he had met with, and that Earl *John* his Brother had usurped the Royal Power, and thrust him out of the Kingdom; which Letters he sent by the Prior of *Hereford* into the *Holy-Land*, as you will hear farther.

Now the Reader may observe from hence the great Power of the Nobility and Common-Council of the Kingdom, as also of the City of *London*, in those days, who thus took upon them to resist and depose the King's Chief Iustitiary and Chancellor for his Tyrannical Government, and Oppression of all sorts of People; and therefore it is no wonder if he found so few Friends to stand by him, none that would defend his Cause, unless it was his Countryman *Peter* of *Blois*, Arch-Deacon of *Bathe*, who, in a [4.] Letter to *Hugh* Bishop of *Coventry*, in answer to his former Epistle; (wherein the Bishop had given him the Character "of a haughty and imperious Prelate, profuse and extravagant beyond measure, a waster of the King's Revenues, and injurious to all sorts of People;) sets him forth to be a Wise, Loving, Generous, and Mild Man, abounding in all Instances of Liberality, and one that "for his great Qualifications and Merits had justly obtain'd the chief Administration of the Government. But what signifies the Opinion of one Man against that of the whole Nation, and the Account of all the Historians of that time, who unanimously agree in the Bishop of *Coventry*'s Character of him? and *William* of *Newburgh* (who then liv'd, and not long after wrote his History, agreeing with *R. Hoveden*'s Account of this Transaction) says, That all Men were much dissatisfied, that the King at his departure should commit the chief Government of the Kingdom to a Stranger of mean Birth, and of no known Fidelity or Abilities, and that without the Consent or Advice of the Great Men of the Kingdom: And though *Peter* of *Blois* by way of Recrimination answers the Bishop in very sharp terms, yet does he say nothing to extenuate the Matters of Fact laid to his Charge; (*viz.*) his robbing all sorts of persons of their Money and Goods; his squeezing the Churches by his Legantine Power, and squandering the King's Treasure and Revenues.

I had not dwelt so long upon this Bishop's Story, had not a late [5.] Author in his *Compleat History* shew'd a strong Inclination to vindicate his violent Proceedings, and that too from the single Testimony of *Peter* of *Blois*; to represent all that had been done by the Great Council of the Kingdom against this Bishop, as the rash and furious Effects of a Traiterous Faction.

Nor can I here omit a very Remarkable Accident which happened this Year, (as the Annals of *Morgan* and *Rad. de Coggeshal*'s Chronicle relate it;) The Monks of *Glastenbury* digging deep between two old Pyramids to make a Grave for one of their Brethren, (who desired to be buried in that place) they found a Coffin, in which were the Bones

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He complains to the Pope of the ill Treatment he had receiv'd from Earl *John*.

And offers to stand a Tryal.

He complains likewise to the K by Letters.

But finds none to stand by him, but his Countryman, *Peter* of *Blois*.

[4.] *Id.* p. 40 r. b. Who gives him clear another Character than that of *Hugh de Nant*.

All Historians agree in the Bp. of *Coventry*'s Character of him.

But his Friend *Peter* of *Blois* cannot deny the Facts laid to his Charge.

[5.] *Dr. Brady*, P. 434.

The Monks of *Glastenbury*, digging a Grave, light upon the famous K. *Arthur*'s Coffin.



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\* Somersetshire,  
p. 65.

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[1] G. V. It.

R. R. 15. c. 1.

King Richard  
with his Army  
goes from Jop-  
pa to Ramula,  
& from thence  
to Ascalon.

Several of the  
Volunteers  
quitted the  
Service

Saladine sends  
his Army into  
Winter-Quar-  
ters.

[2.] Id. ib. c. 8,  
9, 10, 11, 12.

The K. and  
the Marquess  
Conrade meet  
at a Confe-  
rence.

The French  
Nobility and  
D. of Burgundy  
side with the  
Marquess.

But for all that  
the K. fortifies  
Ascalon, &c. to  
secure the  
Country.

[3.] Id. ib. c. 22,  
23, 24.

The Prior of  
Hereford ar-  
rives with  
Letters from  
the Bp. of Ely  
to the King,  
complaining  
of his hard  
Usage.

Whereupon  
he is advised  
to return in-  
to England.

of a Woman, whose Hair remained unconsumed; under it lay another Coffin, on the top of which was a Cross of Lead, with this Inscription: *Hic jacet Inlytus Rex Arthurus in Insula Avelona.* The Coffin being opened, there appear'd the Bones of a mighty large Man, which the Monks buried in their Church with very great Honour and Respect: but the Cross was kept in the Monastery, and was seen by *Leland*, and is mentioned by \* *Camden* in his *Britannia*. But it is time to return to King *Richard* in the *Holy Land*.

[1.] The King, at the beginning of this Year (finding he was not in a condition to execute the main design of his Voyage, viz. the Taking the City of *Jerusalem*) did, by the Advice of the *Knights-Templars* and other Great Men (though much to the disgust of the rest of the Army) march from *Joppa* to *Ramula*, and from thence towards *Ascalon*: But though they at last arriv'd there with safety, yet they suffer'd more by reason of the Wet weather, (it being in *January*) and want of Victuals, than by the coldness of the Season; in-  
somuch that many of the Volunteers (especially the *French*) quitted the Service, being either discontented because no more was done, or else tired out with long Marches and constant Fatigues: which when *Saladine* understood, and fearing no more danger from the *Christians*, he sent his Army into Winter-Quarters.

[2.] Then King *Richard*, so soon as the Season would permit, set all hands at work to finish the Walls of *Ascalon*, which done, he sent for the Marquess *Conrade* to come and assist him; but He, out of Ill-will to the King, refused it, yet at length they met, and had a Conference at a Town called *Imbric*: however he still kept himself close within his own Quarters at *Tyre*, which rais'd no small Jealousy between King *Richard* and the Noblemen of *France*; and they not only took the Marquess's part, but the Duke of *Burgundy* likewise, envying the Glory and good Success of King *Richard*, retreated to the Marquess with all his Forces then in the King's Service, and (which was worse still) he recalled all the *French*: But notwithstanding these Disappointments, the King did not cease to fortify *Ascalon*, and other Places necessary for the security of the Country.

And though these Divisions among the *Christians* did very much to the frustrating the whole Undertaking, and gave great Encouragement to the *Turks*, [3.] Yet, to aggravate the more the Misfortune, the Prior of *Hereford* now arrived, bringing the Letters already mention'd from *William* Bishop of *Ely*, the late Chancellor, to give the King an Account, how that himself, with all those of his Party, were driven out of *England* by Earl *John* his Brother, who had likewise taken Oaths of Fealty from the Nobility, as also the Custody of the Castles into his hands: At which the King being very much troubled, and communicating this ill News to the Great Men and Chief Commanders of his Army, they all agreed, That it was not only necessary for him to return in-  
to *England* for the safety of his Kingdom, but because of the great difficulty of their ever succeeding in this Enterprize, by reason of the Discord and Dissention that was now risen between those who were to carry it on; and that since King *Guy* was too weak to do any thing considerable towards regaining his Kingdom; it was requisite for



for the King's Affairs to yield to the time, and give his consent, that the Marquess *Conrade* should be chosen King of *Jerusalem*, being the fittest person to defend what had been already gained, as well as to make new Conquests, when the King should be obliged to return home. [4.] Upon which consideration King *Richard* resolving to comply with the Desires of the Major part of the *Christian* Princes, sent to the Marquess of *Montferrat*, to let him know, that he freely gave his consent to his Election: Whereupon the Marquess, by the General Votes of the *French* Princes and those of other Nations, was elected King of *Jerusalem*, *Guy* being quite laid aside. Yet to make him amends, [5.] King *Richard* generously bestow'd on him the Isle of *Cyprus*, which was much better, to be held of himself by no other Service than Homage; in consideration of which, some Writers relate, that King *Guy* made over all his Title to the Kingdom of *Jerusalem* to King *Richard*; but I do not find it in any Author of that Age, and it is contrary to the Testimony of those, who make the King to have consented to the Election of the Marquess *Conrade* above-mention'd; which it is not likely he would have done, had he himself designed to lay any Claim to that Kingdom.

[1.] But this King elect did not long enjoy his Honour, for before his Coronation he was stabb'd in the Streets of *Tyre* by Two young *Saracens*, whom he kept in his Service, and seem'd to be turned *Christians*, but were indeed downright *Assassins*, set on to kill him by a *Saracen* Emir of *Masse*, commonly call'd the *Old man of the Mountain*; yet King *Richard's* Enemies gave out, that it was done by his Instigation; which Calumny proved very much to his prejudice, as you will hear anon.

[2.] Not long after the Death of this Prince, *Henry*, Earl of *Champagne*, Nephew to King *Richard*, married the Widow of the late King, and was in her Right, as well as by that of a new Election, declared King of *Jerusalem*.

[3.] In the mean time, before this new King, with the *Frenchmen*, could arrive to King *Richard's* Assistance, he marched out, besieged and took (though not without great difficulty) the strong Castle of *Darum*, which he presently bestow'd upon King *Henry*, together with the Adjacent Territory. [4.] But though King *Richard* was again alarm'd with some fresh Reports concerning his Brother Earl *John's* Proceedings, and thereupon renew'd his Resolutions of returning home as soon as possible; yet he deferr'd putting them in Execution, by the persuasion of some of his Chief Councillors and Chaplains till *Easter* following, it being then about the beginning of *June*.

[5.] Where upon both Kings with their whole Armies agreed to march once more against *Jerusalem*, and accordingly King *Richard* advanced as far as *Betenoble*; which the *Saracens* hearing, were so much affrighted at it, that they resolved upon his Farther Approach to have quitted the City; so that had the King marched boldly on during that Consternation, he had certainly carried it; [1.] but he being wholly ignorant of this, spent a whole Month at *Betenoble* to little purpose, expecting King *Henry's* Arrival with more Forces from *Acon*: but when he came to the Camp, King *Richard* foreseeing the great Difficulties that were like to attend that Siege of *Jerusalem*, would not under-

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And to have

the Marquess

*Conrado* Cho-sen K. of *Je-**rusalem*.[4.] *Id. ib. c. 24.*

The Marquess

by the Gene-

ral Votes is e-

lected K. of

*Jerusalem*.[5.] *Id. ib. p. 37.*K. *Richard* be-

stows the Isle

of *Cyprus* upon*Guy*, the depo-

sed Prince.

[1.] *Id. ib. c. 26.*

But before the

Marquess's

Coronation

he was stabb'd

by two *Sara-**acens*.

His Death was

laid to the K's

charge.

[2.] *Id. ib. c. 28.**Henry* Earl of*Champagne*

marries the

Widow, and

is elected K.

of *Jerusalem*.[3.] *Id. ib. c. 38.*

The strong

Castle of *Da-**rum* taken, and

given to the

new King.

[4.] *Id. ib. c. 42,*

45.

[5.] *Id. ib. c. 47,*

48, 49.

The Two Ks.

agreed to go

with their Ar-

mies against

*Jerusalem*.[1.] *Id. c. 50.*K. *Richard* had

taken the City,

had he gone

boldly on to

it.



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[2.] *Id. L. VI.*  
c. 1, 2.

By a Council  
of War the  
Two Kings were  
advised to be-  
siege *Babylon*.

But the D. of  
*Burgundy* and  
the *French* No-  
bility opposing  
it, it came to  
nothing.

King *Richard's*  
Memory Vin-  
dicated from  
the Aspersions  
of the *French*  
Historians.

[3.] *Id. ib. c. 4, 5.*

He takes a  
Rich *Turkish*  
*Caravan*, with  
a great many  
*Dromedaries* &  
*Camels*.

[4.] *Id. ib. c. 6, 7.*

The New K.  
*Henry* comes  
from *Acon*  
with his Ar-  
my to *K. Rich-*  
*ard* at *Ramula*.

Why they did  
not attempt  
*Jerusalem*.

A Ballad made  
and Sung in  
the D. of *Bur-*  
*gundy's* Army,  
much to King  
*Richard's* dis-  
grace.

Another Bal-  
lad made and  
Sung against  
the Duke and  
his *Frenchmen*.

Their Armies  
separate, and  
*Saladine* re-  
cruits his.

undertake it without very good Advice; and therefore [2.] Twenty persons elected by Common Consent, (*viz.*) Ten *Knights-Templars*, and *Hospitallers*, and Ten more out of the Chief Men of the *French*, and others that were Natives of the Country, were all sworn faithfully to give their Opinions, Whither it was more feasible to march further and besiege *Babylon*, or to go presently against *Jerusalem*; whereupon this Great Council of War, after a long Debate, advised the former Design, which both the Kings comply'd with: Yet nevertheless, since the Duke of *Burgundy* and all the rest of the *French* Nobility opposed that Resolution, there was nothing done either one way or the other, but all things continued at a Stand.

This fair and impartial Account why King *Richard* did not then undertake the Siege of *Jerusalem* may serve to Vindicate his Memory from the Malice or Misinformation of many of the *French* Historians, who make him to have put off this Resolution either out of Favour to *Saladine*, or else out of Envy to the *French*, who might have reap'd great part of the Glory in taking that City: But suppose the King did then follow the worst Advice, yet it was the Advice of a Council, that were accounted the Wisest and most Experienced Men of the whole Army, who were then against that Enterprize.

[3.] However King *Richard* could not endure to lye Idle; and therefore hearing of a Rich *Turkish Caravan*, consisting of a great Company of *Camels* and *Dromedaries* that were attended by a strong Convoy, he marched with a flying Party to attack them, and setting upon their Guard, utterly routed it (though not without a sharp Resistance,) so that the whole *Caravan*, with all its Rich Cargo, fell into the King's hands; the greatest part of which he distributed among his Souldiers, together with all the *Dromedaries* and *Camels*.

[4.] After this the King quitting all Thoughts of taking *Jerusalem*, retreated to *Bethaven*, within Four Miles of *Joppa*, and from thence went to *Ramula*, a little Town not far off, and thither the New King *Henry* came to him from *Acon*, bringing along with him all his Forces: but though they were not many Miles from *Jerusalem*, yet durst they not attempt that Expedition in the Heat of the Year (it being about *Midsummer*) for want of Water, *Saladine* having commanded all the Wells and Cisterns to be stopped up; yet without any consideration of these difficulties, the *French* Army murmur'd, and were extreemly discontented that the Siege was put off: insomuch that the Duke of *Burgundy* with his Officers mightily blam'd King *Richard's* Conduct, and the Duke himself made a Lampoon or Ballad upon it, which he caused to be Sung in his Army very much to King *Richard's* disgrace: which when he heard, it so provoked him, that in Revenge he himself made another Lampoon upon the Duke and his *Frenchman*, and likewise caused That to be Sung in his Camp. This, together with divers other Quarrels, begot so great Discord among them, that they marched back again toward the Sea-side, and separating their Camps, would not associate with each other any longer: Whereupon *Saladine* taking advantage of these Dissentions, recruited his Army, sending for Twenty Thousand fresh Men to *Jerusalem*, where he then was.

[5.] In



[5.] In the mean while great Part of the *Christian* Army deserted, and slipped away, some to *Joppa*, and some to other places; which the King perceiving, proposed a Truce to *Saladine* for some time, till he could go into his own Country and return again; but the crafty *Turk* would by no means hear of any Truce, unless the King would wholly demolish *Ascalon*; To which He would not consent, but quite razed the Castle of *Daram*, reinforced the Garison of *Ascalon*, and so without any further delay marched back with his Army to *Acon*, intending to return home with the first Opportunity.

[1.] So soon as *Saladine* understood that King *Richard* had left *Joppa* he marched against it with a powerful Army, the very same day that the King went to *Acon*, and setting down before it, he batter'd it so furiously with his Engines, that in a few days he made himself Master of the Town, and put all the Sick and Weak men in it to the Sword; but the rest fled into the Castle, which *Saladine* had likewise certainly taken, had not the *Patriarch* of *Jerusalem*, who was then in the place, treated with him to surrender it, unless they were relieved the next day by Nine of the Clock; and the *Patriarch*, together with the Governor of the Castle, were given as Hostages for the performance of the Conditions: yet he had before hand sent to King *Richard* an Account of their desperate Condition, imploring his Assistance, telling him, that they hoped for a speedy Relief. The King, so soon as he heard in what a miserable freight the Besieged were, though he had then put a good part of his Men on Ship-board, and design'd to go away himself the next day, yet now changed his Resolution, and went immediately to the Relief of the Place; He with his Forces going by Sea, whilst the *Knights-Templars* and *Hospitallers*, with many other Valiant Souldiers, march'd by Land; and they came just in the nick of time, for the Hour of their Surrendering being past, as *Saladine* was preparing to make a general Assault, the King's Gallies were seen to enter the Harbour: upon which the *Turks* found somewhat else to do; and leaving the Siege ran down to the Sea side, to see if they could hinder the *Christians* from Landing: but notwithstanding all the Opposition the *Turks* could make with Arrows and Stones, they got on shore, the King himself shewing them the way, by leaping into the Water up to the Waist: then marching with a Cross bow in one hand, and a Sword in the other at the Head of his Men, he destroyed all the *Turks* that stood in this way, putting the rest to flight, and so at last by a cover'd winding way entered into the City with some of his Men, there killing most of the *Turks* that were got into the outward Castle and City; so that *Saladine* with his whole Army being presently forced to decamp, he retreated with them further up into the Country, and the King durst not persue them, both by reason of the Smallness of his Forces, and because he had no more than three Horses, and those too he found in the Town; however marching out, He pitched his Tents in the same place which *Saladine* had quitted.

[2.] The *Turkish* Prince being highly concerned at this Defeat, and having no hopes of success, so long as King *Richard* was Alive, or at Liberty, sent certain *Saracens* and *Arabians*, (Nimble and Despe-

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[5.] *Id. ib. c. 11.*  
K. Richard pro-  
poses a Truce  
to *Saladine*.  
But it was not  
accepted of,  
unless *Ascalon*  
were demo-  
lish'd.

The K. goes  
back to *Acon*.

[1.] *Id. ib. c. 12,*  
13, 14, 15, 16.  
*Saladine* makes  
himself Master  
of *Joppa*, and  
puts all the  
Sick & Weak  
to the Sword.

The Castle too  
had been ta-  
ken, if not re-  
lieved next  
day.

K. Richard pas-  
ses with his  
Army by Sea,  
the *Knights-  
Templars* and  
*Hospitallers* by  
Land, to their  
Relief.

The K. Lands,  
and destroys  
and puts to  
flight all the  
*Turks*.

Upon which  
*Saladine* de-  
camps, and re-  
treats up into  
the Country.

And K. Rich-  
ard pitch'd his  
Tents in the  
place the Ene-  
my had quir-  
ted.

[2.] *Id. ib. c. 20,*  
21.

The *Turk* sent  
some Souldi-  
ers to surpriz-  
the K. by night,  
and take him  
Prisoner.



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MCXCII.

How they  
happened not  
to succeed in  
their design.

Being disco-  
ver'd by a Ge-  
noese.

Two parties  
sent to assist  
and relieve  
Conspirators.

[3.] *Id. ib. c. 22.*  
King Richard  
march'd out  
against the  
Turks.

The Turks for-  
ced to retreat.

The wonder-  
ful things K.  
Richard per-  
formed that  
day.  
Saphadin's pre-  
sent to the K.  
during that  
Fight.

[4.] *Id. ib.*  
The Battle is  
again renew'd.

The rest of  
the Ks. great  
Exploits.

Desperate Fellows) who voluntarily undertook to surprize the King by Night in his Tent, and carry him away Prisoner, being then attended with a very slight Guard: and they had certainly succeeded in it, had not these Conspirators, being of two several Nations, differed among themselves, who should first enter the Camp and seize the King's Person, and who should stay without to watch, that none might steal away in the Dark. But whilst they were debating this matter, a certain *Genoese* going out before day, discovered these *Saracens* by the noise of their Horse's Feet. Thereupon running back into the Camp, he gave the Alarm, at which the King leaping out of his Bed, presently dressed himself, and put on his Armour, and then with but Ten Horsemen (of whom the New King *Henry* and the Earl of *Leicester* were chief) having first drawn up his Forces in Battalia, he presently march'd against the *Turks*. But now it seems *Saladine* had not only sent out a strong Body of Men to second and relieve the Conspirators, but also had order'd his Brother *Saphadine* to follow that Body with a great part of his Army.

[3.] King *Richard* thus marching out (as I said) at the head of his Forces, (after a short speech to excite their valour) stood still to receive the first assault of the *Turks*; and though they made a brisk and violent Charge in several Parties, one after another, yet not being able to break their Enemy's Ranks, they were forced to retreat; the *Christian* Archers persuing them with their Arrows, and killing a great many of them. Then the King, with his few Horse (finding there was no good to be done against such a Body as they had, who could either assault them, or retire at their pleasure) immediately rode up briskly to the *Turkish* Horse, and put them to flight. And indeed it is almost incredible what wonderful things he himself perform'd that day, killing many of the *Turks* with his own hands, and delivering the Earl of *Leicester*, who was taken prisoner; insomuch that *Saphadine* himself was so transported with his Valour, that he sent him, even during the Fight, two brave *Arabian* Horses, since he saw the King then stood in such need of them.

This handsome Present being thankfully accepted, and the bringers of it nobly rewarded, [4.] the Battle was again renewed, and the whole burthen lay upon the King, and those few Landmen he had with him, for the Sea-men were fled to their Gallies; and the *Turks* to divert the King's Forces had sent some to fetch a Compass, and surprize the Town; which when the King heard, he presently retreated thither though but with a very few Men, and not only drove the *Turks* out, but also went and made his own men once more to quit their Gallies, and come on shore to his Assistance; after this he led back his Party to succour his small Army, which were still engaged, and in great pain for his absence; but as soon as he return'd, the *Turks* set all upon him; so that if he had not defended himself almost to admiration, and his Souldiers had not that day stoutly maintained their Ranks, both He and they had certainly perished.

Among



Among other heroick Actions which he then performed, this was one; A certain Admiral or *Turkish* Commander bravely mounted and Armed, setting upon King *Richard*, he received his Charge, and gave him such a terrible stroke with his Sword, that he cut off his Head, and part of his Shoulder, at one Blow; so that none of the *Turks* daring to engage any more with him hand to hand, they shot at him with their Arrows, till both his Coat of Mail, and the Furniture of his Horse were stuck full of them. And the *Turks*, finding at last that they could not prevail against him and his small Army, were forced to retreat, leaving above Seven Hundred dead Bodies upon the place, with the Loss of a very few *Christians*.

[5.] The King having again retired into the Town, fell very sick through the great Fatigues he had endured in the late Fight, as also through the Corruption of the Air, that was occasion'd by so many dead Carcasses, which lay unburied. Hereupon *Saladine* threatened, That if he would not depart thence, he would quickly come down and take him Prisoner: but he sent him word, That he would expect his coming, nor should his Threats make him quit the place: However, considering that he was much inferior to the *Turks* in Number, and but in a bad State of health himself, he sent the New King *Henry* to *Cesarea* to desire the Duke of *Burgundy* with his *Frenchmen* to come to his Assistance, and to defend the Countrey; but they refusing to give him any Succour, he had no way left, but to provide for his own safety as well as he could: Therefore at first he resolved to leave *Joppa*, and return to *Acon* for the recovery of his Health; which when King *Henry* and the *Knights-Templars* and *Hospitallers* heard, they earnestly perswaded him to the Contrary, affirming, That without him they could not maintain any Place; whereupon the King being greatly troubled in Mind what to do, found it could not consist either with his own Honour, or their Safeties, to leave them till he had made a Truce with King *Saladine* upon the best terms he then could, therefore treating with him by the means of *Saphadine* his Brother (who had always a great Respect for King *Richard*) there was at last a Truce concluded between them for the Space of Three years, upon these Conditions: First, That *Ascalon* should be demolished, and not repaired or fortified by either Party during that time: yet that *Joppa* might be repaired, and possessed by the *Christians*, as also all the Countrey then in the *Christian's* hands, without any hinderance or violence from the *Turks*; And then, that the *Christians* should have free Liberty to go on Pilgrimage to the *Holy Sepulchre* without paying any thing for it, and likewise should have free Commerce throughout all *Saladine's* Dominions.

These Articles King *Richard* agreed to, being the best he could obtain; considering the present State of Affairs, and He being then in a very ill State of Health, and destitute of Forces, and the Enemy with a Great Army lying within two Miles of the Place where he was.

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MCXCII.

He cuts off a  
*Turkish* Com-  
mander's  
Head, and  
part of his  
Shoulder at  
one stroke.

The *Turks* de-  
spairing, re-  
treated, lea-  
ving 700  
dead Bodies  
on the place,  
and but a few  
*Christians* lost.

[5] *Idib* 6.25.  
26, 27.

*Saladine's*  
Threats a-  
gainst King  
*Richard*.

The K's An-  
swer to him.

He sends K.  
*Henry* to *Cae-  
sarea*, to desire  
the D. of *Bur-  
gundy's* Affi-  
stance, but  
was refus'd it.

At last a Truce  
is concluded  
between them  
for Three  
years, upon  
Conditions.

Which tho'  
disadvantage-  
ous, yet was  
the best King  
*Richard* could  
make at pre-  
sent.



Anno Dom.  
MCXCII.

[1.] *Id. ib. c. 28,*  
30, 31, 32, 33.

34.  
Why the King  
desired it for  
Three years.

Saladine's ge-  
nerous An-  
swer.

He gives those  
who had the  
K's Letters of  
Safe Conduct  
liberty to visit  
the *Holy Sepulchre*, but de-  
nies it to the  
*French*.

The K's Sub-  
jects thereup-  
on perform'd  
their Pilgri-  
mage.

[2.] *Id. ib. c. 35,*  
36.

After their  
Vows perfor-  
med, in return  
home, great  
part of them  
perish'd by  
Shipwreck.

300,000 Pil-  
grims lost  
their Lives at  
the Siege of  
*Acon* alone.

[3.] *Id. ib. c. 37.*  
King *Richard*  
makes Procla-  
mation, to pay  
all those to  
whom he ow-  
ed Moneys,  
and resolves  
to return  
home.

He redeems  
*Will. de Pra-*  
*tellis* by Ten  
*Turks*.

[4.] *R. H. p.*  
408. a.

[1.] After all things were thus concluded between *Saladine* and King *Richard*, he sent Ambassadors to him to let him know, that he only desired this short Truce, that so he might return home for a time; and when he had recruited himself with Men and Money, he would return again, and once more endeavour to recover the *Holy-Land* from his Dominion. To which *Saladine* is said to have return'd this generous Answer by the same Messengers, That he called God to witness, that he had so great an Esteem for King *Richard's* Worth and Valour, that if it must be his Fate to lose that Countrey, he had rather it should be to Him, than to any other Prince whosoever. And *Saladine* so far made good his Complements, that he gave to all those who had King *Richard's* safe Letters of Conduct free liberty to go to the *Holy Sepulchre*, and return again in safety; which was at that time a very great Favour, for he denied it to all the *French*, because King *Richard* had refused them his Letters of Protection: So King *Richard's* Subjects being divided into three Bands under three several Leaders, (Two whereof were Noblemen, and the Third *Hubert* Bishop of *Salisbury*) they all one after another perform'd the Pilgrimage they had Vowed to the *Holy Sepulchre*: And it is very observable, that *Saladine*, though he was much pressed to it by the *Turkish* Commanders to let them go and destroy the first of those Troops that came thither, in revenge of those many Brave Men they had lost; yet He would by no means suffer it, because he knew it would be a great dishonour not only to Himself, but also to his whole Nation, if he should have now broken the Truce so lately made; and therefore he gave the *Pilgrims* leave (as I said before) to go, and return without the least molestation.

[2.] The Pilgrimage being thus perform'd, most of the *Pilgrims* took Shipping in order to return home; but a great part of them perishing by Shipwreck and other Accidents, never again saw their Native Countries: And our Author assures us from very good hands, that there were no less than Three Hundred Thousand *Pilgrims* who lost their Lives at the Siege of *Acon* alone, besides those that died afterwards in the City: If this be so, let the Reader judge what a vast Number more must have perish'd in other places.

[3.] But this is certain, that King *Richard* having now recover'd his Health by retiring to a place called *Cayphas*, and settled all his Affairs, caused Proclamation to be made, That all those to whom he owed any Money should come and receive it, for he resolved to return home with all speed, because of the various Reports he had heard concerning the King of *France* his Actions, and the Expulsion of his Chancellor. So having redeemed that stout Knight *William de Pratellis* (who had lost his own Liberty to save the King's) by Exchanging Ten *Turks* of Quality for him, and taking that Gentleman with about Twenty Others in his Retinue, [4.] he returned to

*Acon*



*Acon*, and there went on Board a great Bus which was bound for the Isle of *Corfu*, about the beginning of *October*; where arriving within less than a Month, he sail'd partly in a small Ship, and partly in certain Gallies as far as *Ragusa*, in the Gulph of *Venice*, and Landing not far from that City, resolv'd to go by Land through *Scalavonia* into *Austria*; where when they arriv'd, though He and those that attended him being disguised like Pilgrims, and letting their Hair and Beards grow to a great length, thought they should not be known; yet could he not be long conceal'd, by reason of his more than ordinary Expences; which was also confirm'd by the Rumours that ran about, of his being somewhere in those Parts.

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MCXCII.

At *Acon* goes on Board a great Bus, bound for the Isle of *Corfu*.

From thence he went to *Ragusa*.

When he came to *Austria*, he could not be conceal'd for all his disguise.

They resolve to seize, and deliver him to the Emperor.

Wherefore the King being afraid of the Duke of *Austria* whom he had affronted, as likewise because he knew he had a great Grudge against him, by reason of the League he had made with *Tancred* King of *Sicily*, the Emperor's Competitor for that Kingdom; as also because of the Murther of the late Marquess of *Montferrat* his Kinsman, in which he suspected King *Richard* to have had a hand: Wherefore, I say, being afraid of his being taken Prisoner, he privately withdrew from his Retinue, the Charge of whom he committed to one of his Principal Gentlemen that waited on him; and so taking Horse with only one Servant, he travelled Day and Night till he arrived near *Vienna*: But coming to a small Village, and lying down on a Bed to repose himself, whilst in the mean time his Servant went out to buy Provisions, he was known by one belonging to the Duke of *Austria*; and being seiz'd and brought before him, after many Enquiries he was forced to reveal where the King was: So the Duke sending thither, they immediately took him Prisoner as he lay asleep; of which Prize the Duke was not a little Joyful, having now an Opportunity, not only of revenging himself upon the King for the Affront he had put upon him in flinging down his Banner at the Taking of *Acon*, but also of enriching himself by a great Ransom, which he resolv'd to have for him before he would let him go.

He is taken Prisoner near *Vienna* by a Servant of his being discover'd.

Thus ended this Great Prince's unfortunate Expedition to the *Holy-Land*, as ingloriously, as it was at first magnanimously undertaken.

I have been the more particular in relating the chiefest and most remarkable Actions that were perform'd by this Valiant Prince in this famous Expedition, because it has never yet been so largely told in *English*, and because it is so much to the Honour of this King's Memory, and may serve for a Vindication of One of our Greatest Monarchs from the false and rude Aspersions of divers of the *French* Historians.

But it is now time to look back into *England* and see what has been doing there, since the last Account we gave you concerning the Bishop of *Ely*; [5.] who so soon as he arriv'd in *France*, [5.] *Id. p. 402. a.* wrote to the Pope long Letters full of Complaints, how ill he had



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MCXCII.

The Pope  
writes to the  
A Bps. and Bps  
of England to  
Excommunicate  
Earl John.

The Bps re-  
fuse to do it.

been used in Contempt of his Legantine Authority : At which the Pope was so much incensed, that he Commanded the Archbishops and Bishops of *England* to *Excommunicate* Earl John and all his Advisers and Accomplices. Upon this the Bishop of *Ely* as Legate, wrote to the Bishop of *Lincoln* immediately to put in Execution the Pope's Brief, and sent him the Names of all such as he would have him to *Excommunicate* by name, viz. *Walter* Archbishop of *Rouen*, *Godfrey* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Hugh* Bishop of *Coventry*, *William* Earl *Mareschal*, *Geoffrey Fitz Peter*, *William Briwere*, *Hugh Bardolf*, and many Others; but none of the Bishops would Execute either the Pope's or his Commands, as not owning him any longer for Legate or Chancellor: and which was more, the Archbishop of *Rouen* and the other Lords Justices of *England* (who had then undertook the Government) disseized him of his Bishoprick, and Collected the Rents to the King's use, to make good the Money he had wasted: And then the said Justices, and all the Bishops, Earls and Barons of *England* sent to the King, and by one Common Letter acquainted him, how that his Chancellor had impoverish'd the Nation, and wasted his Treasure, and for his so doing, had been put out of his Office by the Common Council of the Nation. On the other side, the Chancellor wrote to the King, that his Brother Earl John had seized the Kingdom, and would make himself King, if he did not speedily return home. No wonder therefore if he made what haste he could to get back into *England*.

[1] *Id.* p. 408.

Earl John en-  
deavours to re-  
store the Chan-  
cellor, but the  
Great Men  
would not  
consent to it.

[1.] In *Lent* following, Queen *Eleanor*, the King's Mother, being now return'd out of *Normandy*, the Archbishops of *Rouen* and *Tork*, and all the Great Men of the Kingdom, met and swore Fealty and Faithful Service to King *Richard*, and his Heirs, against all Men: Yet at the same time Earl John having promised the Bishop of *Ely* for Five Hundred Pounds to restore him to his Office of Chancellor, had sent for him privately into *England*, and endeavour'd to persuade the Great Men to permit his coming, but they would not; but they sent him word, That unless he forthwith departed the Kingdom, they would imprison him; Wherefore not daring to stay here any longer, he went beyond Sea on *Good-Friday* following: so all the rest of this Year passed quietly under the prudent Government of *Walter* Archbishop of *Rouen*, and the other Justices of the Kingdom.

[2] *R. H.* p.  
408. b.

The King of  
*France*, at his  
return from  
the *Holy-Land*,  
goes to the  
Borders of  
*Normandy*, and  
demands his  
Sister *Alice*.

[2] I shall conclude this Year with an Account of the State of Affairs in *France*, where King *Philip*, almost as soon as he return'd from the *Holy-Land*, (and before he had heard of King *Richard*'s Imprisonment) went to the Borders of *Normandy*, and there held a Treaty with the Seneschal and Noblemen of that Dutchy, of whom he demanded his Sister *Alice*, who was then kept in the Castle of *Rouen*; as also the Castle of *Gisors*, and the Earldoms of *Ewe* and *Albemarle*, and shewed them the Agreements in writing which had been made between Him and King *Richard* at *Messina* for the delivery of the Lady and of those Territories: but the Seneschal and Nobility would return the *French* King no other Answer, Than that they had re-

ceived



ceived no Orders from their Master concerning any of those things, and therefore could not comply with his Desires: At which King *Philip* being provok'd, raised a great Army, and would presently have invaded *Normandy*; but the Chief Noblemen of *France* would by no means agree to it, saying, That the Pope had *Excommunicated* all those who should make War upon the King of *England* before his Return: So King *Philip* was forced for that Time to give over this Enterprize.

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MCXCII.

Upon the Seneschal and other Noblemen of that Dutchy their denial, he raises an Army to invade *Normandy*, but durst not.

Also about the same Time, whilst the Seneschal of *Gascony* lay sick, the Count of *Perigord*, and the Viscount *de la Marche*, with all the Barons of those Parts, began to waste the Territories of the King of *England*, and would grant the Seneschal neither Peace nor Truce, though he often desired it: Wherefore, as soon as he was well, he in Revenge invaded the Territories of that Count, and taking several of his Castles, fortified some of them, and destroy'd others, and subdued the whole Earldom to the King's Obedience.

The Seneschal of *Gascony* subdues the whole Earldom of *Perigord* to K. *Richard's* Obedience.

[3.] Not long after which, the Eldest Son of the King of *Navarre*, and Brother to Queen *Berengera*, came to the Seneschal's Assistance with Eight Hundred Souldiers, and they both together entred the Territories of the Count of *Tholouse*, and took divers Castles near that City, some of which they fortified, and others they razed.

[3.] *Id. p. 4 to a.*  
Q. *Berengera's* Brother, and the Seneschal, take divers Castles from the Count of *Tholouse*.

[4.] King *Philip*, being highly dissatisfied that the Seneschal of *Normandy* had refus'd to deliver him his Sister, with those Places he demanded, and being now assured by the Emperor's Letters of King *Richard's* Imprisonment, was resolved to take another course; therefore presently after *Christmas* he sent several Messengers into *England* to Earl *John*, promising him, That if he would submit to, and follow his Advice, he should Marry his Sister *Alice*, and with her should enjoy all *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, and *Anjou*, as likewise all the Lands his late Father had been possessed of in *France*; Nay farther, he promised him that he would make him King of *England* in his Brother's Room.

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MCXCIII.

[4.] *Id. p. 412 a.*  
The King of *France* sends to Earl *John*, offering him his Sister *Alice* in Marriage, and to make him K. in his Brother's room.

[5.] Whereupon Earl *John* soon after passed into *Normandy*, where the Seneschal and other Great Men met him, and being ignorant of his Traiterous designs, they desired his Presence at *Alençon* to consult with them about the King, his Brother's Affairs, and the freeing him from his Imprisonment: But the Earl told them, That if they would receive him as their Lord, and swear Fealty to him, he would go with them, and undertake their defence against the King of *France*, but otherwise he would not: Whereupon the Noblemen of *Normandy* refused his Proposals, and resolved to own none but their Lawful Sovereign.

[5.] *Id. ib.*  
Earl *John* refuses to treat with the *Norman* Nobility about the K's release, unless they would accept him for their Lord.

But they refuse.

[1.] The Earl being thus disappointed of his Expectations, immediately went to the King of *France*, and did Homage to him for *Normandy*, and the rest of his Brother's Dominions on that side the Sea; nay (as it was reported) for *England* also, and swore he would

[1.] *Id. ib.*

take



Anno Dom.  
MCXCIII.

He does Homage to the King of France for Normandy, and swore he would marry his Sister Alice.

What the French K gave him with his Sister.

[2.] *Id. ib.*  
E. John returns into England, and demands the Kingdom, affirming that the K. his Brother was dead.

The Justitiaries reject him, and secure the Ports.

And raise an Army to oppose him.

\* *Hominet sui.*

[3.] R. H. p. 410. a.

The Emperor sends to the D. of Austria, to deliver K. Richard up to him, which he did accordingly.

[4.] *Id. p. 411. a.*

The K. being brought into the Emperor's Presence, he at first treated him roughly.

But the King's Eloquence and Courage in answering, moved all there present to compassionate him.

[5.] *Id. ib.*

take to Wife his Sister *Alice*; and then releasing to him *Gisors*, and the whole *Norman Veuxin*, the King gave him with his Sister that part of *Flanders* he had in his possession, and swore he would do his utmost to help him to gain *England*, and the rest of his Brother's Dominions.

[2.] Then Earl *John* return'd into *England*, bringing many Strangers over with him, and had the Castles of *Windsor* and *Wallingford* deliver'd to him: From whence he came to *London*, and demanded the Kingdom from the Archbishop of *Roüen*, and the other Justices (or Commissioners for the Government) and the Fealty of the Military Tenants or Vassals, affirming, That his Brother the King was dead, but they believed him not: And when he saw he was rejected by the Justitiaries and Great Men, he, transported with Indignation, fortified his Places of Strength, and invaded his Brother's Territories in an Hostile manner. But the Justitiaries had so well secured the Ports, as neither *French* nor *Flemings*, that promised him Assistance, durst attempt to Land in *England*. They likewise Besieged *Windsor-Castle*; and the Archbishop of *Tork*, with *Hugh Bardolfe*, One of the King's Justitiaries (and then Sheriff of *Torkshire*), and *William de Staveville* raised an Army in that Countrey, and marched to *Doncaster*, which they very well fortified. Then the Archbishop would have gone on, and Besieged *Tickhill*, a Castle belonging to Earl *John*: but the Other Two Justitiaries would not consent to it, because they were his \* Tenants or Feudataries: Upon which the Archbishop, with his People, left them, calling 'em *Traitors to the King and Kingdom*.

But it is high time to look back into *Germany*, and see how King *Richard* passed his Time there during his Imprisonment by the Duke of *Austria* at [3.] *Vienna*; where having been kept close Prisoner ever since the latter end of *December*, the Emperor *Henry VI.* now sent to demand him, alledging, That the Duke being his Vassal, it belonged not to him to have the Custody of the King's Person: Whereupon the Duke (partly for fear of the Emperor, and partly because he was by him promised a large Share of the Ransom demanded for his Liberty) deliver'd him into the Emperor's Custody: So on the *Wednesday* before *Easter* the King was brought into his Presence in a great Assembly of the Nobility and People. The Emperor thinking to terrify him, spake at first roughly to him, and laid many things to his Charge, especially the Murther of the late Marquess of *Conrade* his Cousin: but the King knowing his own Innocency, answer'd all the Emperor's Allegations with so much Eloquence and Courage, that he not only gave great Satisfaction to all there present, but moved the Emperor himself to Compassionate his Misfortunes, and to Reverence his Person, though not to that degree, as to make him willing to discharge him without a great Ransom, which was soon after agreed upon for One Hundred Thousand Marks; and till the payment of part, and giving Security for the rest, the Emperor detain'd him in [5.] safe (though honourable) Custody, and suffer'd his Servants and Great Officers to have Access to his Person.

Thither



Thither also came to him the Bishop of *Ely*, the late Chancellor, to complain against those who had expell'd him the Kingdom; and thereupon the King presently restores him to his former Office, because he was not turn'd out by his Orders: After him came *Hubert*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, out of *Sicily*, where he had receiv'd the ill News of the King's being taken Prisoner; but his Stay was not long there before he was dispatch'd away into *England*, not only to take care of the Kingdom, but also to hasten the raising his Ransom, since there was no Man, upon whose Prudence and Fidelity the King could more safely rely.

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The Bp. of *Ely* goes to him, and complains of his hard Usage, who restores him to his Chancellorship.

[1.] Not long after *Easter* the Abbots of *Boxley* and *Robert's Bridge*, who had been sent by the Justitaries some Months before to find out the King, return'd home, and brought back a full Account of the Agreement that had been made between him and the Emperor, which was to this effect; viz. That the King of *England* should pay to the *Roman* Emperor an Hundred Thousand Marks of Silver for his Ransom, and find moreover Fifty Galleys with all their Furniture, and Twenty Knights to be in his Service for One Year; and that they themselves had been present at the making of this Contract; and farther, that the King of *France* having lately sent his Envoys to defy King *Richard* on his behalf, the Emperor had answer'd them, That whoever affronted the King of *England*, injur'd himself: All which were but meer Words, for he never did any thing against the King of *France* in favour of King *Richard*, nor sent any Forces to his Assistance.

[1.] *Id. ib.*

The Two Abbots that had been sent to find out the King, return home, and bring an Account of the Agreement between Him and the Emperor.

[2.] In the mean time the King of *France* again invaded *Normandy*, and besieged the Castle of *Gisors*, which *Gilbert de Vascoil* presently surrender'd up to him, together with the Castle of *Nesle*; but he was accounted a most notorious Traytor for this unworthy Action; He having had the Custody of both these Places committed to him by the King himself whilst he was at *Messina*.

[2.] *Id. ib.*

*Gisors* surrender'd to the K. of *France*, and the Castle of *Nesle*, by *Gilbert de Vascoil*.

[3.] King *Philip* having taken *Albemarle*, and divers other strong Castles in *Normandy*, came before *Rouen* with his whole Army, threatening its destruction unless they surrender'd the City: But *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, who was lately return'd from the *Holy Land*, having put himself into it, so encouraged the Citizens against the *French* King, that though he Besieged the City for some days, yet having received more damage than what he had done to the Town, he was forced at last to Raise the Siege. But in his Retreat from thence he took the strong Castles of *Pasvie* and *Wierie* without much difficulty. Then, to put some stop to his Carriere, the Governors of *Normandy* procured a Truce from the King of *France*, by promising him a great Sum of Money, and by delivering up Four Castles as a Pledge for the performance of the same.

[3.] *Id. p. 411. W. N.*

K. *Philip* with his whole Army threatens destruction to *Rouen*, and besieges it.

The E. of *Leicester* then in it opposes him, & makes him Raise the Siege.

The Governors of *Normandy* procure a Truce from the K. of *France*.

[4.] In the mean while King *Richard* looking upon his delivery as certainly agreed on, (the Terms of it being already settled as you have heard,) thereupon sent into *England* for Ships under *Alan de*

[4.] *Id. ib. p. 412. b.*

*Trenchmer*



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King Richard  
sends for his  
Ships to bring  
him over.

K. Philip un-  
derhand com-  
bines with E.  
John, and pro-  
mises the Em-  
peror a good  
Sum of Mo-  
ney to keep  
Richard still a  
Prisoner.

A Truce  
made with E.  
John by the  
A. Bp. of Rouen  
and the other  
Justitaries.

*Trenchmer* his Admiral in order to his Transportation, as also Orders to get ready the Hostages that were to be delivered to the Emperor for the payment of the Ransom, according to the Agreement which had been made between them: But the performance of it being from time to time delay'd, All began to wonder at his long Stay, and very much to doubt of his Return, for the reason of this delay was not then known. But the King of *France* combining with Earl *John* against the King his Brother, had sent underhand certain Envoys to the Emperor, promising him a great Sum of Money if he would detain King *Richard* still a Prisoner; So that for some time he was put under streighter custody, and had heavier Chains upon him, which made his Subjects in *England*, who knew nothing of these Transactions, to be in suspence, what would become of him: and this was the true Reason, that now the Archbishop of *Rouen*, and the other Justitaries, though they had forced Earl *John* to a Compliance, and taken the Castle of *Windsor* out of his hands, yet now made a Truce with him till the Feast of *All-Saints*; the Castles of *Nottingham* and *Tickhill* being to remain still in his Custody as they were before; but the Castles of *Windsor*, *Wallingford* and *Pec*, were surrender'd to the *Queen-Mother*, upon Condition, to have them re-delivered to the Earl, if the King never returned.

[5] *Id. p. 413. a.*

The K. writes  
to his Subjects  
to send Mo-  
ney for his  
Release.

[5.] Not long after this there arriv'd other Messengers from the King, who brought his Letters directed to all Archbishops, Bishops Earls, Barons, Clerks and Free Tenants of the Kingdom, wherein he desired all the Clergy and Laity to give such an Aid as might procure his Liberty; and the Emperor himself then also wrote to them (though in general Terms) that the King and He were agreed upon his Ransom, though without naming the Sum.

[1.] *Id. ib.*

[1.] And the Reader is also to take notice, that the Pope had some time before threatned the whole Kingdom with an *Interdict*, unless the King were speedily set free, and had wrote to the King of *France*, declaring, That he would *anathematize* his Kingdom, unless he forbore disturbing the King of *England's* Territories, whilst he was a Prisoner.

[2.] *Id. ib. b.*

His Letters  
directed to the  
Q. his Mother,  
his Justices,  
and all other  
his faithful  
Subjects.

[2.] Our Author hath also given us the King's Letters above mention'd, directed to Queen *Eleanor* his Mother, and to his Justices and all other his faithful Subjects; wherein he lets them know, that being lately brought from the Castle of *Trinellis*, he had met the Emperor at *Hagenon*; and being by him honourably received, there was now a firm League and Agreement made between them, but mentions not the payment of more than Seventy Thousand Pounds for his Ransome, which he desires all the Parties above-mention'd to raise with all possible speed; and also to take an Account in writing of what Plate belongs to any Churches; and likewise that they should get the Hostages ready that were to be sent over for the true payment of the residue of the Money that should remain behind; and further orders it to be paid to the Queen his Mother, and



and those whom he shall appoint to receive it. These Letters are dated from *Hagenow* the Tenth of *April* this Year.

[3.] Upon the Receipt of the King's Letters, and by their Authority, the Queen-Mother and the Lords Justices determined, that all Clerks and Laicks should contribute a Fourth part of their Revenues that Year for the Redemption of the King; and besides, this should add so much more out of their Moveable Goods, so that when the King return'd he might own it as an Obligation.

[4.] Then besides this, they set Twenty Shillings upon every Knight's Fee; and farther ordered, that the Abbies of the *Cisterciens*, and Houses of the Order of *Semplingham*, should contribute all their Wooll of that Year; and that all the Gold and Silver the Churches were possessed of should be brought forth, and delivered up for the same purpose; yet that this Tax was not imposed by the King's Prerogative, (as some are apt to believe) appears from hence, That [5.] (as *Rad. de Diceto* relates,) all this Money was raised *Assensu Communi*, that is, by the Authority of the Great Council of the Kingdom.

[1.] Thus was a vast Sum raised in *England*, and received by the Emperor's Envoys at *London*, in part of the King's Ransom, and that by exact Weight and Measure, being seal'd up, and deliver'd to such as were to convey it to the Borders of the Empire, at the hazard of the King of *England*.

But certainly this was raised with very great Severity; for [2.] *William of Newburgh* tells us, That the King's Officers push'd forward this business in all Parts of *England* with that Earnestness, that they spar'd no body; and that without any distinction of either Clerk, or Laick, Secular or Religious Persons, all were compell'd to pay indifferently, according to their Ability, or their Yearly Incomes: Nor did the Privileges of Churches and Monasteries then signify any thing; so that the very Chalice and Altar-Plate was deliver'd to the King's Officers to make up the Sum. Nor did one Levy suffice; for when it was believed, that the Sum already raised did much exceed what was demanded for the King's Ransom, yet by Tricks and Artifices (as was supposed) of the King's Officers, it fell short, so that there was a Necessity for a Second payment, and after that a Third, whereby they despoiled all the Wealthy Men of the Kingdom of their Money and Goods. However, this specious and popular Argument of restoring the King his Liberty, made them the more contentedly to swallow this bitter Pill; for it was very well urged to the Clergy, that since the Gold and Silver Plate belonging to Churches might be bestow'd upon the Redemption of Christian Captives, much more for restoring the King to his former Liberty.

But though the whole Nation was near quite drained of its Money, yet was it not sufficient to discharge the Sum demanded, and therefore Hostages were to be given for the Remainder: [3.] About which Affair the Bishop of *Ely* now came to *England*, and immediately went to *St. Albans*, where the Queen-Mother, the Archbishop of *Rouen*, and the other Justitiaries then were; and he there produced a Letter from the Emperor to the Earls, Barons, and Noblemen of *England*, seal'd with a \* Bull or Seal of Gold, setting forth his late Agreement with, and great Respect he had for the

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[3.] *Id. ib.*  
How and upon whom this Sum was levied and raised.

[4.] *Id. ib.*

The Gold and Silver taken out of the Churches, to be restored.

[5.] *Col. 670.*  
This only a Benevolence.

[1.] *Id. ib.*

This Benevolence raised with great Severity.

[2.] *2. 4. c. 35.*  
*B. C. Col. 12.*

By Three Levies, and yet proved not sufficient.

Hostages given for the Remainder.

[3.] *R. H. p. 413. b.*

The Bp. of *Ely* returns into *England* to manage the King's business.

\* Note, *Bulla* properly signifies a round Piece of Metal; whence Writings seal'd therewith were called Bulls.

King,



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King, as also his Readiness to resent all Injuries done to him as if they were done to himself.

And then the Bishop with seeming great Humility told the Lords, *That he came not as a Justiciary, or a Legate, nor yet as a Chancellor, but only as a Bishop and the King's Envoy.* Then he Enjoyn'd some of the Bishops, Earls and Barons, to go back with him, and attend upon the King; Whereupon *Gilbert, Bishop of Rochester, Sefred Bishop of Chichester, Benedict Abbot of Peterburgh, Richard Earl of Clare, Earl Roger Bigot, Geoffrey de Say,* and many other Noblemen went along with him accordingly.

[4.] *Id. p. 414. a.*  
King Richard gives the Emperor his Kingdom to gain his Liberty.

He is reinvested with it by the Emperor to hold it of him by Annual Tribute. But before his Death the Emperor discharges him of it.

But it is now time to shew you, by what means the King had at last hopes to obtain his Liberty, [4.] which, our Author (under the last Year) tells us, was, by making over his Kingdom to the Emperor, investing him with it by the delivery of his Cap; and that then the Emperor presently delivered it back to him, to hold it of him by the Annual Tribute of Five Thousand Pounds Sterling, and re invested him by a double Cross of Gold: but the Emperor before his Death acquitted and discharged King *Richard* and his Heirs of this and all other manner of Contracts: But since I find this Transaction in no other Author of that Time, nor yet to be comprized in the Articles of Peace between the Emperor and the King, and that it does not seem agreeable to his wonted Greatness of Mind, I know not what great credit to give to it.

[5.] *Id. p. 414. b.*  
A great Conspiracy against the Emperor for the Murder of the Bp. of Liege.

A Treaty between the Emperor and K. of France. But broke off by K. Richard's Policy.

[5.] But this is more certain which the same Author relates, that there being about this time a great Conspiracy of the Princes of the Empire against the Emperor, by reason of the Murder of the late Bishop of *Liege*, which the Emperor was suspected to have contrived; he had no way to avoid it, but by making a stricter Confederacy with the King of *France*. One of the main Articles of which (if it had taken effect) was, That King *Richard* should be deliver'd up to King *Philip*, and the Day was appointed for that purpose: But the King of *England* by his Interest and Mediation so prevailed with the Princes of the Empire to rest satisfied with the first Agreements, that the intended Treaty between the Emperor and the King of *France* was wholly defeated.

[1.] *Id. ib.*

A Treaty between the Emperor and K. of England.

[1.] This done, the Emperor the next day after *St. John Baptist* came to *Wormes*, where the King of *England* then was: and there a Treaty was held between them Four days; there were present at it all the Bishops of those Parts, with the Dukes of *Louain* and *Lemburgh*, and many Earls and Barons; On the King's behalf appeared the Bishops of *Bathe* and *Ely*, and on the Fourth day after *William Brimere*, and *Baldwin de Bretun* came to the King, though as yet they all despaired of his Liberty; But on the day following they came to a final Agreement upon these Conditions.

The Agreement between them.

I. That the King of *England* should pay *Henry* the Emperor One Hundred Thousand Marks of pure Silver, according to the Weight of *Cologne*, and another Fifty Thousand, as an Aid toward his Reducing *Apulia*.

II. That the King should give the Sister of *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign*, his Nephew, in Mariage to the Son of the Duke of *Austria*; and that the King should deliver the Emperor of *Cyprus* and his Daughter.

III. That



III. That the Hundred Thousand Marks were to be brought into the Empire, at the hazard of the King of *England*; and when they were safe got there, he was freely and quietly to return into *England* under safe Conduct.

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To which we may likewise add one other Article, viz. IV. That the King was to give Hostages for Fifty Thousand Marks more to the Emperor, and the Duke of *Austria*; of which nevertheless the King was to be excused, if he perform'd his Promise concerning his Restoring of *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*.

[2.] The Emperor likewise was to give the King upon his being set free, safe Conduct through his Countrey, to what Port he should please to take Shipping at; and to this all the Bishops, Dukes, Earls and Barons there present swore on behalf of the Emperor; the Form of which Bargain or Composition you may find at large in our Author.

[2.] *Id. ib.*

[3.] But that the World might believe King *Richard* had somewhat more for his Money than his bare Liberty, the Emperor at the same time gave unto the King of *England* by his Charter the Sovereignty of *Provence*, *Vienna*, and *Viennois* (now part of *Dauphiny*) *Marseilles*, *Narbon*, *Arleblanc*, and *Lions* upon the *Rhone*, as far as the *Alps*, and whatsoever he had in *Burgundy* and the Homage of the King of *Arragon*, the Homage of the Earl of *Disdiers*, and the Homage of the Earl of *St. Giles*; all which were indeed noble Dominions; but the mischief of it was, the Emperor never was possessed of them, so that it proved no more than a meer empty Title, without any Power, or other Advantage.

[3.] *Id. ib.*  
What the Emperor gave to the K. of *England*.

The his Donation proved but an empty Title.

[4.] But it is now Time to return to *England*, and see what has been done here during the King's Imprisonment: And the most Considerable Action was Ecclesiastical, which I shall mention now, because it has a near Relation to Civil Affairs.

[4.] *Id. p. 415.*

The King sent over his Letters of *Congé* for the Election of a new Archbishop of *Canterbury* in the Room of *Baldwin*, who died in the *Holy-Land* (as you have already heard) upon the Receipt of these Letters, the Bishop of *London*, as Dean of that Province, summon'd all the Bishops thereof to that City, with *Geoffrey* Prior of *Canterbury* and his Monks; which last being arrived, they would not stay for any Nomination by the Bishops (as not thinking it necessary) but presently Elected *Hubert Walter* Bishop of *Salisbury* (then newly return'd from the *Holy Land*) Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and soon after presented him to the Queen-Mother, the Archbishop of *Rouën*, and the rest of the Bishops, who were by that time assembled for this Election; who when they saw what the Monks had done, and that the Person elected was worthy of their Choice, to avoid having any difference with them, the Bishops likewise presently elected him, though the Prior and Monks did not regard it, as looking upon the Right of Electing an Archbishop to be wholly in themselves: Then the Archbishop of *Rouën*, and Bishop of *London*, sitting in the King's Seat as his Vicegerents, declared the said *Hubert* to be duely elected, and the Archbishop of *Rouën*, by the King's Authority, confirmed the said Election.

The King, during his Imprisonment, sends over Letters of *Congé* to chuse an A. Bp. of *Canterbury*.

*Hubert* Bp. of *Salisbury* being Elected both by the Monks and Bishops, is declared and confirmed A. Bishop.



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[5.] *Id.* p. 416. b.  
The K. sends  
over for his  
Mother and  
several Great  
Men to at-  
tend him.

[1.] *Id.* *ib.*  
Hubert made  
Chief Justiti-  
ary of England.

K. Richard by  
Letter gives  
the A. Bp. of  
Canterbury no-  
tice, that the  
Emperor had  
set a day for  
his Delive-  
rance, and re-  
ceiving the  
Crown of  
Provence.

The Emperor  
writes to the  
same purpose  
into England.

[2.] *Id.* p. 414. b.  
Earl John goes  
over into Nor-  
mandy.

And swears  
Fealty to his  
Brother King  
Richard.

[3.] *Id.* *ib.*  
The Bp. of Ely  
and others  
sent to King  
Richard by the  
K. of France, to  
make Peace  
with him.

I have been the more particular in the Relation of this Trans-  
action, to let the Reader see, that it was not as yet settled who had  
the Right of *Electing* an Archbishop, whither it lay in the Monks  
of *Christ-Church, Canterbury*, or in the Bishops of that Province:  
But this Dispute between them being renew'd in the next Reign, it  
gave the Pope a Pretence to nominate one that was chosen by nei-  
ther of them, as you will find in due time.

Not long after this, [5.] the King sent for his Mother Queen  
*Eleanor*, and for *Walter* Archbishop of *Rouen*, with many other  
Great Men, to come over to him into *Germany*, and [1.] at the same  
time appointed *Hubert* the New Archbishop elect, Justitiary of  
*England*.

In the mean while the Emperor, by the Advice of the Princes  
of the Empire, set King *Richard* a day for his Deliverance, of which  
the King gave the Archbishop of *Canterbury* notice in a Letter, on  
purpose that He might partake of the satisfaction he himself received  
in the assurance of his being set free at the time prefix'd, which was  
to be upon the *Monday* Three weeks after *Christ's Nativity*, and  
that the *Sunday* following he was to receive the Crown of the King-  
dom of *Provence*, which the Emperor had bestow'd upon him, and  
whereof he now sent him the Letters Patents, &c. This bears date at  
*Spire* the Twenty-second of *September*. A little before *Christmas* the  
Emperor himself wrote to the Bishops, Earls, Barons, and other  
Subjects of *England*, not only to let them know the certain day of  
the King's Deliverance, but also how magnificently he intended to  
honour him with the Crown of *Provence*; but all this was only to  
wheadle the People to part with their Money the more easily and  
contentedly.

[2.] So soon as the King of *France* had heard of this Agreement  
between the Emperor and the King, he sent to Earl *John*, bidding  
him have a care of himself, for the Devil was now like to get loose;  
the Earl knowing what was meant by it, presently passed into *Nor-*  
*mandy*, not daring to expect the King his Brother's arrival in *Eng-*  
*land*. Our Author a little after gives us a much more probable  
Account of the Reason of Earl *John's* going over, viz. That before  
the Agreement was confirm'd between the Emperor and King *Richard*,  
the Latter sent *William* Bishop of *Ely* his Chancellor, and Others into  
*France* to his Brother *John*, and so effectually prevailed with him, that  
he returned into *Normandy*, and swore Fealty to the King his Brother  
against all Men; and then by his Letters the King Commanded all the  
Castles belonging to the Honours he had given him to be delivered  
to him, as well in *England* as beyond Sea; but yet those who had  
them in their Custody would not deliver them upon those Creden-  
tials. Whereupon he returned in Anger to the King of *France*, and  
stayed with him, and he gave him the Castles of *Driencourt* (now  
*Dreencourt*) and *Arches*, which should have been delivered to *Wil-*  
*liam* Archbishop of *Rhemes*.

[3.] Our Author farther relates, that soon after this, King *Richard* sent  
the Bishop of *Ely* his Chancellor, and *William Briwere* and Other Wise  
Men to the King of *France* to make Peace with him, upon any reason-  
able Terms, and that they did it accordingly, and settled the Claims on  
both



both sides: Then [4.] follows a long form of the Peace, which was supposed to be made between the Two Kings; wherein the First Article was that the King of *England* should be at the Mercy of his Lord, the King of *France*, for all those Territories he had taken from him, so that he might keep what he would of them: After this follows very large Provisions for the Indemnity of Earl *John*, and for the security of such Earls and Barons of *Normandy*, and other the King's Dominions, who had joyned with the King of *France* against him; also that King *Richard* should pay to the King of *France* Twenty Thousand Marks *per Annum* for Two Years: and for the performance of these Articles, and the true payment of this Money, King *Richard* was to deliver up Four Castles to the King of *France*, and in the mean time they were to be maintained at the Charge of the King of *England*: And the said Bishop of *Ely* with the other Three Ambassadors swore, that King *Richard* at his Return home should swear to ratifie this Agreement by his Charter; and that if he refused it, they would surrender themselves up Prisoners to the King of *France*, with some other conditions highly disadvantageous to King *Richard*.

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[4.] *Id. p. 415.*  
The Form of  
the Peace sup-  
posed to be  
made.

The Amba-  
sadors swore  
that the King  
their Master  
should Ratify  
the Agree-  
ment by his  
Charter.

These Articles, though they are there said to be sealed by all the Ambassadors above-mentioned, yet since no Other Author makes any mention of them, and that certainly they never were confirmed, or performed by King *Richard*, and that no Peace was ever made between them according to the Tenor of those Articles, I look upon them to have been only a hasty and rash Act of those Ambassadors: Wherefore the King their Master had no reason to stand to them, they being so much to his Prejudice, that the Continuation of the War would scarce have put him into a worse condition.

But the King  
was no ways  
obliged there-  
by.

This is all I can find to have happen'd worth taking notice of, during this most unfortunate Year of King *Richard's* Reign, except that [5.] his Queen *Berengera*, and his Sister *Joan*, Queen-Dowager of *Sicily*, (who left the *Holy Land*, sometime before the King, under the Guard of *Stephen de Turnham*) at last arrived in *Italy*, and from thence going to *Rome*, they continued there almost half a Year for fear of the Emperor; till they were sent by the Pope, under the Conduct of One of his Cardinals, as far as *Genoa*; and there Embarking, they Landed at *Marseilles*, and being honourably received by the King of *Arragon*, and then Earl of *Provence*, they were conducted through the Territories of the Earl of *St. Giles* into *Poitou*.

[5.] *Id. p. 417.*  
*Q. Berengera*  
and *Joan* the  
King's Sister,  
their Travel  
from the *Holy-  
Land* unto  
*Poitou*.

As for other Foreign Affairs, it is very observable, [1.] that in the beginning of *Lent* this Year *Saladine* the Wisest and most Valiant King that ever the *Turks* had, deceased, and his Brother *Saphadine* having then the Command of his Army, made himself King, whereupon a War arose between Him and his Nephew, the Son of *Saladine*. This I mention, to let the Reader see, how unfortunate it was for the *Christian* Interest, that King *Richard* was forced to return out of *Palestine*; for could he have stay'd there, he might by those Dissentions among the *Turks*, have again recovered all that he had lost by his Departure.

[1.] *Id. p. 414.*  
*Saladine's*  
Death; his  
Brother *Sa-  
phadine* suc-  
ceeds him.

*K. Richard's* re-  
turn out of  
*Palestine*, very  
unfortunate  
for the *Chri-  
stian* Interest.

[2.] King



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[2.] *Id. p. 417. a.*  
A great Dyet  
of the Empire  
is assembled  
at Spire.

The King of  
France and E.  
John offer the  
Emperor great  
Sums to keep  
K. Richard Pri-  
soner.

The Emperor  
prevail'd upon  
to defer his  
Release.

[3.] *Id. ib. b.*

King Richard,  
with the Qu.  
his Mother,  
and several  
Bishops, hold  
a Council for  
his Delivery.

The Emperor  
like to go from  
his Agreement.  
K. Richard pri-  
vately receives  
the French K's  
Letters for his  
longer Imprisonment.

[4.] *Id. ib.*

The Princes  
of the Empire  
reprove the  
Emperor for  
his Covetous-  
ness & Breach  
of Faith.

He at last con-  
sents to King  
Richard's re-  
lease.

Robert Nunant  
refuses to be  
Pledge for  
him.

[2.] King *Richard* still remain'd at *Spire*, till the time of his intended delivery, which was yet delay'd upon this occasion; the Emperor, with the Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes, and Great Men of his Empire not long after *Christmass* again holding a Dyet at that City, to consult further about the Delivery of the King of *England*; there came thither fresh Ambassadors from the King of *France* and Earl *John*, who offered the Emperor Fifty Thousand Marks from the King, and Thirty Thousand from the Earl, upon condition King *Richard* might be kept a Prisoner until *Michaelmass* following; or, if the Emperor had rather, they would give him a *Thousand Pounds a Month* so long as he should keep him Prisoner; or if it should still be more pleasing to him, the King of *France* should give him One Hundred Thousand Marks, and Earl *John* Fifty Thousand to deliver him into their hands, or at least to keep him One Year longer; whereupon the Emperor being tempted with these great Offers, most dishonourably put off his Delivery from time to time, and ordered it to be at *Mentz* upon *Candlemass*-day next ensuing.

[3.] At which time and place the Emperor, with all the Princes and Great Men of his Empire were again assembled, and King *Richard*, with his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, and *Walter* Archbishop of *Rouen*, *William* Bishop of *Ely*, and *Savary* Bishop of *Bathe* being likewise arrived, they all sat in Consultation, how to effect the King's Deliverance; for the Emperor (as I have said) tempted by the great Sum of Money which the King of *France* and Earl *John* had offer'd him, would fain have gone off from his Agreement with King *Richard*: wherefore the Emperor bringing along with him the Envoys of King *Philip* and Earl *John*, and *Robert* Brother to *Hugh* Bishop of *Conventry* being one of them, he privately deliver'd the French King's, and the Earl's Letters to the King of *England*, who when he had read them, and found them full of such great offers for his longer Imprisonment, he began to despair of his Liberty.

[4.] Yet being resolved to try all means possible to obtain it, He by his Chancellor the Bishop of *Ely*, solicited the Archbishops of *Mentz*, *Cologne*, and *Salzburg*, together with the Bishops of *Wormes*, *Spire* and *Liege*, and (for Secular Princes) the Dukes of *Svevia*, *Austria*, and *Lovain*, with the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and all the Great Men of the Empire, who were *Fide-jussors*, or Guarantees on the Emperor's part, for the performance of his Agreement with King *Richard*: Whereupon all these Princes going boldly to the Emperor, they reprov'd him for his Covetousness, in his dishonourably offering to break the Word and Faith he had so solemnly given; which Remonstrance at last so effectually wrought upon him, that he forthwith freed the King from his Imprisonment, he leaving *Walter* Archbishop of *Rouen*, *Savary* Bishop of *Bathe*, and *Baldwin Wake* and many other Sons of his Earls and Barons as Hostages or Pledges for the Residue of his Ransom Money unpaid; and that he should keep Peace to the Emperor, his Empire and all his Dominions; and the Archbishops of *Mentz* and *Cologne* delivered him free into the hands of his Mother Queen *Eleanor* on the fourth of *February*, having been detain'd in Prison one Year and about Six Weeks. The King asking *Robert Nunant* to be a Pledge for him, he answered, he was Earl *John's* Man or Vassal and



and therefore could not; but for this sawcy answer the King caused him very justly to be taken, and imprison'd.

[5.] The same day the Emperor, the Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes, and Earls of the Empire, by their Common Charter or Letter, to which they put their Seals, sent to the King of *France*, and Earl *John*, that presently upon sight thereof they should deliver to the King of *England* the Castles, Cities, Fortresses, and whatsoever they had taken from him while he was the Emperor's Prisoner, and if they did not comply, then to let them know, they would assist him to recover whatever he had lost.

[1.] After this King *Richard* by his Charters granted to several Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes, Earls, Barons, and others of the Empire, Annual Rents or Pensions for their Homages, Fealties, and Aids, and other assistances against the *French* King; and received the Homage of the Archbishops of *Mentz* and *Cologne*, as also of the Bishop of *Leige*, the Dukes of *Austria* and *Lovain*, the Marquess of *Montferrat*, the Dukes of *Lemburgh* and *Svevia* (the last of whom was the Emperor's Brother,) of the Count Palatin of the *Rhine*, and of the Son of the Earl of *Hainault*, as also of the Earl of *Holland* and many others, saving their Fealty to the Emperor: then the King taking his leave of Him and all the Princes there present, the Emperor gave him his safe Conduct to *Antwerp*, where he remain'd some days under the Protection of the Duke of *Lovain*; and from thence he passed over into *England*, and landed at *Sandwich* on the Thirteenth of *March*.

But *William* of *Newburgh* and *Bromton's* Chronicle also relate somewhat more concerning the King's deliverance, viz. that after King *Richard* was thus discharged, and had gone some days Journey toward the Sea-side, the Emperor through evil Council repented that he had let him go, and sent some of his Officers after him to cause him to be brought back again; but the King having timely notice of it, made such haste to get on Shipboard before they could overtake him, that they were fain to go back on an *April's* Errand: But since this Action seems unworthy so great an Emperor, and is related by no other Author except *William* of *Newburgh*, (for *Bromton's* Chronicle seems only to have transcribed this passage,) I look upon it as a malicious Report.

[2.] Not long before the King's arrival, one *Adam* of *St. Edmund*, a Clerk and Servant to Earl *John*, was sent by him into *England* with Letters and Directions, that his Castles should be fortified against the King his Brother; this busy Clerk coming to *London*, went to the Palace of *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and dined with him; where he mightily boasted of the Greatness of his Master, and the Intimacy he had with the King of *France*, telling him that he had given him the Castles of *Driencourt* and *Arches*; then talked at a very high and extravagant rate what his Lord could do, if he had but *Faithful Servants*. This vain bragging Discourse of his much exasperated the Archbishop and all that heard him; yet out of regard to Hospitality, he was not then apprehended, but sometime after Dinner the Mayor of *London* took him in his Lodgings with all his Letters and Papers, which contained Earl *John's* whole design, and so deliver'd them to the Archbishop

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[5.] *Id. p. 418. a.*  
The Emperor writes to the K. of *France*, and E. *John* to restore King *Richard* all his Rights and Possessions.

[1.] *Id. ib.*  
King *Richard's* Generosity to the German Bishops & Nobility.

His conduct ed to *Antwerp* and from thence comes to *Sandwich*.

Some Authors relate the Emperor would still have detained the K. which is not likely.

[2.] *Id. ib.*  
The Insolence of One of Earl *John's* Servants.

His insolent discourse exasperated the Archbishop. Whereupon he is apprehended and his Papers discover all Earl *John's* designs of



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Earl John dis-  
seized of all  
his Lands in  
England.

[3.] *Id. ib.*  
He, and his  
Advisers and  
Abettors ana-  
thematized.

An Appeal to  
the Pope a-  
gainst the Bp.  
of Ely.

Earl John's Ca-  
stles & Towns  
in England be-  
sieged.

And surren-  
der'd to the  
King.

[4] *Id. ib.*

Tickhill Castle  
surrender'd to  
the K's mercy.

of *Canterbury*, who the next day called before him the Bishops, Earls and Barons of the Kingdom, and shewed them those Letters; and thereupon it was presently determined by them all unanimously in Common-Council, that Earl *John* should be disseized of all his Lands in *England*, and that his Castles should be besieged, and so it was done accordingly.

[3.] The same day Archbishop *Hubert*, and the Bishops of *Lincoln*, *London*, *Rochester*, *Winchester*, *Worcester* and *Hereford*, and the Elect of *Excester*, with many Abbots and Clerks of the Province of *Canterbury*, met together and anathematized Earl *John*, and all his Abettors and Advisers. who had or should disturb the Peace of the King and Kingdom, or unless they laid down their Arms, and gave satisfaction; and then they appeal'd to the Pope against *William* Bishop of *Ely*, that he should not for the future Exercise the Office of a Legate in *Ireland*; and having confirm'd this Appeal with their Seals, they sent it over to the King.

Then all those, to whom the Power of reducing Earl *John's* Castles was Committed, went into the Countrey where their Commands lay, and there they levied Forces for that end; the Bishop of *Durham* went into *Yorkshire* and *Northumberland*, and raising an Army, besieged *Tickhill*; whilst Earl *David* the King of *Scot's* Brother, *Ranulph* Earl of *Chester*, and the Earl *Ferrars* besieged *Nottingham*; and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (being, as I said before, then the King's Justiciary) with a great Army besieged *Marleburgh*, which within a few days was surrender'd to him, saving the Lives and Limbs of the Besieged; after which were also deliver'd the Castle of *Lancaster*, which *Theobald* the Archbishop's Brother had kept for Earl *John*; and *St. Michael's Mount* in *Cornwall* was also surrender'd, which *Henry de Pomeray* had fortified; but the Castles of *Nottingham* and *Tickhill* held out till the King's return into *England*.

[4] Immediately after his Landing he went to *Canterbury*, and at the Shrine of *Thomas Becket* gave Thanks to God, and that pretended *Martyr*; from whence he went to *London*, and being received with great Joy and Solemnity, after a short Stay there he went on Pilgrimage to *St. Edmunds-Bury*, and from thence to *St. Albans*, to perform his Devotions at the Shrines of those Saints: which done, the King marched down against the Castles of *Nottingham* and *Tickhill*, the latter of which, by the leave of the Bishop of *Durham* who had then besieged it, sent out Two Knights to see if the King were come indeed; and, if it were so, to offer him the Castle, which they did; but the King would not receive it, unless they would surrender to his Mercy; which Message they carried back to the Governor: then the King, by the Advice of the Bishop of *Durham*, promised them their Lives and Limbs, and upon that condition they delivered the Castle to the Bishop: but those that were in *Nottingham*-Castle never sent any Messengers to the King at all; at which being much provoked, he came before it, and on our *Lady-day* besieged it with a strong Force; but those within would not believe the King was there in Person, wherefore he was obliged to make an Assault upon it, and having killed divers of those who had made a Sally, and caused some of them, who were Earl *John's* Servants, to be hanged upon a Gallows which he had ordered to be set up in their sight; and see-  
ing



ing the King's Petrars (or Engines to cast Stones) were also made ready, the Constables of the Castle then sent out some to see whither the King were there indeed or no; which when those within were assured of, they delivered up the Castle with themselves to the King's mercy.

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*Nottingham Castle is likewise deliver'd.*

[5.] *Id. ib. b. p. 419.*

*King Richard holds a great Council at Nottingham.*

*Candida Casa.*

[5.] On the Thirtieth of *March*, within Two days after the taking of the Castle, the King held a Great Council at *Nottingham*, where were present *Eleanor* the Queen-Mother, and *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who sat on the King's Right-hand, and *Geoffrey* Archbishop of *York* who sat on his Left-hand, *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham*, *Hugh* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *William* Bishop of *Ely*, the King's Chancellor, *William* Bishop of *Hereford*, *Henry* Bishop of *Worcester*, *Henry* Bishop of *Excester*, and *John* Bishop of \* *Whitheren* in *Scotland*: *Earl David* the King of *Scot*'s Brother, *Hamelin* Earl of *Warren*, *Rannulph* Earl of *Chester*, *William* Earl of *Ferrars*, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Roger Bigot*, with many other Barons.

[1.] The same day the King also disseized *Gerard de Camvil* of the Castle and Sheriffwick of *Lincoln*, and *Hugh Bardolf* of the Sheriffwick of *Torkshire*, and of the Castles of *Tork* and *Scarburgh*, and of the Custody of *Westmorland*, and then exposed them all to Sale: the Chancellor offer'd down in Ready-money for the Sheriffwicks of *Torkshire*, *Lincolnshire*, and *Northamptonshire* Fifteen Hundred Marks, and an Hundred Marks every Year for each of them; but *Geoffrey* the Archbishop offer'd Three Thousand Marks for the Sheriffwick of *Torkshire* only, and One Hundred Marks by the Year, and so obtained it; by which means he was made the King's Servant, and Subjected himself to his Power.

[1.] *Id. ib. Gerard de Camvil, and Hugh Bardolf disseized of their Castles and Sheriffwicks.*

*Geoffrey A. Bp. of York outbids the Chancellor for their Sheriffwicks.*

[2.] *Id. ib. The second day of the Council.*

*The King demands Judgment upon E. John, and the Bp. of Coventry.*

† *Demeruisse Regnum.*

*Earl John attainted of Treason by the great Council of the Kingdom.*

*Vid. v. Scriptor. p. 12.*

[2.] The Thirty-First of *March* was the Second day of this Council, in which he requir'd Judgment to be given upon *Earl John* his Brother, who, contrary to the Fealty he had sworn to him, had seized his Castles, destroyed his Dominions as well in *England* as *Beyond Sea*, and had Confederated with his Enemy the King of *France*: He also demanded Judgment against *Hugh Nunant* Bishop of *Coventry*, who, though privy to his Secrets, had deserted him, and adhered to his Enemies, *Earl John* and the King of *France*, and contrived all the mischief he could against his Government: Hereupon it was adjudged that they should be peremptorily cited, and if within Forty days they appeared not, nor stood to the Law, they then declared *Earl John* to † have forfeited the Kingdom, (that is, his Right to return into it again) and that the Bishop of *Coventry* was to be Judged by the Bishops as he was a Bishop, and by Lay-men as he was the King's Sheriff.

But not to omit any thing Considerable concerning this Condemnation of *Earl John* now mention'd; I confess I am not certain, whither *Roger Hoveden* in this Relation of it, by this barbarous Phrase (or rather Solecism) of *Demeruisse Regnum*, might not mean the Forfeiture of his future Right to the Kingdom; because upon his refusing to Appear to this Summos, and to stand to his Tryal according to Law, he was some time after Attainted of Treason by the Great Council of the Kingdom, as I find by a Passage in the Annals or Chronicle of *Margan*, which says, that King *John*'s Coronation was performed contrary to a precedent and solemn \* Judgment of the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons, and other Great Men of *England*, which had been pronounced against him at *Nottingham*, in the Presence of King *Richard* his Brother, for the Treason by him committed against the said King and Kingdom, in confederating with the King of *France* whilst King *Richard*



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* Lib. 2. c. 71.

† *Adjudicavit.*

It is farther
proved that
Sentence
pass'd against
E. John, from
another Au-
thor.

And confirm-
ed by a Letter
of the King of
France

[3.] *Vid. X.*

Script. Col.

1868.

The Bishops
give Sentence
in Cases of
Blood.

[4.] *R. H. lib.*
The Acts of
the Third day
in this Coun-
cil.

An Aid given.

[5.] *Id. ib.*
The Fourth
day of the
Council.

Gerard de Cam-
vill accused
for harbour-
ing Thieves.

And appealed
of Treason.

His Answer
to the Accu-
sations.

* *Liberis homi-
nibus.*

was in Prison; for which Earl John was not only disinherited of all his Lands he then held in *England*, but also of all Honours which he expected to enjoy after the King's decease; and it was then likewise adjudged, that he should be Summon'd by the Space of Forty days to appear in the King's Court, there to answer and defend himself from that Accusation. But that upon the Earl's not appearing within the Time limited, nor sending any one to answer for him, Sentence passed accordingly; though it is here omitted by *R. Hoveden*, yet is it expressly related by * *Walter Hemingford*, who says, That King *Richard* adjudged his Brother Earl John, for his monstrous Ingratitude and Perfidy, to lose all his Honours, and This was by a Solemn Sentence of his Peers, so that all fear of Civil War was now at an End in *England*.

This Relation is likewise confirmed by a Letter of Prince *Lewis* of *France*, which though it was written some years after to the Abbot and Convent of *St. Augustin's* in *Canterbury*, when that Prince came over by the Invitation of the Barons to take the Crown from King *John*, yet it is recited at large by [3.] *William Thorne* in his History of the Abbots of that Monastery; the Purport of which you will find in the latter end of that King's Reign; and therefore I shall refer you thither, if you have a mind to consult it.

From which Relation and Letter it appears, that the Bishops did then Vote and give Sentence in Causes of Blood, notwithstanding the Constitutions of *Clarendon* to the contrary; unless you will suppose this Judgment to have been given by the Peers in full Parliament, by an Act of *Attainder*, as at this day, which is not unlikely.

But to return to that from which we have somewhat digress'd, viz. the Rest of the Transactions of this Great Council at *Nottingham*.

[4.] The First of *April* being the Third day of this Council, It was ordain'd, That there should be given the King out of every Plough Land in *England* the Sum of Two Shillings; then he required, That every Military Tenant should perform one Third part of his Service, according to what every Fee would bear, and that they should go over with him into *Normandy*: He also required of the *Cistercian* Order all their Wooll for that Year; but because this Demand was very grievous to them, they chose to pay the King a certain Sum of Money in lieu of it.

[5.] The Second of *April* was the Fourth and Last day of this Great Council, in which many Clerks and Laicks complained of the Oppressions and unjust Exactions of *Geoffrey* Archbishop of *Tork*; to which he returned no Answer. After this, by the Advice of the Bishop of *Ely*, the Chancellor, (as it was said) *Gerard de Camvill* was accused for receiving certain Thieves, who had robbed some Merchants going to *Stanford-Fair*; and that they came from his House when they committed the Robbery, and returned thither after they had done it. They further appealed him of Treason, because he would not appear upon the Summons of the King's Justiciary, nor stand to the Law concerning the receiving of those Robbers, nor would bring them to Justice: but *Camville's* Answer was, That he was Earl John's Tenant or Feudatary, and would stand to the Law of his Court. He was also accused, that he was with force of Arms in the Assistance of Earl John, and other the King's Enemies, when the Castles of *Nottingham* and *Tickhill* were surprized: All which *Gerard* denied; whereupon his Accusers gave Security for prosecuting their Accusation, as he did also of defending himself by one of his * Free-men, or Tenants, who was his Surety.

And

And I suppose it was for these Offences, that [1.] this Gerard, on *Anno Dom.* the First day of the Session of Council, was by the King disseized of *MCXCIV.* the Castle and Sheriffwick of *Lincoln*, as hath been already mention'd.

[2.] After these great Affairs were over, the King declared the Day of his Second Coronation, which he now resolved should be on the close of *Easter* at *Winchester*, and then went to *Chipston* in the same County, to meet *William* King of *Scots*; who, as they journeyed together toward *Winchester*, demanded of the King the Dignities and Honours his Predecessors had enjoy'd in *England*, and also the Counties of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Westmorland* and *Lancaster* (though I do not find this last Earldom ever to have belong'd to the Kings of *Scotland*) to be restor'd to him as the Right of his Predecessors: the King answer'd, He would satisfy him by the Advice of his Earls and Barons. They stay'd at *Northampton* the Tenth and Eleventh of *April*, and there King *Richard* having deliberated, and advised with the Bishops, Earls and Barons, gave the *Scottish* King this Answer, That as to his demand of *Northumberland*, he ought not then to have made it, when all the Princes of *France* were become his Enemies; for if he granted it now, it would seem as if he did it out of Fear, and not out of Affection.

Yet, to give him all the satisfaction he could, the King then granted by his Charter to Him and his Heirs for ever, in the presence of the Queen-Mother, *Hubert* Archbishop of *Coventry*, *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham*, *Jocelin* Bishop of *Glasgow*, and many other Clerks and Laicks of both Kingdoms, that whenever the King of *Scots* was summoned to the King of *England*'s Court, the Bishop of *Durham* and Sheriff of *Northumberland* should receive him at the River *Twede*, and bring him to the *Teise*, and there the Archbishop of *Tork* and Sheriff of *Torkshire* should receive, and conduct him to the Borders of that County; and so the Bishops of each Diocess, with their Sheriffs, should conduct him from County to County until he came to the King's Court. And from the time he enter'd *England*, he should receive every day out of the King's privy Purse an Hundred Shillings for * *Allowance* or *Livery*: and after he came to the King, and so long as he stayed there, he was to have every day Thirty Shillings allowance, and Twelve of the King's fine Loaves, or Cakes, and Twelve of the King's Biscuits or Simnels made of the finest Wheat, and four Gallons of the King's best Wine, and eight Gallons of Ordinary Wine; with divers other allowances of Spice, Wax-candles, and other things, which need not here be particularly recited.

And when the *Scottish* King return'd into his own Countrey, he was to be conducted back by the Bishops and Sheriffs to the River *Twede*, and to be allowed an Hundred Shillings a day. [4.] This Charter was delivered to *William* King of *Scots* at the Town of *Northampton* on the Twelfth of *April* 1194, being *Easter-Tuesday*, by the hands of *William* Bishop of *Ely* the Chancellor.

[5.] Then on the Thirteenth of *April* the King left *Northampton*, and lay at a Place called *Silveston*, whilst the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Bishop of *Durham* lay at *Brackley*; where happen'd a great Quarrel between the Servants of that Bishop and those belonging to the King of *Scots*, about the Lodgings that had been assign'd the Bishop, by the Kings Mareschal; for the Bishop would not give up his House to the *Scottish* King, and he thereupon resent'd it so ill, that he complain'd to the King of the Affront he had received, who sharply reproved the Bishop for his Incivility.

[1.] Then the King went by *Woodstock* to *Worcester*, where so soon as he

[1.] *Id. ib. a.*[2.] *Id. ib.*The K. of *Scots*'s demands of K. *Richard*.K. *Richard*'s Answer to him.[3.] *Id. ib.* And Charter to the K. of *Scots*, setting forth the manner of his Reception and Allowance in *England*.* *Liberatione.*[4.] *Id. p. 420.*[5.] *Id. ib.* A great Quarrel between the K. of *Scots* and Bishop of *Durham*'s Servants.[1.] *Id. ib.*

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Godfrey, the Bp.
of Winton dis-
seized.

The King de-
mands the
Crown-Lands
from those
that had
bought them
of him for-
merly.

And how he
excuses him-
self for so do-
ing.

[2.] *Id. ib.*
The King now
Crown'd at
Winchester,
with the man-
ner of that
Ceremony.

* *In Pincerna-
ria.*

[3.] *Id. ib. b.*
*John de Pome-
ray* accused of
Treason, flies
the Land.

What *Hugh*
Bishop of *Dur-*
ham surrenders
to the King.

arrived, being the 15th of the said Month, he disseized *Godfrey* Bishop of *Winton* of both that Castle and the County of *Hampshire*, with Two Mannors he had bought of him before his Expedition to the *Holy-Land*,

And as *William* of *Newburgh* informs us, He also about this time demanded the Crown-Lands from all those that had bought them of him, or on whomsoever he had bestowed them; pretending they had been only mortgaged and not sold out right; nor durst they defend the Right they had to 'em by any Charter or Agreement from him, for it signified nothing, seeing all were alike born down by the weight of the King's Power: and though this was a most manifest piece of Injustice, yet he put a very fair Colour upon it, telling them, that they ought not to take advantage of their King's Necessities; and besides, that they had either received their Moneys out of the profits of the Estate, and then they ought to be content, or if they had not he would make it good to them; and particularly he told the Bishop that he knew there was a Brief from the Pope to extort by way of Usury more than the principal from their King, yet however that he would further consider him in due time: which shews us, that the most prodigal Princes when reduced to necessity, become more griping and oppressive than any other.

[2.] The King being now come to *Winchester*, resolved to begin his Reign as it were anew, and to be crowned again; Since his Subjects might doubt, whither by being so long a Prisoner to the Emperor, and by the report of his surrend'ring the Crown to him, he had not weakened his Royal Title and Authority; therefore on the Seventeenth of *April* (being Eight days after *Easter*) the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with all the rest of the Bishops in their Formalities, waited on the King in his Chamber, and when they had put on his Royal Robes, Sword, Spurs and other Ornaments, the Archbishop set the Crown upon his head, and put the Scepter in his Left, and the Golden Staff having a *Dove* on the top of it in his Right hand, and then after the Archbishop had said a short Prayer, and the Pre-center had sung an Hymn, all the Bishops, Earls and Barons went to *St. Swithins* Church in Solemn procession, four Earls supporting the Canopy, and Three Swords being carried before him as at his first Coronation; the King of *Scots* going in the Middle, carry'd the first Sword, as Earl of *Huntington*, and on each hand of him *Hamelin* Earl of *Warren*, and *Rannulph* Earl of *Chester*, carried the other Two: then after the King had heard Mass, he returned back to his Palace with the like procession, where he made a splendid Feast for all that were there assisting at it: and the Citizens of *London* presented the King with Two Hundred Marks; and they and the Citizens of *Winchester* served him, the former in the * Buttery, and the latter, to bring up his Meat from his Kitchen, as they had done formerly.

[3.] After this Solemnity was over, *John* (or *Jollan*) de *Pomeray* was accused of Treason, in that he had assisted his Brother *Henry* at the taking of *St. Michael's Mount* in *Cornwall*: Wherefore *John* distrusting his Cause, chose rather to quit *England* than to stand to the Judgment of the King's Court. On the 19th of this Month, *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham*, of his own Accord, surrend'rd up to the King the County of *Northumberland*, with the Castles and other Appurtenances which had been formerly granted him by Charter.

But *William* of *Newburgh* (with greater probability) tells us, that the Bishop did this, because he could not help it; and that though he had bought his Earldom for no small Sum of Money, yet he found no more favour than several others.

But

But this is certain from [4] Roger Hoveden, that the King ordered the Bishop to deliver the County with its Castles to Hugh Bardolf, and then the King of Scots offer'd fifteen thousand Marks for them, saying, his Father and his Brother Malcolm had held them of the Gift of King Henry the Second; whereupon the King offer'd him the whole County, except the Castles, for that Money; but he refused to accept it on those Terms: then the Prisoners that were taken in Earl John's Castles were brought to Winchester where the King caused the better sort of them to be imprisoned, that so they might come pound, or fine; and the rest gave Security, every one in an Hundred Marks, for their appearance upon Summons in the King's Court, and standing to Judgment there.

[5] On the 24th of April the King made a Peace and final Concord, between the Archbishop of York, his Wife Brother, and the Bishop of Ely his Chancellor, concerning all Controversies that had happen'd between them, as well about the Archbishop's imprisonment at Dover, as the Chancellor's being forced out of England; so that whenever he was called to it by the Archbishop, he should swear with an * Hundred Priests (his Compurgators) that he neither commanded, nor desired he should be imprisoned.

[1] The King having received the News that the K. of France had invaded Normandy, resolved to make what speed he could over thither; so on the above mention'd day that he had made that Agreement, viz. the 24th of April, he and the Queen his Mother went to Portsmouth, to go beyond Sea, but they went not on Board until the 12th of May following, because the Wind was all that while contrary: The King growing impatient of this delay, went to Sea in a small Vessel with Oars; but being driven back again by a Tempest to the Isle of Wight, he return'd to Portsmouth, and after eight day's longer stay, set sail again with an hundred great Ships laden with Souldiers, Horses, and Arms, and landed at Barb-fleet: the King of France had then besieged Verneuil eighteen days; but when he heard of King Richard's arrival, and that he was coming to its Relief, he retreated, unknown to his Army; but they not long after hearing of their King's departure, raised the Siege, and follow'd him on the Monday in Whitsun week. When King Richard heard of the French men's retreat from before Verneuil, he persued the flying Army; but not being able to overtake it, he return'd to that Place, and repair'd the Breaches, and strengthened the weak Places.

[2.] About this time Earl John, when he saw he was not able to do the King his Brother any more mischief, and found himself also slighted by the French, thro the Mediation of Queen Eleanor his Mother, he got himself reconciled to the King, and coming to him implored his Mercy and Pardon, which the King readily granted him, [3] saying generously, *I wish I may as easily forget your Offence, as I doubt you will my Pardon of it*; therefore to keep him to his good Behaviour, the King did not then restore him his Castles and Lands, tho he did it afterwards, upon his perseverance in his Duty, as you will find anon: yet to give Earl John his due, he was so mindful of the King's Admonition, that he ever after served him faithfully in all his Wars against the King of France.

Ann. Dom. But I cannot here omit a scabrous piece of Cruelty and Treachery that had been committed by *Earl John* (if we may believe the *French Historians*) little before his Reconciliation with his Brother, whilst he was on the side of *France*: and which perhaps was done to render his Reconciliation with his Brother the more easy and assured to him. *King Philip* had not long before made this *Earl* Governour of the City of *Eureux*; but he resolving to deliver that place up to *King Richard*, knew not how to bring it about any other way than by involving the garrison of that chief Officers and Souldiers of the Garrison to his Reconciliation. I should have told you that before he had privately brought over the greatest part of the Citizens to his Party, for they were desirous to return to *King Richard* their former Prince. So that in the midst of their Jollity, *Earl John* with the other's Assistance, fell upon his Guards, and having cruelly massacred them, declared the City to the King of *England*, as an earnest of his future Loyalty: but the same [4] Author assures us, that also the King secretly again returned his Brother into favour, yet did he not at all approve of such his wicked and treacherous Action.

This indeed is not questioned by any of our *English Writers*, but is set down at large by [5] *Nicolas* and *William le Breton*, who lived in the first time; and is being suitable enough to this Prince's natural Disposition, I think we need not much question the truth of it.

I shall also from the [6] same Authors, give you a Relation of the rest of the Treacheries that happened about this Time, since it differs very much from that we find in ours, both in the order of time, and in other Circumstances; and indeed gives us a great deal of light into our History, which (should we rely upon our *English Writers* only) is here very obscure. For the former relate what omits have quite and clean omitted, that the King of *France* having besieged *Verneuil* three Weeks, whilst he lay before it, received the News of *Eureux* being betrayed and surprized by *Earl John*; at which he was so much incensed, that he immediately left the Siege to be carried on with part of his Forces, and march'd away privately with the rest to *Verneuil*; where falling upon the *Normans* on the sudden, he not only retook the Place, but in revenge of the Treachery of its Citizens, he kill'd the Inhabitants, not sparing Age or Sex, and burnt the Town to the ground, with the Churches; showing this only Mercy, that he carried away the Reliques of the Saints.

But in the mean while, that part of the Army which had orders to stay behind at *Eureux*, being dispirited by the King's Absence, and the brisk Sallies of the Besieged, presently raised the Siege, and march'd off with such great precipitancy, that they left the best part of their Baggage and Provisions behind them, and followed the King; but as soon as they were gone, those in the Town sallied out and enriched themselves with their Booty: yet why the *French Army* should fly away in such hast, had it not been for fear of *King Richard's* coming upon them, I cannot understand: but of this the *French Writers* say not a word.

But *Roger Hoveden*, *Rudolphus de Diceto*, and all our *English Historians* relate it quite otherwise; and passing by the *French King's* taking of *Eureux* at that time, they make him to have fled from the Siege of *Verneuil*; and *Hoveden* places *King Philip's* burning the City of *Eureux*.

Upon the News of *Eureux's* being betrayed by *Earl John*, the K. of *France* marches to *Verneuil*, takes it, and puts all therein to the Sword.

The Siege of *Eureux* raised.

The French fly, leaving great Booty behind them.

The English differ from the French Historians in this business of *Eureux*.

After the Treaty with the K. of France's Commissioners at *Vale Reale*, the Week following St. Barnabas's day, or the 17th of June, and was consequently above six Weeks later than the French Historians place this Action; who it must be confessed give an Account both of that, and the Time and Occasion of the doing of it, with greater probability than *Roger Hoveden*, and our other English Writers, who make the King of France to have been in such a Fright upon the news of King Richard's approach, as to have fled away privately, and left his Army behind him; which is not at all likely, neither do they tell us any thing of what then became of him, or whither he went: But (for all that) they have no reason to boast of their over great sincerity, since they do very much lessen a great Defeat which our Richard gave their King not long after, as you will find by and by.

2 From *Vernueil* King Richard marched to Castle *Mirabel*, which had been for some time besieged by his own Subjects of *Anjou* and *Maine*, who before he could arrive, had taken the Castle, and razed it to the Ground; a little before which Action *Alphonso* Prince of *Navar*, and Brother to the Queen, who commanded the Forces of that Countrey, which were sent to the King's Assistance, returned home on the sudden News of the decease of the King his Father.

3 Then King Richard from thence marched with great hast by the City of *Tours*, and went to reinforce the Siege of the Castle of *Loches*, with the Souldiers of *Navar* and the *Brabanters*, who had long besieged it, tho to little purpose; but notwithstanding they were now almost tired out, yet they again received fresh Courage by the King's Presence, and carried on the Siege with such Vigour and Resolution, that he took the Castle by Storm, and made divers Knights and Souldiers, whom he found in it, Prisoners.

In the mean time the Counsellors of the King of France had appointed a Treaty with the Seneschal and Constable of *Normandy* at *Pont-del-Arche*, who on the day prefix'd came thither with *Walter* Archbishop of *Roën*, on the behalf of King Richard, where they waited long for the Commissioners of the King of France to no purpose, for they came not at all, he being at that time otherwise engaged; for he was marched with a small Army to take in a Castle within four miles of *Roën* called *Fountains*, which he reduced by Assault after four days Siege: and tho *Earl John*, and *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, were then in *Roën*, yet finding their Forces much inferior to those of the King of France, they durst not fall upon them: but the Earl of *Leicester* imprudently sallying out with a Party of his Men, thinking to lie in Ambuscade, and so surprize that King in his Return, was himself taken Prisoner and presented to him, who used him civilly for the time he had him, but for all that made him pay no less than 10000 *l.* for his Ransom.

4 After this, by the common Consent of both Kings, *William* Archbishop of *Rheims*, and the Count of *Nevers*, with some others, both Clergymen and Noblemen on the French King's side, and *Walter* Archbishop of *Roën*, with the two great Officers of *Normandy* above-mentioned on King Richard's, met again at *Vale Reale*, to treat of a Truce between their Masters, and came very near to a Conclusion, but at last broke off, because the King of France still insisted, that all those who had adhered either to himself, or to King Ri-

John Dain.
MXXIII.

2 R.H. p. 421.
The Castle of *Mirabel* taken by K. Richard's Subjects.

Alphonso returned home on the News of his Father's Death.

3 Id. ib.

The K. takes the Castle of *Loches*.

A Treaty appointed by the French at *Pont-del-Arche*, but none of their Commissioners ever came.

The Castle of *Fountains* taken by the French.

The E. of *Leicester* taken Prisoner, but is ransomed for 10000 *l.*

4 Id. Ib. b. Commissioners meet again to treat of a Truce at *Vale Reale*, but come to no conclusion.

Anno Dom.
MCCXCIII.

The two
Kings burn
and destroy
each other's
Countries.
5 Id. ib.

K. Philip pro-
fers K. Ri-
chard Battle.

The King of
France flies,
leaving his
Camp and
Baggage a
prey to the
English.

1 Rigord &
Will. Briton.

King Richard
pursues his
Victory with
greater Suc-
cess.

2 R.N.p. 421. N

A Truce made
for one Year.

The Instru-
ment of it
drawn up by
way of Letter
or Declarati-
on.

Richard, should be included in the Truce; which the latter not consent-
ing to, both Kings return'd again to their former course of burning
and destroying each other's Countries.

5 Roger Hoveden upon the breaking off this Treaty, brings in King
Philip's burning the Town of *Eureux*, but very much out of order,
as I have already shewn. But this is more probable (as the same Au-
thor relates) that about this Time the King of *France* marched with his
Army to a Place called *Freteval*; and the King of *England*, that he
might attend his Motions, came with his Forces to *Vendosme*: He
had lain there but one Night, when King *Philip* early next morning
sent him word, that that day he would give him a Visit with his
Army. King *Richard* being very well pleas'd at the News, told the
Messenger he would expect him, and if he did not come according
to his promise, that the next Morning after he would return his kind
Intentions, and repay him his Visit in the same manner; but the
King of *France* did not think it convenient to be so good as his word,
but the next Morning early, when King *Richard* was marching to-
wards him, he having notice of it, fled with his whole Army in such
hast that many were killed and taken Prisoners, and all the *Waggons*
and *Baggage*, as also a great deal of *Treasure*, fell into the hands of
the *English*; the King's portable Chappel was also taken, and the
Charters of all those Vassals of the King of *England*, who had confeder-
ated with the K. of *France* and *B. John*; to which *Mexeray* (in the
Reign of *Philip. Aug.*) also adds, that this Prince (like the Grand Seigni-
or at this day) carrying along with him the antient Records of the
Crown, they were all taken by the *English*, and lost, to the great damage
of the King's Affairs, as well as to the History of those Times.

Upon this Victory King *Richard* pursued the King of *France*, but,
not being able to find him, returned to *Vendosme* with a very great
Booty, both of Men, Horses, and ready Money. This Action is
very lightly mention'd by the 1 *French* Historians, who here (as
on the like occasions) conceal their King's Defeat, and say no more
than that as he passed through the Territories of the Count of *Blois*,
King *Richard* set upon him on the sudden, and his Forces being put
to flight, he there lost all his Money, Plate, and other rich Move-
ables, tho the loss was indeed more in Men and Reputation than in
Money, or Furniture.

2 This Victory produced a Truce for one Year, which was agreed
on by Commissioners on both sides, between *Verneuil* and *Tiliers*;
the Commissioners for the King of *France* were *Drogo de Merlos* his
Constable, *Urse* his Chamberlain, and *Anselme* of *St. Martin* Arch-
deacon of *Tours*, in whose Names the Truce was concluded on the
behalf of their Master; and I could wish our Author had set
down who were Commissioners for the King of *England*: but tho
he has omitted them, yet it is very likely they were the Archbishop
of *Roan*, and the rest that were before employ'd in the former Trea-
ties of like nature.

The Instrument of which Truce is drawn up by way of Letter or De-
claration from the said *French* Commissioners, reciting, that they, by the
command of their Lord K. *Philip*, had sworn and pledged their Faith in
the hands of the Legate, that the King should observe the said Truce
upon the following Terms or Conditions; in the Preamble it is
said,

said, that the King of *France* at the intreaty of the Cardinal Legate, and the Abböt of the *Cistercians*, had granted a Truce to the King of *England* and his Subjects, which he might also confirm if he pleased: but the Articles being very tedious, and not much to our present purpose, the inquisitive Reader may find them (if he has a mind) at large in 3 *Horoden* under this Year.

The chief Heads of them are to this effect, That the King of *England* should hold all the Lands which he had then in his possession, and the King of *France* should peaceably hold those Towns which he had taken; and that in the mean time it should be lawful for either of them to strengthen and fortify those Castles or strong Places, which they already held whole and entire; but the Others that were demolished, were not to be re-fortified, except four Castles there mentioned, which the King of *England* might fortify if he so pleased. There were also comprised within this Truce the Earl of *Angoulesme* and other Noblemen, who had taken part with King *Richard*; and two Arbitrators were to be appointed by each King, who were to judge of all Injuries and Breaches of this Truce that should be committed during the time. This Instrument was sealed by the Commissioners on both sides, on the twenty third of *July* this Year: Yet for all this precaution, the Truce did not hold to the end of the term prefixed. But it is time to return to the Affairs of *England*.

4 Whilst the King remained beyond Sea, *Hugh Bardolf* by his Majesty's Order, demanded the County of *Northumberland*, *New-Castle* upon *Tine*, and the Castle of *Bamburgh*, of the Bishop of *Durham*, which he had promised to deliver up, but delayed the doing it till a Messenger he had sent to the King returned, by whom he offered him two thousand Marks for the County and those Castles. The Messenger brought Letters to *Hugh Bardolf*, that if the Bishop gave Security for the two thousand Marks, he should deliver him the County and Castles. On the receipt of the King's Letters, he told the Bishop that if he would have him execute the King's Command, he must first surrender to him the County and Castles, and then he would deliver them back as the King had ordered him. The Bishop replied, there was no need of that, because he had them already in his possession: hereupon *Hugh* sent the King his Answer, and received a fresh Command, that the Bishop should be disseised of the County and Castles, and should pay down also the two thousand Marks; and likewise in his Fury ordered that he should be disseised of the Mannor of *Sadbergh*, with the Knight's Fees and Wapentack which he had by his Charter granted to the Church of *Durham* in pure Alms. These things were accordingly executed; by which Action you may see how arbitrary this King was towards all those who any ways opposed his Will, not valuing what Sacrilege he committed, for he now took away that which he had before granted to the Church, for a valuable Consideration.

5 About this time also great Quarrels happening between the Archbishop of *Tork* and his Chanons (tho our Author does not tell us about what) the Archbishop excommunicated them, and kept them out of their Stalls in the Choir: upon which the Chanons complained to *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the King's Justitiary, of several Wrongs and Injuries received from their Archbishop; whereupon

Hubert

Anno Domini
MCXCIII.

3 P. 422. a. b.
The Substance
of the Arti-
cles of this
Truce.

4 Id. p. 422. a.
Hugh Bardolf
demands of
the Bishop of
Durham, the
County of *Nor-*
thumberland.

The Bishop is
ordered to be
disseised of his
County and
Castles, and al-
so of the Man-
nor of *Sad-*
bergh.

5 Id. ib.

The Chanons
of *Tork*, their
Complaint a-
gainst their
Archbishop.

Anno Domini
MCXCIII.
 Commissioners sent by
 Hubert to determine the
 Controversy.

The Arch-
 bishop is dis-
 tressed of all
 his Mannors,
 and the Cha-
 nons are re-
 stored.

1 *Id. ib. a.*

Itinerant Jus-
 tices sent thro
 every County
 of England, to
 enquire con-
 cerning all Of-
 fences.

Tho not first
 instituted by
 him.

2 *Id. p. 424. a.*

Articles con-
 cerning the
 Jews given to
 the Itinerant
 Justices.

3 *Id. ib.*

The King
 forces his Of-
 ficers to a
 Composition.

Hubert by the Royal Authority which he had received, sent Earl Roger Bigod, Wil. de Warenne, Wil. de Stuteville, Hugh Bardolf, Wil. Pomer, Gues. Heger, and Wil. Fitz-Richard a Clerk, as Commissioners to York, to hear and determine the Controversy between them, according to Right: these Commissioners heard the Chanon's Accusations, and the Bishop's and his Servant's Answers, notwithstanding which they caused his Men that were accused of Robberies to be imprisoned; and altho he warranted what they had done, yet he could not bail them. Then they summoned him to come and hear Judgment; and because he would not, they disseised him of all his Mannors except Ripon, whither he was then withdrawn, and caused his Chanons to be placed again in their Stalls, of which he had dispossessed them; and then put the Archbishoprick and Sheriffwick of *Yorkshire* under the Custody of William Stuteville, and Geoffrey Heger, two of the said Commissioners.

During this Interval of Peace the King took all manner of ways to raise Money to carry on the War against the King of France, as soon as the Truce should determine; and to this end in September the King sent the Itinerant Justices through every County of England, to enquire by the Inquest of Twelve Men of each County, concerning all Offences that had been committed against him; as also concerning all Forfeitures and Escheats, and of the Lands of Wards, and to whom they had been let to Farm, and at what Value: but since they are very long, and now grown obsolete, I shall say no more of them here, but refer those that are willing to read them in the Latin to R. Hovades, where they may find them at large: yet for the satisfaction of those who either do not understand Latin, or have not that Author by them, I have put down a Translation of them at the end of this King's Reign, that so you may understand the difference between the Antient and Modern Pleas of the Crown. But as for these Justices Itinerant, they were not first instituted by this King (tho they were now sent upon this particular occasion) but had been often used before during the Reign of King Henry the Second, as the Reader may there observe.

Also that the King might the better know what Jews had Money, and what they were worth, the better to fleece them when he had occasion, he directed several Articles to these Justices Itinerant, concerning the Jews; the chief Heads of which were, That all their Estates both Real and Personal, should be inventoried; and if a Jew concealed any part thereof, he should be imprison'd, and forfeit whatsoever should be so concealed. There are likewise divers other Articles, appointing where, and in what manner the Jews should lend their Money, and take Pawns for it; and how those of the Obligations for Moneys lent should be kept, whereby no Jew was master of his own Estate, or could keep the Securities for his own Money: but tho these Articles are now become obsolete, yet I have also given a faithful Translation of them, which immediately follow the former Articles of Inquiry.

King Richard continued still in France, and having finished his Affairs in *Poitou* according to his desire, returned into *Angou*, and there forced all his Bayliffs or Collectors of his Revenues to redeem or ransom themselves (as our Author words it) that is, he made them

them to compound for their Hostilities and Misdemeanours in their Offices, and did the like in *Africa*; and coming into *Normandy*, he expressed his Resentment against whatever had been concluded at the late Truce, imputing it to the ill management of the Bishop of *Bay* his Chancellor; and therefore took the Seal away from him, and made a new one; and then ordered that it should be proclaimed through all his Dominions, that nothing should be firm or of any force that had been sealed with his old Seal; and commanded, that all who had any Charters should come and renew them at his new Seal, which is another instance of this King's Arbitrary Proceedings in raising Money by any Means: but this did not suffice, you shall have a fresh one in what follows.

[4] The King likewise ordered there should be Tournaments, that is, Tilings (or Feats of Arms) performed in *England*, and by his Charter confirmed them; so that every one who would Tile, or show Feats of Arms, should pay according to the following Rates; an Earl for a Licence twenty Marks of Silver; a Baron ten Marks; every Knight that had Land, four Marks; every Knight that had no Land, two. And he commanded that no Knight should be admitted to the place of Tiling, unless he first paid down the Money above mentioned.

This Charter the King gave to *William* Earl of *Salisbury* to keep; and Archbishop *Hobart* the King's Justiciary appointed *Theobald* Walter his Brother to be Collector of this Money: then did the Archbishop comply with the King's desire, the Tournaments had been already forbidden by three General Councils, and that the Bodies of those that were killed in such unlawful Rencounters, should be deprived of Christian Burial: nor had there been any such Tournaments since the Reign of King *Stephen*.

[5] Some time after this *Gregory* Archbishop of *Tork*, went into *Normandy* to the King his Brother, and there was reconciled to him for two thousand Marks: and obtained his Letters to *William* of *St. Mary's*, and *Hugh* *Barclay* (who then held the Archbishop's Lands under Sequestration) that upon payment of another thousand Marks over and above the two Thousand he had already paid, they should restore to him all his Lands and Repts free, and discharged from all Lay disturbances.

[1] The Truce between the Kings of *France* and *England* yet continuing, we find very little to have happened considerable, either here or in *France*; only toward the latter end of the Truce, * *Radulphus de Dineo* informs us, that King *Philip* sent four Ambassadors to King *Richard* to treat with him for the benefit of both Kingdoms; and therefore proposed to him, that if he pleased to have the effusion of more Christian Blood, he was willing to have the Controversy between them, to be decided by five Combatants to be chosen on each side; and whichever Party got the Victory, the other should submit to the Terms agreed on. King *Richard's* Answer to this Proposal was, That he very well approved of it, provided that the King of *France* would be the fifth Man on one side, and he himself would be so on the other; which Message being carried back to King *Philip*, he did not well approve of that Proposal, and so it came to nothing.

[2] But

Ann. Dom.
MCXCIV.

Takes away
the Seal from
his Chancellor,
and makes
a new one.

Instance of
the King's
Arbitrary Pro-
ceedings in
raising Mo-
ney.

[4] *Id. ib.*

What was to
be paid for
Licence of
Tiling.

To whom the
Money was to
be paid.

[5] *Id. ib.*

425. a.
The Arch-
bishop of *Tork*
reconciled to
the King his
Brother.
And restored
to him his Lands
and Repts up-
on Condition.

[1] *Id. ib.*
R. *Philip* sends
Ambassadors
to the King of
England.
* *Eck. 676.*

Offers five
Combatants
to be chosen
on each side,
to decide all
Quarrels.

R. *Richard's*
answer was, if
their Master
would be one,
he would be
another, and

[2] But accept it.

Anno Dom.
MCXCV.

[2.] R. H. p.

The Duke of Austria presses for the payment of the King's Ransom, or threatens the Hostages with Death.

The Duke's sudden Death.

[3.] Dr. P. Chron.

The Prince of North-Wales deposed (after he had governed 20 Years) by his Nephew.

[4.] R. H. p.

Roger Mortimer builds the Castle of Cymaron.

Anno Dom.
MCXCV.

[4.] R. H. p.

[5.] R. H. p.

[2] But to say somewhat of Affairs more distant; *Leopold* Arch Duke of *Austria*, having suffer'd many Calamities this Year in his Country by Fire and Inundations, as well as bad Seasons, they are by our Authors looked upon as Judgments from God for his so barbarously treating King *Richard*; however he himself was so far from being sensible of his fault, that he still pressed on more violently for the payment of the rest of King *Richard's* Ransom which was yet behind, threatening the Hostages that were given for him with Death, if it were not speedily paid; whereupon one of them called *Baldwin de Britane*, was by consent of the rest sent over into *England*, to put the King in mind to perform the Conditions between him and the Duke. Hereupon the King compassionating the Case of his Hostages, immediately dispatched away this *Baldwin* with *Eleanor* the Sister of *Arthur* Duke of *Burgundy*, to be married to the Duke of *Austria's* Son; but before they arrived, they received News of the Duke's sudden Death, as you will hear further in the next Year.

I shall conclude the Affairs of this Year with some account of *Wales*, of which we have heard nothing a great while; where it seems [3] *David ap Owen*, Prince of *North-Wales*, having govern'd above Twenty Years; was now deposed by his Nephew *Llewellyn*, the Son of *Jorwerth Drywden*, Son to *Owen Gwyneth* formerly Prince of that Country. Wherefore looking upon himself as the true Heir of that Principality, of which his Father had been disinherited by his younger Brother *David* (as you have already heard) this young Prince imploring the Aid of his Mother's Relations (who was the Daughter of the Prince of *Powys*) drew also his Cousins, the Sons of *Gonard ap Owen Gwyneth*, to his Party; and thereupon laying claim to the Government, he entered the Country with a strong Force, to whom the People willingly submitted, and owned him for their Lord; and so without any Blood shed, he was made Prince of all *North-Wales*, except Three Castles which his Uncle *David* still kept by the help of the *Englishmen*, in whom was his chief Trust, because his Wife *Emma* was Aunt to the King of *England*; but before the new Prince *Llewellyn* could be well settled in his Government, *Roger Mortimer* came with a great Power to *Melhywylth*, and built the Castle of *Cymaron*, and so quickly brought that Countrey under his Subjection, by expelling the two Sons of *Cadwallo ap Madoc*, who before were the Lords thereof.

[4] King *Richard* kept his *Christmas* this Year at *Rouen*, being taken up in providing both Men and Money to carry on the War against the King of *France*; for the Truce which was to have continued till the Feast of *All-Saints* next ensuing, he found was not well observed; and the Subjects of both Kingdoms in the mean while committed great Spoils and Rapines upon each other.

I cannot here omit (tho' it be somewhat foreign to our *English* History) what my Author mentions to have happened about this time; that [5] *Leopold* Duke of *Austria* abovementioned, keeping a magnificent *Christmas* at the City of *Gratz*, on St. *Stephen's* day after Dinner he would needs go out to recreate himself with some of his Knights on Horseback; but his Horse stumbling, gave the Duke such a fall as broke his Leg, so that the Bones came through the Flesh,

Flesh, and being carried home, for want of good Chirurgeons it began to gangrene, so that he was forced to have it cut off, tho it was to no purpose; for the Gangrene still spreading further, run up to his Heart, and quickly killed him.

He on his Death-bed repenting what he had done against K. Richard, commanded his Hostages to be restored, and the Money that was behind of his Ransom, to be released; which the young Duke his Son not being willing to comply with, the Clergy of that Country would not permit the Duke's Body to be buried, till he had performed what his Father enjoined. This our Writers look upon as an evident Judgment of God upon the Duke, for so unjustly taking and detaining King Richard Prisoner as you have already heard, not considering that the King of France, who still made War upon him without any just cause, and contrary to the Oath he had taken, went on and prospered. However King Richard gain'd very well by the Death of this Duke, for above four thousand Marks of his Ransom were offer'd to be returned to him, and Baldwin de Betune abovementioned carried the young Lady back again, and delivered her to the King.

[1] Some time after this King Richard being at the Castle of Chinon in Anjou, there came thither fifteen Saracen Assassins, in the Disguise of Pilgrims, some of whom endeavoured to be admitted into the King's Presence, that so they might have stabb'd him: but being suspected of some Evil Design, they were apprehended, and upon Examination confessed, that they were sent by the King of France to kill the King, who seeming to pass by this Injury, deferred the Execution of them till the rest of their Accomplices could be taken.

In the mean while some appearance of a Peace still continued, because it was Lent, but more by reason of the coldness of the Season; [2] so that the War did not break out afresh between the two Kings till after Midsummer, and then it was upon this Occasion. The Emperor Henry had sent to K. Richard a Golden Crown of great value, in token of his Affection, and also to let him understand, that as he loved the safety of his Hostages, he should then invade the Territories of the King of France, and that he himself would send him sufficient Succours to revenge the Injuries that had been done him. But King Richard, fearing lest somewhat of Treachery might lie concealed under this kind Message, sent William Bishop of Ely to the Emperor, to enquire how great his Succours should be, and when he would please to let him have them against the King of France; for King Richard was sensible, that if the Emperor and that King should both combine against him, it would tend highly to his prejudice.

[3] But the K. of France, hearing of the Design, and knowing that the Bishop was to pass through his Country, laid wait to seize him; but being disappointed of it, he presently sent the King of England word that the Truce was broke; which the French Writers do wholly lay to King Richard's Charge, but without any just grounds; for the bare sending an Embassy could be no breach of the Truce: but [4] Belisforest is said to renew the old pretence of the dishonour King Richard had done to the Royal Family of France in refusing his Sister; and that to prevent That King's seizing the Castle of Reole, he was resolved to destroy it himself; so that thereupon both Armies taking the Field, they began the old trade of Murder

Anno Domini
MCCXCV.

By his Com-
mand the Hos-
tages are re-
stored, and the
Arrear of the
King's Ran-
som-Money
released.

Above 4000
Marks of the
Ransom-Mo-
ney return'd
to the King.

[1] Id. p. 427. b. 200
13. Saraceni
sent by the
K. of France
to stab King
Richard, as
they them-
selves con-
fessed.

[2] R. H. p. 431. a. 200
The War is
again renew'd
between King
Philip and
K. Richard.
The Empe-
ror promises
R. Ric. great
Succours
against the
K. of France.
The Bishop
of Ely sent
to him to
know how
many, and
when he
should have
them.

[3] Id. ib.
The King of
France at-
tempts to
seize the Bp.
but is disap-
pointed.

The Truce
declared to
be broken, by
the French K.
[4] Lib. 3. p. 170. b.

anno Domini
MCCXCV.

[5] *R. H. ib.*
Both Kings again burn and ravage each other's Countries.

The two Kings have an Interview underneath the Castle of *Vale-Reale*, but to no purpose, by the K. of France's Treachery.

K. Philip flies, and in his flight falls in to the River.

[1] *Id. ib.*
King Richard takes several of the K. of France's Servants Prisoners, and kills, burns, and destroys all before him.

[2] *Id. ib.*

The two Kings meet again upon another Treaty. Lady Eleanor to be married to Lewis the French King's Son, and to have a great Dower.

What the K. of France was to do on his part in return.

The Treaty comes to nothing through the Emperor's means.

[3] *Id. M. b.*

But the Emperor releases 17000 Marks of Silver, still unpaid, of K. Richard's Ransom.

ing. Burning, [5] and committing all manner of Rapine; which the King of France perceiving, and that he could not well defend his new conquered Territories against the King of England, he demolished several Castles in *Normandy*, which the King of England afterwards re fortified, and made stronger than they were before. But whilst the King of France was at the demolishing of the Castle of *Vale-Reale*, the two Kings had an Interview near that Castle, and whilst they were treating underneath it, the Miners that the King of France had employed to undermine it sprung their Mine, and caused great part of the Walls of the Castle to fall down on the sudden. K. Richard being somewhat surprized at this, and suspecting Treachery, put an end to the Conference, and therefore presently falling upon the King of France's Army he put it to flight; so that every body being forced to shift for himself, King Philip being pursued, and passing over the adjoining Bridge, it broke under him, in such manner that he and his Followers very narrowly escaped being drowned in the River *Sonne*, yet getting with some difficulty to the Bank side, he there encamped.

[1] In the mean time K. Richard returned to Castle *Reale*, and by the way took many of the King of France's Servants Prisoners; and then reinforcing his Army from all parts of his Dominions, he invaded his Country, putting all to the Sword that opposed him, destroying the Corn, and cutting up the Vineyards, and burning the Villages where ever he came. And things continued in this sad condition for some time.

[2] But not long after the two Kings hearing what great success the King of the *Morres* (encouraged by these their Quarrels) had obtained in *Spain*, they resolved on a Peace for the common good of *Christendom*; and so meeting at another Treaty, they were almost wholly agreed upon these Conditions: That K. Richard should bestow in marriage his Neice *Eleanor*, Sister to *Arthur Duke of Brittain*, on *Lewis the French King's Son*, and give with her in Dower all the *Norman Prisons*, together with the Castle of *Gisors*, and also several other Castles which the King of France was then Master of, and twenty thousand Marks in ready Money over and above: and in consideration of this the King of France engaged to release to K. Richard whatsoever he claimed in the County of *Angouleme*, and that he would restore to him the Castles of *Albemarke* and *Oue*, with several other places which he had taken from King Richard during this War. But the conclusion of this Treaty being delayed till the feast of *All-Saints*, it then came to no effect, by reason of the Emperor's being against it, and so they broke up. However the King of England did then restore to King Philip his Sister *Alice*, who had been detained so long like a Prisoner, and whom, as soon as she was deliver'd, her Brother married to *John Earl of Poitiers*.

In the mean time [3] *William Bp of Ely*, and the other Ambassadors who were sent to the Emperor, return'd, bringing the King word, that the project of Peace between him and the French King was by no means pleasing to the Emperor, who did not desire that the King of England should lose or give up any thing, because of his being kept in his Custody; but then pardoned him seventeen thousand Marks of Silver which still remain'd unpaid of his Ransom.

When

When the time appointed by the two Kings for their next meeting was come, (which was to be at *Vornay* on the Oubives of *All Saints*) King *Richard* happened to be there somewhat before the time: but the Archbishop of *Rheims* coming out to him, told him as from the King of *France*, that he need not come so soon, because his Master was still in Council: Upon this King *Richard* giving credit to what he said, went back again to the place from whence he came, and waited till three of the Clock in the Afternoon, to hear from the *French* King; but when he found he still trifled with him, he was resolved to tarry no longer, and therefore went again to the place of Treaty: then *Philip* Bishop of *Beauvais* brought him word from the *French* King, that he challenged him for breach of Faith, and being guilty of Perjury, because he had sworn to come thither at Nine of the Clock, and had not accordingly kept his word, and therefore he defied him. So this Treaty ending thus abruptly, both Kings returned from whence they came, and on the third day after the King of *France* made great Depredations on King *Richard's* Territories, and marching as far as *Duys* (which King *Richard* had lately new built) took and burnt it to the ground, with all the Ships in the Harbour; after which Action the *French* Historians add, that King *Richard* met the King of *France* in his return, and falling upon him on the sudden, out of a Wood, *Philip* had the worst on't, and there lost many of his Men, he himself escaping very narrowly, but without any hurt.

[4] Then after I know not how many various Changes and Turns of War, the King of *France* came with his Army to *Iffoy*, took it, and besieged the Castle; which when it was told the King of *England*, he being then near *Castle Reole*, set all his other Affairs aside, and took three days march in one, and entering that Castle which the King of *France* had besieged, a multitude of Soldiers presently came in to him; King *Philip* being extremely surprized at this sudden Arrival, begged liberty to draw off his Army, which King *Richard* not granting him, he then desired to have a Treaty with him, and that was agreed on; at which Conference, by the mediation of the Bishops and great Men on both sides, there was an Oath mutually taken, that from that Day (being the Saturday after St. *Nicholas's* Day) there should be a firm Truce till the Feast of St. *Hilary* next ensuing, and then they were to meet at *Leulors*, to make a firm Peace between them in a much greater Assembly of the Nobility; and so both Kings return'd into their own Territories, to keep their *Christmas*.

But the [5] *French* Historians relate the occasion and manner of making this Truce much otherwise, viz. that in November the War between the two Kings breaking out as fierce as ever, King *Philip* mustered his Army about *Beorget*, not far from *Iffoy*, and King *Richard* did the like, being then encamped but a little way off, on the other side of the River: but they say nothing concerning the Siege of that Castle abovemention'd, nor of the great advantage which King *Richard* had obtain'd over the *French* King, only the two Armies being now ready to give Battel, King *Richard* on the sudden (contrary to all Men's Expectations) cho upon what Motives they do not tell us, more than his being touch'd in Conscience,

Two Days
MORCV.

Another day
appointed for
a Treaty.

Archbishop of
Rheims's de-
ceitful deal-
ing with K.
Richard.

Philip chal-
lenges him for
breach of
Faith.

Whereupon
the War is a-
gain renew'd
with greater
Violence.

King *Richard*
coming to re-
lieve the Cas-
tle of *Iffoy*,
then offers a Tre-
aty.

And there
an Oath
was taken
on both sides
to keep a firm
Truce till the
Feast of St.
Hilary.

[5] *Rigord*
p. 39.
The *French*
Account of
this Truce.

Ann. Dom. came unarmed with a few Attendants to King Philip's Camp, and did him Homage for *Normandy*, and all other his Dominions on that side the Sea; and then they solemnly took an Oath to each other, to maintain Peace from that time forward, and agreed upon another personal Conference or Treaty on the Octaves of *Epiphany*, between *Castle Gaillard* and *Ruili*, (but our Historians say it was to be held at *Laviers* at the Feast of *St. Hilary*) to compose and determine all Differences between them, and that in the mean while each should keep what he had gotten; and so they returned into their own Territories in Peace.

But it favours too much of the Romance to be probable.

Ann. Dom. But this Relation, in my Opinion, does not seem at all probable, or that King *Richard*, who had so great an Advantage over the French King, should so far truckle to him as to go to his Camp, there to do him Homage, before he certainly knew whether any Peace would be concluded on, or not between them; for it is plain, the present Agreement was for no more than a Truce, till an absolute Peace should be concluded.

Therefore I rather suppose that most of this Story is a mere Romance, contrived by the French Writers, in honour of their Hero, King *Philip*: and also that this Homage (if done at all) was not made till the Conclusion of the Peace after *Christmas*, of which you will hear more anon.

[1] *Id.* p. 428. a.

An Account of the King's private Vices, and his public Repentance.

His receiving the Queen to his Bed again.

His Charity.

His Justice.

The King being thoroughly reconciled to Earl *John*, restores him all his Earldoms except the Castles. He also is reconciled to the Bp of *Exeter*,

[1] And here I cannot omit a remarkable Passage which I find in the same Author, since it gives us a knowledge not only of this King's most private Vices, but also of his Repentance, *viz.* That about this time he was admonish'd by a *Hermit* to remember the subversion of *Sodom*, and so to abstain from unlawful Lusts: at first the King slighted his Admonition, as coming from a poor despicable Fellow, but at last being (in the *Easter* week) visited with a sharp fit of Sickness, he called for divers religious Persons or Monks, and did not stick to confess before them his being guilty of that Filthiness: and then not long after recovering, he again took the Queen his Wife to his Bed, whom he had not known of a long time before, and so he lived very lovingly with her to the end of his days. He also now grew very Charitable, and bountifully relieved the Poor at his Court, who flocked to him from all parts, it being a time of great Famine and Scarcity.

Farther, to make amends for the *Chalices* that had been taken and melted down to raise Money for the King's Ransom, he now ordered several new ones to be made both of Gold and Silver in the room of those that had been so taken away; for it was none of the King's fault, but his advisers, that those *Chalices* were then made use of: which shews how grossly Kings are too often put upon by evil Counsellors, who are many times able to corrupt even the best of Princes.

Little else happened this Year relating to *England*, but that King *Richard* being now thoroughly reconciled to his Brother Earl *John*, he restored to him his Earldoms of *Mortaign* and *Gloucester*, with the Honour of *Eve*, and every thing belonging to them, except the Castles; and for all his other Lands the King gave him eight thousand Pounds of *Anjou* Money: the King was then likewise reconciled to *Hugh* Bishop of *Exeter*, and restored to him his Bishoprick, upon his payment of five thousand Marks of Silver.

II. to V. But

[3] But some time after, when the King had also restored his Brother Geoffrey Archbishop of York to his favour, he, presuming too much upon the King's kind Usage, began to rip up old Quarrels, and provoked him to that degree by his sharp and undecent Language, that he commanded him again to be disseized of his Archbishoprick, and of the Sherifdom of York; which shews this Prelate to have been of a very warm and haughty Temper, and had not learn'd how to treat with Kings, whose Injuries are better pass'd by than remembered, because they cannot be safely returned.

[4] Nor did this Archbishop displease the King his Brother only, but also his own Chanons of the Church of York; who having had divers quarrels with him about the Election of a new Dean, and other matters, this Year appealed to the Pope against him, accusing him, that giving himself up to Hawking and Hunting, and other secular Affairs, he neglected his Episcopal Function; whereupon the Pope sent his Letters, or Communion to the Bishop of Lincoln, the Archdeacon of Northampton, and to the Prior of Pontefract, to make Inquisition into the excesses of the Archbishop, and upon Enquiry to return their Proceedings to Rome; which being also done, the Archbishop was then summon'd by the Pope to appear before him; but neglecting to obey the Summons, he was *suspended* from his Archiepiscopal Office, tho this Sentence was not executed till the Year following; but I mention it here, because I would not make a breach in the Story of this Prelate.

[5] But to give you the rest of the Ecclesiastical Affairs of this Year, the King resolving that Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, now chief Justiciary of the Kingdom, should also be invested with the supreme Ecclesiastical, as well as Temporal Authority, he sent to the Pope to desire him that he would constitute him his Legate over all England; which request the Pope readily granted, and thereupon directed [1] a Letter or Bull to the Archbishop, whereby he confer'd on him his Legantine Power, to visit and reform those things that needed Reformation in the Province of York, and to appoint and constitute such things as were requisite: the Pope also wrote at the same time to the Archbishop of York, with his Suffragan Bishops and Clergy, enjoining them to submit to his Legate's Authority, notwithstanding any Privilege that Church might pretend to the contrary.

[2] Since therefore this extraordinary Power was given chiefly to humble the Archbishop of York, who was then out of Favour, the Archbishop, as Legate, presently sent Messengers to York, commanding the Dean and Chanons of that Church, as also the Officials of that Diocess, to summon the Clergy, and if any refused to receive or submit to him, they were to be declared *excommunicated*: then Archbishop Hubert going down to York, on St. Barnabas's day was received by the Clergy with a solemn Procession; and tho not as Archbishop of Canterbury, and Primate of all England, but as the Pope's Legate, he was brought into the Cathedral Church, and on the Monday following, as chief Justiciary, he caused Assizes to be held of all Pleas of the Crown, and of *Novel Disseisins* and *Mort d'Ancestors*, by his Ministers; whilst He and his Officials held Pleas in the Ecclesiastical Court, which were all dispatch'd in one day. On the two following days, was held a famous Synod of all the Abbots, Priors, and

Anno Dom.
MCXCV.

[3] *Id. ib.*
And would have been ill to his Brother the Archbishop of York, had he not again provok'd him by ill Language.

[4] *Id. p. 426.*
The Chanons of the Church of York appeal against their Archbishop.

[5] *Id. p. 427.*

[3] *Id. ib. p. 427.*
Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, made Legate of all England.

[1] See it at large in R.H. p. 429. a.

[2] *Id. ib.*
The Archbishop, as Legate, orders the Clergy of York to submit to him, under pain of Excommunication. He goes to York, and the Clergy receive him with solemn Procession. As chief Justiciary, he causes Assizes to be held.

Anno Domini
MCCCV

Affirmation by
the Archbishop
there, who was
in presence of
the Bishop of
London, and
other Bishops
and Clergy.

He said that
he had read
the Statute
made in the
Parliament
of King Henry
the Third, and
that he had
seen the same
Statute in the
Statute Book
of the Bishop
of London.

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and other Officers, as well pertaining to the Cathedral Church, as to the Diocese of York, wherein were made eighteen Canons, for the redress of divers Abuses that had crept into the Church, in the Administration of the Sacraments, and other matters, as also for the Reformation of the Lives of Priests, Chanoys Regular, and Nuns, and of Priests too, forbidding them to frequent drinking-meetings, and Taverns, or to keep Concubines; all which had been ordained before by divers Synods in the Province of Canterbury, but being most of them of no great moment to us now, I do but just name them: yet I have been the more particular in giving some Account of this Synod, because it was the only one of this kind I can find to have been held by any Pope's Legate in this Province, for divers Ages; tho' it was not the last Ecclesiastical Council that was held in this King's Reign, as is commonly supposed. [1] Histories has affirmed, since he might have found in [2] Radulphus de Diceto, and [3] Giraldus of Canterbury, that William Bishop of Exeter, when he was the Pope's Legate, held a Synod of the Bishops and Clergy of England at Winchester, not long after the departure of King John for the Holy Land.

[1] R. H. p. 430. b.

The Archbishop causes an Oath to be taken all over England, to keep the King's Peace, and to apprehend Out-laws, Thieves, &c.

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[1] First nothing else performed this Year by Archbishop Hubert, as chief Justiciary, but an Oath he sent to be taken all over England, That all Men thereof should keep the King's Peace, and neither receive Thieves, nor be consenting with them; and that when they knew of any such Malefactors, they should apprehend and deliver them to the Sheriff, who was by no means to set them free, unless by command of the King and the Justiciary; and if they could not apprehend them, then they were to discover them to the King's Bayliffs, and upon Flur and Cry being made after such Out-laws, Robbers, &c. all should do their best to pursue and seize them; and if it appeared that any had not join'd in it, who was present, or had withdrawn himself from it, they were to be apprehended as Malefactors themselves, and to be brought to the Sheriff; not to be set free, but by the King and his Justiciary's command; and that certain Knights assigned for this purpose, should cause all Men of fifteen years of Age to come before them, and take the Oath abovemention'd. And therefore for the performance of these things, there were certain faithful Men chosen and sent through each of the Counties of England, who by the Oaths of credible Persons of the Vicinage, took up many and put them in Prison; but many others who were guilty in their own Consciences, being forewarned of it, fled, and left their Houses and Possessions.

I have inserted this, that so the Reader may observe the manner of proceedings against Malefactors in that Age; as also to let him see how frequent and common Robberies were then, insomuch that many Householders privately engaged in them.

Anno Domini
MCCCV

[2] Id. p. 432. a.

Altogether
treasonable
K. of Scots of
a Marriage
with his
Daughter to
the King of
France.

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of the Bishop
of London.

[2] This Year King Richard kept his Christmas at Poitiers, and about the same time Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, Justiciary and Legate of all England, met William King of Scots at York, to treat of a Marriage between his Daughter Margaret and Otto Duke of Saxony, King Richard's Nephew, whereby the King of Scots was to have the Custody of the Counties of Northumberland and Carlisle, for the use of the young Princess and their Heirs; but the Queen of Scotland

*

proving

Passing shortly after with Child, that Agreement came to pass.

[3] About the Feast of St. Hilary, the two Kings met at *Levi* according to their former Agreement; where, by the advice of their great Men, or * *Fiduciaries*, they consented that the King of France and his Heirs should for ever release to the King of England and his Heirs *Normandy* with its Dependencies, and all the Rights he had in *Berry*, *Auvergne*, and *Gascogne*; and that he should render to him the Castle of *Arches*, the Barons of *Albemarle* and *Ore*, and the other Castles he had taken in the War; and that in consideration thereof, the King of England was to release to the King of France, the Castle of *Gisors*, and all *Normandy*; and for the performance of these Articles, they were mutually bound to each other in fifteen thousand Marks of Silver, and both Princes also found sufficient Sureties for the said Sum.

Yet notwithstanding these solemn Oaths and Precautions for the true observance of the Peace, it did not last long, but through whose fault it first came to be broken is not easy for us to determine at this distance of Time, especially where Authors differ so much about it; the English Historians laying all the fault upon the King of France, and the French upon King Richard, and indeed give us some plausible Reasons why their King Philip should again renew the War, which were, That King Richard had fortified the Isle of *Ardely*, against the consent of the Archbishop of *Reims* its Owner; but the main pretence was, because the King having took some Offence against a petty Lord, called the Seigneur of *Porson*, and had fallen upon him, and seized his Castle of that Name, and being a Vassal of the King of France, he forthwith went to him to make his Complaint, who thereupon sent Forces to secure the rest of that Lord's small Territories from being also taken by King Richard. Nor did this content Philip, but without ever sending to demand satisfaction, he entered *Normandy*, and laid down before the Castle of *Albemarle*; which so soon as King Richard heard, he in return surprized the Castle of *Nere Court*, and having well victual'd and garison'd it, marched back to relieve that of *Albemarle*: but as he drew near the Place, he was engaged by the French, and his Forces put to flight; in which Skirmish Guy Viscount of *Thorow*, a valiant Nobleman, that afterwards married the Countess of *Burgundy*, was taken Prisoner.

Upon which good success of the French, King Philip had leisure to pursue the Siege of *Albemarle* Castle, which being much battered by the Engines call'd *Petrars*, was at last forced to surrender after seven weeks Siege, on this sole Condition, viz. that the Garison should march out with their Horses, Arms, and Baggage; then King Philip razed the Castle to the Ground, from whence he went to the Castle of *Nore Court*, which he besieging, soon took by Storm, and in it divers Knights and Esquires.

But of all these Victories gain'd by the French our English Historians are wholly silent, [4] Roger Hovardus telling us little more than that the King of France soon repented of this Agreement; and levying a great Army, came upon *Albemarle* on the sudden, and took and demolished it; and that upon the breach of this Peace, on the French King's part, the King of England caused the Goods, Lands, and Possessions

Anna Domini
MCCXCVI.

[3] *Id. ib.*

P. 433. 4.

* *Humani*

juramentum

The two

Kings meet at

Levi, and

their several

Releases to

each other by

Agreement.

Anna Domini

MCCXCVI.

Id. ib.

P. 433. 4.

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Levi, and

their several

Releases to

each other by

Agreement.

Anna Domini

MCCXCVI.

Id. ib.

P. 433. 4.

* *Humani*

juramentum

Anno Domini
MCCCVII

The two
Kings burn
and ravage
each other's
Countries.

The Countess
of Bretaine is
seized in Nor-
mandy by her
Husband, and
shut up in one
of his Castles.

Earl Arthur
goes over to
the King of
France.

[1] Sub hoc
Anno.

Which lost
him the
Crown of
England.

[2] Id. ib.

[3] Id. ib.
A sharp Dis-
pute between
King Richard
and the Arch-
bishop of
Rouen.

He pronoun-
ces the Sen-
tence of In-
terdict against
Normandy.

sessions of the Abbots of the rich Monasteries of *Clugni*, *St. Denis*, and *la Charité*, lying almost in all places of his Dominions, to be seized, as having been Sureties to him, for the fifteen thousand Marks which King Philip was to forfeit if he first broke the Peace.

I cannot find any thing considerable that was done by way of Revenge, unless it were, [1] that not long after Earl John, the King's Brother, took the Castle of *Caen*. Thus these Kings being now more incensed than ever against each other, spent most part of this Year in burning one another's Towns, and destroying their Coun-tries.

Not long after this, the Countess of *Bretagne*, Mother to Earl Arthur, came into *Normandy* at King Richard's Request, to discourse with him about private matters: But her Husband *Ranulph* Earl of *Chesler* meeting her, he seized her Person, and shut her up in one of his Castles. But when her Son, the Earl of *Bretagne*, found he could not set her free, he declared for the King of *France*, and destroyed the Territories of the King his Uncle; who raising a strong Army in Revenge, entered *Bretagne*, and laid great part of it waste. But [1] *Gervase* of *Canterbury*, and *Brompton's* Chronicle, do both with greater probability report, that King Richard requiring the Tutelage of his Nephew Arthur till he came of Age, some of the chief Noblemen of that Countrey opposing his Designs, carried him away into the farther parts of *Bretagne*, and then being out of the King's reach, thought he could more safely take up Arms against him: all which consider'd, shews unto the reason why the Dutchesse his Mother was lately secured, because she was wholly of the *French* Faction. But this her impolitick, and I may say womanish wilfulness, gave the King a just pretence not to declare her Son (tho his Nephew) his Successour; and indeed this Folly of his Mother lost him the Crown of *England*.

[2] Sometime after this happened an Affair which gave the King a great deal of Disturbance, and sufficiently shews us the mighty Power, as well as Haughtiness of the Prelates of those Times, who would rather expose their Countrey to the Ravage of the Enemy, than part with the least Right of their own.

But to give an Account of the original of this Dispute between the King and the Archbishop of *Rouen*; [3] the Isle of *Andely* on the *Seine* being part of the Demesnes of that Archbishoprick, was a considerable Pass by which the King of *France* used to enter *Normandy* whenever he pleased, over a shallow Ford in that River: wherefore King Richard being resolved to put a stop if he could to his future Incurfions, and finding this Isle to lie very convenient for that purpose, he had been treating with that Archbishop either to buy it of, or exchange it with him for somewhat else at least of equal value: but this fair offer being petemptorily refused by this Prelate, King Richard, to prevent the *French* King's seizing it, and so to do him further Mischief, began to build a Castle on the said Isle, contrary to the Archbishop's Will and Consent: and because the King would not desist upon his prohibition, he pronounced the Sentence of *Interdict* against *Normandy*, and went to the Pope to complain against the King, notwithstanding he had offered him what Satisfaction he would reasonably demand, either in Land or Money, for that place.

On

[4] On May the 10th, John Barl of Mortaign, and Marchades the General of the Brabanters, with a good body of Horse appeared before the City of Beaumont, and began to plunder and spoil that Country; whereupon Philip the Bishop of the City, and William de Merlon, with his Son, and a great many Knights, and ordinary People, went out armed to oppose them; but they were presently routed, and the Bishop, William de Merlon's Son, and some Knights were taken Prisoners, and most part of the ordinary People killed: so that the same day King Richard's men marched to Milli, a Castle belonging to the Bishop, and took it by Assault; and when they had demolished it, they returned triumphantly into Normandy, and delivered their Prisoners (among whom was the Prelate himself) to the King, who was very glad he had got the Bishop in his power, he being at that time one of the greatest Enemies he had. And therefore [5] he ordered him to be sent to Rouen, and there laid in Fetters; and when two of that Bishop's Household Chaplains came some days after to the King, to desire him that they might wait on their Lord in Prison and that he might be more gently used; the King's answer was, That he would refer the case to them, and let them be Judges between their Lord and himself: for he told them, when he was kept Prisoner by the Emperor, and had been for some time honourably treated as his Dignity required, after their Lord's Arrival there from the King of France, he found by experience what they had been treating of over Night, being the next day loaded with as many Irons as would tire an Ass: upon hearing of which the Chaplains went away very much confounded from his Presence.

This being the sum of Affairs that happened this Year in France, we shall now relate what fell out in England.

[1] At London, in Lent, a great Sedition arose among the common sort of People, which might have proved of a very dangerous Consequence to the whole City if it had not been timely prevented: and I shall give you a true Account of it from two Authors, who were then living, viz. Roger Howden, and Radolphus de Diceto, Dean of St. Paul's, who was an Eye-witness of it; the occasion and manner of which was thus.

There was then in the City of London one William Fitz-Osbert, commonly called William with the Long-Beard, which he wore to make himself more respected by the common People, tho otherwise he was a Man in Person as contemptible as he was in Quality; yet he had procured himself a mighty Respect and Interest with them, because he took upon him to be an Advocate of the Poor against the Rich: and this he often did before the Magistrates of the City, by a wonderful natural Eloquence which he was a great master of, and by means whereof he thought he might lead the People which way soever he pleased: so that these having him for their Leader, they were more at his disposal than at that of the Mayor of the City, which struck such a Terror into the better sort of Citizens, that they stood upon their Guard Night and Day: for this Fellow had neither spared his own Brother, nor two other honest Men of good Reputation, whom he had accused of Treason against the King, and persecuted almost to Death. But not long after he raised a mighty Dissension among the Mob (as we now call them) about a certain Aid or Tal-

Amo Domini
MCCXCVI.

Id. ib.
Earl John defeats the Bp. of Beaumont, and the Country plunder'd and spoiled. The Bishop and several of the great Men taken Prisoners, and most of the ordinary People killed.

Milli Castle taken, and the Bp among the rest of the Prisoners.

[5] W. N. The Bp is laid in Irons at Rouen.

[1] R. H. p. 435. b. A dangerous Sedition in London.

A great Dissension among the Citizens of London, about paying an Aid or Tallage.

Anno Dom.
MCCXCVI.

lage which was to be raised upon them; alledging, that it was unequally laid, and that the richer Citizens being excused, the burden fell in a manner wholly upon the Poor; which at last caused such a Tumult at St. Paul's Church, that many there were killed. Whereupon the Archbishop, who was the King's Justiciary, commanded that this *William* their Leader should be taken into Custody, and brought before him; but when the King's Officers went about to seize him, he and his Accomplices fled to the Church of St. Mary le Bow in Cheapside, and getting up into the Steeple, and having some Provisions with them, they fortified it like a Castle; so that not being able to get them out any other way, by the Archbishop's Command a Fire was made under them, which being at first done only to smoke them out, yet it took hold of the Church, and consumed most part of it; the *Radulphus de Diceto* relates, that this *William* set Fire on it himself (which seems not so likely) but however it is certain, that he and his followers being smoked, or rather burnt out, were forced to surrender themselves; and *William* with the *Beard* being there taken, and eight others of his Companions, they were carried to the Tower of London, and there by the King's Court sentenced to be hanged; and being drawn by the Feet as far as the Elms near Tyburn, they were executed accordingly, and hung up in Chains, and so this Sedition was appeased: but this *William's* Carcass being sometime after stolen away and buried, his Followers pretended that divers Miracles were wrought at his Grave; hereupon Guards were set at the place, and those that came thither to pray being well beaten for their pains, People saw through the Cheat, and quickly left off their Devotions to this pretended Saint.

I have been the more particular in this Relation, to let the Reader see, that the temper of the common People, or rather the Mob (as they now call them) has been much the same in all Ages.

[2.] Dr. P's
Chron.

Rees, Prince
of South-
Wales, with a
great Army,
takes both the
Town and
Castle of Ca-
ermarthen, and
several other
Castles.

Roger Morti-
mer and Hugh
de Say, with
their Army,
routed by
his Men.

Will. de Bruce
makes Peace
with the
Prince, and
receives his
Castle of him
upon Terms.

Before we conclude this Year, I shall give you some Account of the Affairs of Wales; [2.] where the *Welsh* had been for some considerable time pretty quiet, but now taking Advantage of the King's being engaged in foreign Wars, *Rees* Prince of South-Wales mustering a great Army, and laying Siege to the Town and Castle of Caermarthen, took them both, spoiling and destroying the same, and then returned with much spoil: after this he led his Army before the Castle of *Clen*, which he likewise took, tho not till after a long Siege: from thence he went to *Radnor* Castle, and took that also, before *Roger Mortimer* and *Hugh de Say*, who were marching thither with a powerful Army of *Normans* and *English* to prevent him, could arrive. But Prince *Rees*, resolving not to keep his Men within the Castle, boldly marched out against the *English* Commanders; and tho a great many of his Men were undisciplined and unarmed, yet they so well acquitted themselves, that the *English* Army were routed with a great loss of Men, the *Welsh* pursuing the rest till the darkness of the Night came seasonably on to protect them; then the Prince forthwith laid Siege to the Castle of *Pays* in *Elvel*, and took it. But *William de Bruce*, the Lord of it, coming thither to him, made Peace with Prince *Rees*, of whom he received the Castle again upon certain Conditions. Not long after the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the King's Justiciary, hearing of these Incursions, came with a mighty Army into

into *Wales*, and laid Siege to the Castle of *Gwenwynwyn*, at the Pool; but the Garison defended the Place so well, that he lost divers of his Men; so that he perceiving he could do no good there by Assault, he sent for Miners to undermine the Walls; which when the Garison heard of, and finding themselves too weak to hold out, they offer'd to surrender it provided they might march out with their Arms: the Archbishop accepted of these Terms, and permitted them to go their way; then strongly fortifying the Castle for the King's use, and placing therein a Garison for its defence, he returned into *England*: but immediately after Prince *Llewellyn* laid Siege to it again, and had it surrendered to him upon the same Terms, that his Men had before given it up.

I cannot here omit what our Author farther relates, concerning [3] Archbishop *Hubert*, that whilst he thus continued the Pope's Legate, and King's Justitiary, he either really was, or else seem'd to be weary of so great a Burden; and therefore sent Messengers to the King, desiring him to place some other Person in the Government of the Kingdom, and give him leave to lay it down, since he was not able to discharge both the Spiritual and Temporal Functions any longer. Then the King, tho very unwillingly (for he knew there was none more capable of maintaining the Laws and Rights of the Kingdom, than the Archbishop) yet at last consented to his Discharge; but when it came to, the Archbishop repented of that Message he had sent to the King, knowing that he was very well paid for his Pains; and therefore having looked over the Rolls of Accounts, he sent the King word, that he had raised out of this Kingdom for his sole use Eleven hundred thousand Marks of Silver; and added, that if he thought his Service further necessary, and it was his Pleasure he should still continue in his Office, he would not deny serving of him, notwithstanding his great Age. It is therefore no wonder that he still kept the Government, since the King did not know where to find such another Minister for his turn.

Thus we see Men are seldom cloyed with too much Power; but the greatest wonder is, how one old Man could bear up under the weight and fatigue of so much Business, or how *England* having been so lately exhausted for the King's Ransom, could now again afford such a vast Sum in so short a time, which was then (the value of Money, and prices of things considered) more than five Millions of Pounds at this day; and shews that *England* must have had at that time a very considerable Trade for its Commodities, or else having no Silver Mines, the Species then wrought of Silver and Gold could never have so multiplied in two or three Years: and therefore we have the less reason to admire the greatness of the Taxes that *England* has lately undergone.

As for Ecclesiastical matters, this Kingdom affords us none, unless we may take notice [4] that *Geoffrey* Archbishop of *Tork*, having been Suspended by the Pope (as you have already heard) and forced to take a Journey to *Rome* to clear himself of the Crimes laid to his Charge, had (tho with some difficulty) obtain'd a fair Hearing from his Holiness, who was then much prejudiced against him, where in he so well acquitted himself, that his Adversaries not being able to make good their Allegations against him, the Pope at last, by the

The ABp of Canterbury goes against the Welsh with a great Army, and has the Castle of Gwenwynwyn surrendered to him.

Prince Llewellyn soon after recovers it again.

[3] *R. H. p. 435. a.*
The ABp begs of the King to ease him of the Secular Government, which is granted.

But afterwards repenting of it, he is again restored.

Geoffrey Archbishop of Tork goes to Rome, and clears himself to the Pope of what was laid to his Charge.

Anno Dom. consent of the whole Court of Cardinals, restored him again to his
MCXCVI. Episcopal Office, as also to the Benefits thereof: but when the King
 heard of it, he was terribly nettled, for having already deprived him
 of his Temporalties, he had joined with his Adversaries to have him
 deposed. But finding himself now so miserably disappointed, he
 commanded two of the Prebends (who were his Enemies) not to
 permit the Archbishop, or his Officials, to have any thing to do with
 the *Spiritual Jurisdiction*: And the King himself in the mean time
 bestowed all the Prebendaries and vacant Benefices of that Church,
 upon his own Clerks as he pleased: but when the Archbishop saw
 upon his return from *Rome* to *France*, that his Restitution would do
 him little good, so long as the King thus deprived him, both of his
 Spiritual and Temporal Rights, after some stay there, he thought it
 best to go back to *Rome* again, where he continued till the next Year
 before he could get the King to be reconciled to him.

And is resto-
 red to his
 Episcopal Of-
 fice, &c.

But the King
 will not suffer
 him to have
 any thing to
 do with the
 Spiritual Ju-
 risdiction.

And so he
 goes back to
Rome, and is
 not reconcil'd
 to the K. till
 the next Year.

Anno Dom. [5] King Richard being still in *Normandy*, kept his *Christmass* at
MCXCVII. *Buers*, and was very much troubled that the Archbishop of *Rosen*
 would not release that Dutchy from the late *Interdict* which made the
 dead Bodies to lie unburied in the Streets of the Cities and Towns.

[5] *Id.* p. 437.

The dead Bo-
 dies lie ex-
 posed in the
 Streets, be-
 cause of the
 ABp of *Rosen*'s
Interdict.

K. Richard
 sends Amba-
 sadors to the
 Pope, to make
 his Defence.

Their Plea on
 the King's be-
 half.

Wherefore, not long after, the King sent *William* Bishop of *Ely* his
 Chancellor, with the Bishop of *Lisieux*, and *Philip* the Elect of *Dar-*
ham, Ambassadors to the Pope to make his Defence; but the first of
 these falling sick by the way, dyed at *Poitiers*, so the other two
 went on to *Rome*, and appearing before the Pope with the Archbi-
 shop, who was there before them, he asserted the Right he had to the
 Isle of *Andeli*, and complained of the Injury K. Richard had done him,
 by building a Castle upon the Patrimony of the Church of *Rosen*, with-
 out his Assent, nay contrary to his Will. To which they answered,
 that the King had often offered him, by the mediation of his Bishops,
 Abbots, Earls, and Barons, full satisfaction, according as select and dis-
 creet Men should estimate; and also affirm'd on the King's behalf, that
 he could not part with that Island in which the Castle was built, because
 the K. of *France* had usually made his Passage that way into *Normandy*,
 and often wasted it; and therefore he was obliged to fortify it for the
 defence of his Country, against his Enemy of *France*.

The Pope's
 Advice to the
 ABp of *Rosen*.

The Pope and Cardinals after long Deliberation, considering the
 damages which might accrue to *Normandy*, if there were not a
 Castle erected there, advised the Archbishop amicably to compose the
 matter, and to accept a Recompence according to the estimation of
 honest and indifferent Persons; adding farther, that it was Lawful
 for Kings and Princes to fortify the weak places of their Countries,
 to prevent those Dangers which otherwise might happen to themselves
 and their People. This matter being thus ended, the Pope released
 the *Interdict* that was upon *Normandy*.

The *Interdict*
 released.

[1] *Id.* ib. b.

[1] Some months after this, the Ambassadors and the Archbishop
 being return'd with the determination of the Pope and Cardinals, the
 King summon'd the Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and Barons of *Nor-*
mandy together; and then gave to *Walter* Archbishop of *Rosen*
 in Recompence for his Isle of *Andeli*, the Towns of *Diepe* and *Lo-*
viers, with their Appurtenances, and divers other Mannors and Mills,
 as appears by the King's Charter, and the Pope's Confirmation of
 it

What the K.
 gives the ABp
 for a Recom-
 pence.

it (which you may see in [2] *Radulphus de Diceto*, bearing date 1198. Anno Domini MEXCVII. by which exchange the Archbishop himself confesseth (in a Letter to that Author) that the Church had gained above five hundred Pounds clear. Thus we see, that in those times who ever lost, the Church was sure to gain.

[3] The same Year King *Richard* marched to the Town of *St. Valery* in *Picardie*, and burnt it; and destroying the Monastery, he carried away the Monks, together with the Shrine and Reliques of *St. Valery* with him into *Normandy*; and finding in that Port divers Ships come from *England*, laden with Corn and Victuals, he hang'd the Mariners, burnt the Ships, and distributed the lading amongst his *Souldiers*; for it seems he had not long before issued out a Proclamation, that none should bring any Provisions out of *England* upon pain of Death.

[4] About this time the King of *France's* Efforts against King *Richard* growing still weaker and weaker, it encouraged his Neighbours to desert his Party; for now the People of *Champagne*, the *Flemings* and *Bretons*, gave Pledges mutually, that they would not make Peace with the King of *France*, unless by common Consent; for it seems the King of *England* had brought over to him many of the Great Men of *France* by his Favours and Bounties: he gave to the Earl of *Flanders* five thousand Marks for his Assistance, and he gave Hostages not to make Peace with the King of *France*, without the King's consent; and the King of *England* did the same to him. [4] *Id. p. 438.* *Radulphus de Diceto* has given us the Articles of Agreement between these two Princes at large, which were sworn to by Earl *John* on the behalf of the King his Brother, before several witnesses in the Isle of *Andeli*.

[5] Some time after this, *William Crispin*, Constable of the Castle of *Dangu*, was forced to surrender it to King *Richard*, who having well stored it with Men and Ammunition, marched into *Auvergne*, and there took ten Castles belonging to the King of *France*, or his Vassals: in the mean time *K. Philip* retook the Castle of *Dangu*, granting to the Knights and their Followers that were in it, their Lives and Members; and receiving five hundred Marks of them for their Ransom, he gave them their Liberties, and fortified the Castle for his own Use. [5] *Id. ib.* *Dangu Castle* surrendered to *K. Richard*; But is retaken by the French King.

[1] About the same time *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders* had besieged the City of *Arras*, which the King of *France* hearing of, presently marched thither with a great Army, upon whose approach the Earl of *Flanders* raised the Siege, and retreated; but the French King not satisfied with this, would needs follow him into his own Territories, till at last his Army being encompassed between two Rivers, the Earl by breaking down the Bridges, and putting strong guards upon the Passes, so shut up the King of *France's* Army, that no Provisions could be brought to them; whereupon the King finding himself in so great a streight, desired the Earl that he would not put any Affront upon the Crown of *France*, affirming, that he came into *Flanders* with an intention to make Peace with him, and that he would restore to him all his Rights which he then detain'd, provided he would quit the King of *England's* Interest: but tho the Earl of *Flanders* refused to do that, because of his late Agreement with King *Richard*, yet

[1] *Id. ib.* Skirmishes between the E. of *Flanders* and the K. of *France*.

K. Philip's Army shut up between two Rivers.

His offers to the Earl of *Flanders*.

[2] *Id. ib.* *Radulphus de Diceto* has given us the Articles of Agreement between these two Princes at large, which were sworn to by Earl *John* on the behalf of the King his Brother, before several witnesses in the Isle of *Andeli*.

Anno Dom.
MCXCVII.

How far he
offered to
comply with
the French R's
desires.

[2] W. N.

The two Kings
in a great As-
sembly, con-
sent to a
Truce for a
Year and four
Months.

[3] R. H. p.
439. a.

[4] Ib. p.
438. b.

The Bp of
Beauvais his
Complaint to
the Pope a-
gainst R. Ri-
chard.

[5] C. B.

The Pope's
Answer.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

[1] R. H. id. b.

yet he so far complied with the French King's desires, that upon his promise to make Peace with King Richard likewise, and to restore to him what he had taken from him, he suffered the King of France and his Army to make their Retreat without any disturbance; but he had only this return for his kindness, that the French King never perform'd one jot of what he had promised him.

[2] Then the Earl went in Person, to persuade the King of France to a Treaty of Peace between Gaillon and Andeli, where both Kings having enough of War, and being met with a great Assembly of the Nobility on both sides, altho their Stomachs were too high to condescend to an absolute Peace, [3] yet for the present they consented to a Truce for a Year and four Months; during which it was also agreed that there should be a free Trade between their Subjects, and that the Prisoners should be ransom'd at a reasonable price: so the Assembly broke up, and both Kings returning home, there was an end of this years War; tho the Truce did not hold out the full time agreed upon, as you will find by and by, in the next Year.

[4] About this time Philip Bishop of Beauvais growing weary of his Imprisonment, sent his Brother, the Bishop of Orleans, with Letters to the Pope, informing him that he was made a Prisoner by the King of England, and complained how he was bound and laden with Irons, notwithstanding the Dignity of his Order, and (as my Author says) petitioned with Tears for Relief.

The Pope hereupon wrote to King Richard on his behalf, expostulating with him, why he would detain in Prison his dear Brother and Son, the Bishop of Beauvais? [5] Upon this the King is said to have sent to the Pope the Archbishop's Armour in which he was taken, together with a Letter wherein was this Passage, *Holy Father, will you be pleased to see whither this is your Son's Coat, or not?* Which, if true, shews that that Prince was not so ignorant of the Scripture, but that he knew how to make an ingenious use of it when it was for his purpose: but whither this Answer were real or not, since I find it in no Author before Matt. Park, I will not affirm; yet so much is certain, that the Pope return'd to the Bishop himself no very kind Answer, being to this effect, *That he had put on the Armour of a Souldier, instead of the Habit of a Priest;* [1] "And that altho the K. of France was bound by Oath, not to do any damage to the King of England's Dominions during the time of his Pilgrimage, yet that he had impudently, against his Faith and Oath, by Force, taken his Towns, and cruelly wasted his Territories; the Equity of whose Cause fought for him against the Arrogance and Injuries of the French King: that he, the Bishop, was not only a foolish Adviser of, but an insolent Actor in this unlawful Quarrel; and at last concludes thus, *That he could only supplicate the King of England in his behalf, for in such a case he neither could, nor ought to command.*

Whither the Pope wrote any more on his behalf, I do not find; but it is certain the Bishop remain'd still in Prison till the Year following, when he offer'd for his Liberty ten thousand Marks of Silver.

Having thus dispatch'd foreign Affairs, let us now look homewards, and see what was done in England. [2] The Archbishop of Canterbury, the King's Justiciary, going over this Year, by the King's Command, into Normandy about the middle of June, stayed there till the latter

end

[2] Id. ib. p.
440. a.
ABp goes in-
to Normandy.

end of *October* following, where divers things were established for the good of the publick; and it is very probable that [3] King *Richard* then ordained that Assize concerning Measures, which we find in *R. Floude* under this Year. But *Walter* of *Coventry* in his *Memorable Historie* says, they were made at *Westminster* at the Feast of *St. Edmund*, at the Petition, and by the Advice of all the Bishops and Barons of the Kingdom; so that it seems to have been an Ordinance of that King's great Council of Peers. Yet since they were not ordained by the General Council of the Kingdom, or Parliament, I look upon them only to have been in the nature of a Temporary Edict; and therefore I shall refer the Reader, that has a mind to peruse them, to the end of this King's Reign, where he will see them translated to his hand. I do not find there happened any thing else considerable in *England* this Year.

Anno Dom. MCXCVIII
[3] Id. ib. b.
An Assize concerning Measures, made by the King's great Council of Peers.

But to give some Account of the Affairs of *Wales*: [4] *Rees* Prince of *South-Wales* now deceased, whom the *Welsh* Chronicles highly extol, and lament with a great deal of Monkish Eloquence, in rhiming Latin Verses, as a Prince of that Valour and Worth, that he was the only Hope and Defence of his Country: and indeed after his Death, all things in *South-Wales* fell into Civil War and Confusion, his Sons taking up Arms against each other, contending for the Government. [5] To extinguish which Dissentions, Archbishop *Hubert*, tho lately an Enemy, marched down into those parts to settle Peace amongst them, which continued for some time. *Griffyth*, Prince *Rees*'s second Son, succeeded him for a while, and subduing all that Country, enjoyed it in Peace until *Maelgon* his Brother (whom his Father had disinherited) made a League with *Gwenwynwyn*, the Son of *Owen Cyvellic*, Lord of *Powis*, who both together levying tho but a small Army, came suddenly upon Prince *Griffyth* at *Aberystwyth*, and killing many of his Men, took him Prisoner, and so recovered all the Country of *Cedrigan*, together with the Castle *Maelgon*: He having thus taken his Brother, sent him to be imprisoned with *Gwenwynwyn*, who in despite delivered him to the *Englishmen*: and then *Gwenwynwyn* gathering a sufficient Power, entered *Aruſtly*, and subdued it to his own Dominion.

[4] Dr. P. Chron.
Prince *Rees*'s decease, and Character.

ABp *Hubert* composes the Differences between the *Welsh* Princes about the Succession.

[5] R. H. ib.

[1] Also about this time, there was a great Dispute in *North-Wales*; [1] *Id. ib.* for *David ap Owen*, the late expell'd Prince, came with a great Army, as well of *English* as *Welshmen*, purposing to recover his Country: but Prince *Llewellyn* his Nephew, the right Heir of the same, and then in Possession, came boldly out upon him, and giving him Battel, and putting his Men to flight, took him Prisoner, and so kept him as long as he lived, and afterward enjoyed the Country quietly.

A great Dispute between the Princes of *North-Wales*.

This Year also affords us some Account of the Affairs of *Ireland*, of which we have heard nothing a great while; but now [2] *Jourdan de Courci*, Brother of *John de Courci*, Prince or Earl of *Ulster*, being murdered by one of his Domesticks, through the instigation of some of the *Irish* petty Kings, his Brother in revenge made War upon those Kings, some of whom he put to flight, and drove out of their Country, and then he bestowed their Territories upon *Duncan* the Son of *Gilbert*, a *Scotish* Prince, who lately came over to his Assistance.

[2] R. H. p. 439. 2.
Some Account of *Ireland*.
John de Courci, in revenge for his Brother's Murder, puts some of the petty *Irish* Kings to flight, and makes *Duncan*, a *Scotish* Prince, King.

Also

1200
The ABp before his departure, excommunicates all those that had injured him, and puts his Archbishoprick under interdict.

1201
The Miracle of the chief Christian look'd on as a Monkish cheat.

1202
The ABp before his departure, excommunicates all those that had injured him, and puts his Archbishoprick under interdict.

1203
The Miracle of the chief Christian look'd on as a Monkish cheat.

1204
The Death of several great Princes.

1205
Id. p. 440.

Anno Dom.
MCCGVIII.

[1] 1208.

[2] 1208.
The ABp Hubert marches to the borders of Wales.

The King's Feudatories to find 9000 Horse, or pay so much as would maintain them.

[3] Also this Year there happened no small disturbances in the Church of Dublin; for John Camus the Archbishop of that City, having suffered great Injuries from James de Salerno, and the other Guardians of Ireland; who were the Opponents of Earl John, the King's Brother, resolved rather to undergo Banishment, than such Abuses to himself and his Church: but before he went away, he excommunicated all those who had done him wrong; and had his *Interdict* upon his Archbishoprick; and also commanded the Crucifixes and Images about the Cathedral Church to be taken down, and laid upon Thorns; which, as our Author relates, produced such a wonderful Miracle, that the other Crucifixes being threatened, their Faces began to look very red and fiery; and to sweat extremely, and great drops fell from their Eyes as if it wept; and out of their Mouths came Blood and Water, which the Officers of the Church gathering up, sent after to the Archbishop, with a large Relation of this strange Miracle: but to them, neither the rest of the Bishops, nor any of Earl John's Officers were convinced by it; nor did they make the Bishop any Satisfaction; any more than did King Richard, or the Earl himself; when the Archbishop came over to them to complain; and to demand Restitution of what had thus violently been taken from him; so that it seem'd they looked upon this Miracle to be but a cheat of the Monks; if it was ever told them at all.

[4] This Year was also remarkable for the Death of several Princes; for Henry Earl of Champagne, King of Jerusalem, being about to raise the Siege of Joppa, as he was one day leaning over a Window to speak to the People below, the Pillars that sustained it falling, he fell down together with them, and broke his Neck.

[5] This year the Emperor Henry the Sixth, a Covetous and Cruel Prince, who had been before excommunicated by the Pope for keeping King Richard Prisoner, and making him pay so great a Ransom, now falling into a fit of Sickness, sent a Bishop, who was his Kinsman and Chancellor, as his Ambassador to King Richard, to beg his Pardon, and promise him Restitution of what he had taken from him for his Ransom: but before he could arrive and deliver his Message, the Emperor died at Messina; after whose decease there were great Contentions about a Successor in the Empire for a long time.

[1] The King kept his Christmas this year at Rothen, and the rest of the Winter and following Summer passed over without any Action between the two Kings, because the late Truce as yet continued; and therefore we shall in the mean while, give you an account of what was done in England.

[2] About the beginning of this Summer Archbishop Hubert, the King's Justiciary, marched down with some Forces to the Borders of Wales, and there took into his hands, for the King's Use, the Castles of Hereford, Bangnorh, and Ludlow, putting out the old Constables, and placing in new ones, whom he could better trust; not long after which King Richard desired of the Feudatories, or Military Men of England, by the same Archbishop, that they would find him three hundred Horse, to remain in his Service for one Year; or else to let him have so much Money as would maintain so many Knights, and give them for their Livery or Wages, every day, three Shillings of

Englisk

*

[1] Sometime after this, the Monks of the *Abbey Trinity* (or *Christ Church* in *Canterbury*) being not at all pleased with some of Arch-
 Bishop *Hubert's* Actions towards them, sent some of their number
 to Rome, and complained to the new Pope *Innocent* (for *Celestine* was
 lately dead) that contrary to the Canons, he was under protection of
 the Kingdom, and a Judge in causes of blood, and so involved in se-
 cular business, that he could not but neglect the Affairs of the Church;
 and they likewise complained in particular, that the Peace or Sanctu-
 ary of the Church of *St. Mary at Arles*, or *the Church in London*,
 had been violated by his Treachery, and that *William* with the *Barons*
 was by force taken out from thence, with some of his Companions,
 and bound to prison, and hanged accordingly.

The Pope
 sends to the
 King to remove
 him from Se-
 cular business.

Hubert's Treachery.

[1] *H. H.*
Ch. Col. 1375.

The main
 Complaint
 was the in-
 vasion of the
 Church's Lands.

* *Apollatricum.*

Innocent made
 Pope about
 30 years of
 Age.

[2] *H. H.* p.
 444. a.

The Arch-
 bishop's Re-
 venue, and
 the Oblations
 at *the Be-
 ket's Tomb*.

Upon this the Pope sent a *Plenial* Ambassador to King *Richard*,
 that for the health of his own Soul he should remove the Archbishop
 from all secular Affairs, and for the future neither to advise him, nor
 say other Bishop or Priest to any secular Employment or Administra-
 tion, and commanded all Prelates by virtue of their Obedience that
 they should not dare to undertake them for the future.

[2] This was the Archbishop *Hubert*, the more against his
 Will, being a stirring ambitious Prelate, who delighted more in Tem-
 poral than Spiritual Functions; after whom *Gosfrey Fitz-Peter* suc-
 ceeded in the Government of the Kingdom. But the main occasion
 of this Quarrel, and which the Monks then chiefly laid to his
 Charge, was, that in prejudice of the Mother Church of *Canterbury*,
 he had finished the Chappel at *Lawford*, which had been begun by
 Archbishop *Baker* his Predecessor, and placed secular Chanoines there-
 in, endowing them with the Lands and Goods of the Monks, and
 contrary to the Custom and Dignity of the Church of *Canterbury*, had
 consecrated Bishops therein; inasmuch that they were afraid, unless it
 were timely prevented, that the Dignity of the Mother Church would
 be diminished, and transferred to that *Apollat* Chappel: their true
 meaning was, that they were apprehensive that these might become
 some time or other the Archbishop's Chapter, and the power of se-
 lecting the Archbishops would be transferred to them; whereupon Pope
Innocent being much moved at this Information, wrote to the Arch-
 bishop, charging him to demolish the Chappel within thirty days af-
 ter the receipt of his Letters, and assured him that if he did not do it,
 he was thereby suspended from his Episcopal Dignity and Function, un-
 til he should appear before him, and make satisfaction for the same.
 His Letters bare date the *24th* of *May* at Rome, in the first Year of his
 Pontificate, for *Celestine* deceased in *January* before, and he was
 chosen the next day by the Cardinals, being then himself but a Dea-
 con Cardinal, and not much above thirty years of Age.

[2] Yet notwithstanding, the Archbishop thought himself so well
 guarded by the King's Power, who supported him in this Quarrel, that
 he was far from obeying the Pope's Command, and hoped he was able
 to overcome the obstinacy of these Monks, and therefore to humble
 them, and bring them to his beck, he seized into the King's hands all
 the Revenues of that Monastery, with the Oblations made at *Thomas*
 of *Becket's* Tomb, and shut up the Monks in their Cloysters. Yet for
 all that this stout Archbishop could do, he was forced at last, for fear
 of the Pope's Threats, to comply with the Monks, and demolish the
 above-

also a defended Chappel, which will stand in the next Year; and this being a piece of Ecclesiastical History, ought to have been so too; but that I was loth to break the connexion of the Story.

[53] Sometime also this Year (for our Author has not given us the Month) *Geoffrey Fitz-Peter*, the new Justiciary, has forth his Circuit Juslices throughout England; and *Hugh Basset*, *M. Roger Atrevel*, and *Geoffrey Hagen*, had the Office committed to them, and went their Circuit through the Countie of *Leicester*, *Northampton*, *Derby*, *Tork*, *Lincolshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Gloucestershire*, and *Northamptonshire*, and held both the new and old Pleas of the Crown in each all the Assizes of which being long, I have referred them to the Laws at the end of this King's Reign.

But before the Inquisition was fully ended, there began a new oppression upon the Subjects to the ruin of many Men, which was first set on foot by *Hugh de Neville*, chief Justiciary of all the King's Forests in England, with *Hugh Wac*, and *Erne de Neville*, his Associates; who going as Justices itinerants of the King's Forests, they issued out their Procepts to this Effect, viz. "That in all the Countie thereof which they were to pass, the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, and Barons, and all Freeholders, and the chief Officer and Constable of every Town, should come before them at the Pleas of the Forest, to hear the King's Commands. Here also follows the King's Assize, or Laws concerning the Forests; and tho they are long, yet since they may be satisfactory to those who are curious to know what the Forest Laws were in this King's Reign, before the Charter of *Forest* was granted by King *John*, I have also added them immediately after the aforesaid Articles or Pleas of the Crown.

[54] About the same time the King commanded all Men, both Clerks and Laicks, that had any Charters or confirmations of Charters under his old Seal, to carry them to his new one, to have them renewed, or else they should be of no Force; and therefore Mr. *Pryn* informs us in his *Chronological Vindication*, &c. * that he found most of this King's Charters to Monasteries renew'd in the seventh and tenth Years of his Reign, which he had granted in his first, or any other following Year: from whence it appears, that there were two several Callings in and Renewals of all former Charters, against all Equity and Justice.

But to say something of Ecclesiastical Affairs; [55] this Year the Clergy refused to give the King five Shillings upon each Plough Land, as the Laity had done before; wherefore the King in Revenge issued out an Edict or Proclamation, that whoever injured a Clergy man in any thing, should not be compelled to make him satisfaction; but if a Clergyman owed a Layman any thing, he was to be forced to make true payment.

These Kings sometimes were said to stretch their Prerogative a little too far, to make these stubborn Clergy men comply with their reasonable desires: on This I take notice of, because Dr. *Brady* in his History, p. 436, says, the Religious Orders now gave the King five Shillings out of each Plough Land, as the Laity had done before; but had he consider'd what follows, or consult'd the Manuscripts above mentioned in the Margin, I suppose he would have been of another mind.

and was
MAYOR

[5] H. p.
1133.
the new
Justiciary.

A new
proclamation
the
de
Neville,
chief Justiciary
of all the
K's Forests.

and
the
new
Seal.

[5] R. H. ibi
In the printed
Copies it
is
voluminous
done, but
Laymen to all
the
have collected
ed of this
Author.

The Clergy
refusing to
give the King
5 s. out of
each Plough
Land, and com
municated
Justicia

John Duns Scotus
[1] M. H.
p. 444.
D. P. A. R. M.
Griffith is set
at liberty, and
joins the Eng-
lish Lords a-
gainst Gwe-
nwyn.

*Geoffrey Fitz-
Peter raises
an Army, and
joins the Eng-
lish Lords a-
gainst Gwe-
nwyn.*

*Griffith is set
at liberty, and
joins the Eng-
lish Lords a-
gainst Gwe-
nwyn.*

[2] R. H. p.
444.

*The R. of
France causes
the Eyes of
the English to
be pulled out.*

[3] M. H.
p. 444.
Many Noble-
men desert
him, and ad-
here to R. H.
chard.

But before I pass to the Affairs of *Normandy*, it is fit I should give some Account of what was done in *Wales* this Summer; [1] where Prince *Gwenwyn* abovementioned designed to extend the Limits of *Wales* as far as ever they had been formerly, gathered a great Army, and laid Siege, first to the Castle of *Pem* in *Elvel*, which was the Estate of *William de Breese*; making Proclamation, that so soon as he had gained the Castle, he would burn the whole Country as far as the *Severn* without any Mercy. In revenge of the Murder of *Trubert* & his Cousin, who had been treacherously put to Death the Year before by this *William de Breese*; but because he wanted Engines and Miners to put his design in Execution, he lay three Weeks before that Castle, whilst *William de Breese* sent for Succours into *England*; whereupon *Geoffrey Fitz-Peter* Lord Chief Justice of *England* assembled a great Army, and joining with him all the Lords Marchers, came to raise the Siege; and because the Fortune of War is variable and uncertain, he offered to *Gwenwyn* to have a Treaty of Peace with him; but he and some of his Party would hear of no Peace, for they made that Expedition partly to revenge their own Injuries; whereupon the *English* Lords thought it best to set *Griffith*, Son to *Reis* Prince of *South Wales*, free, whom they knew to be an old Enemy to *Gwenwyn*.

Then *Griffith* mustering up great Forces, joined with the *English* Lords, and marched towards the Castle; against whom *Gwenwyn* came out very stoutly, and there began a cruel Battle with much slaughter on both sides; but at last the *English* got the Victory, and *Gwenwyn* lost a great number of his Men, among whom were divers of the Blood-Royal, tho some of them were taken Prisoners. *Mat. Paris* makes this Battle to have been fought before *Made* Castle, and that of the *Welsh* there were slain three thousand seven hundred.

After this Victory *Geoffrey Fitz-Peter*, with the other *English* Lords, returned home with great Honour.

The Truce [2] between the two Kings was not yet expired, which our Author makes to have been only during the time of Harvest; yet it appears from *William of Newburgh*, that it was for a Year and four Months, which I take to be certain, since we find no acts of Hostility committed during one Year last past; but whatever occasion there was for breaking it before it was expired, I find not: yet now the two Kings (as if it were by mutual Consent) invaded each other's Territories, wasting them with Fire and Sword, and carrying away many Prisoners on both sides; but the King of *France* found a new way of exercising his Cruelty upon the King of *England's* Subjects, and that was by pulling out the Eyes of many whom he took Prisoners, which provoked him to do the like to those belonging to the King of *France*: so that all the rest of this Autumn was spent in mutual Slaughters, Cruelties, and Devastations.

Then several Princes and great Men of *France*, who had taken part with [3] King *Philip*, seeing him resolved to engage them in a perpetual War for his own Advantage, and finding also that they could not vanquish King *Richard*, whose Strength daily increased, left the former and adhered to the latter. These Princes were the Duke of *Lovain*, the Earls of *Brene*, *Boloign*, *Persche* and *Blou*, as also *Ar-*

chard.

the Earl of *Britaign*, and several others, who all took an Oath to be true to the King of *England*, as he likewise did to them; that they would not make Peace with the King of *France*, unless it were by common Consent. But the *Roger Hoveden* has also here added the Earls of *Flanders* and *St. Giles*, yet in this he forgot himself; for he tells us under the Year 1197, that the Earl of *Flanders* had already made Peace with King *Richard*; and under the Year before that, the Earl of *St. Giles* was then reconciled to him, by marrying his Sister *Joan*, Queen Dowager of *Sicilie*; [4] But our Author is more certain in what follows, viz. that not long after the renewing of the War, the Earl of *Flanders* besieged the Town of *St. Omers*, and took it by force at three Weeks end, the King of *France* not being able to relieve it; the like he did to *Am*, and several other Towns of smaller importance in *Flanders*.

[5] Not long after which, in September, the two Kings had a sharp skirmish between the Castles of *Vernon* and *Gauge* in *Vendun*, in which engagement the King of *France* was put to Flight, and lost twenty Knights, sixty Squires, and a great many Horse and Foot, and was close pursued until he got to his Castle of *Vernon*.

[1] About the middle of the same Month the King of *France* entered *Normandy* with a great Army, whilst King *Richard* had not with him above sixty Men, for he had dispersed his Army into divers Garisons; yet nevertheless getting together as many Souldiers as he could, upon the sudden he followed them in the Rear; until such time as two hundred Horsemen, and *Marshall* Captain of his *Flemings*, could come up to him; then the *French*, after they had burnt about eighteen Villages, (altho they were much superior in number to King *Richard's* Men, yet) seeing him at their Heels, retreated as fast as they could, but the King pursued, and killed a great many of them, and took about thirty Prisoners; this happen'd near *Vernon*: and that which was a greater Disgrace than all to the *French* was, that their King fled so fast, that in the way he ran over an old Man, and carried nothing away with him out of *Normandy* but Shame and Dishonour.

Then the King of *England* in revenge invaded *France* near the Ford of *Dangu*, and took the Castle of *Carcelles* by Assault, and also another lesser place called *Buxis*, with all that were in it, and returned that night with his Army to *Dangu*: the day after the King of *France* came from *Maube* with three hundred Knights and their Followers, to succour the Castle of *Carcelles*, which he hoped and thought had not been taken; but when *K. Richard* knew of his coming, he went out to meet him, tho accompanied with no great Force, for he had placed the greatest part of his Army upon the Bank of the River *Eche*, because he believed the *French* K. would have come upon them by *Dangu*, from the other side the River, whilst indeed he with his Men came down toward *Gisors*; but King *Richard* meeting with them, there began a very sharp Fight between *Carcelles* and that place, [2] in which he behaved himself so valiantly, that he dismounted no less than three *French* Knights with one Lance, and took them Prisoners, whose names need not to be recited, only the chiefest of them was *Matheo de Monmorancie*, Ancestor to the Dukes of that name; and besides these there were above an hundred Knights more taken, whose names the Reader may find in *R. Hoveden* (but I think needless

MOXOVI.

[4] Id. ib.

[5] Id. ib.

The K. of France put to Flight.

[1] Id. p. 449.

C. B.

The K. of France enters Normandy with an Army, and burns several Villages. K. Richard pursues, and kills many of the French.

K. Philip's shameful Flight.

He is again routed by K. Richard.

[2] R.D. Col. 704.

He hardly escapes drowning.

[3] R. Hibb. R. Richard's Account of this Action, in a Letter to the Bp of Durham.

[4] Id. p. 445. a.

[5] Id. b.

The two K's weary of War, begin to think of Peace.

The French K's offers.

A Truce agreed on till the Feast of St. Hilary.

[1] Id. p. 447. a. b.

Pope Innocent writes to the Bps and Clergy of England, for the Relief of the Holy Land.

[2] Id. 446. b. And to the King on behalf of the ABp of York his Brother.

needless to repeat them here) besides ordinary Horsemen, Footmen, and Servants without number, as also a great many Horses covered with Iron. The issue of which Battle was, that the King of France's Army, being wholly routed, he fled as fast as he could to the Castle of Gisors; but when he came upon the Bridge that leads to the Town, it broke under him, being over-charged with the weight of those that crowded after the King; so that he and most of those that were upon it fell into the River, from which if he had not been quickly pulled out, he had been certainly drowned, as were many Persons of Quality that were with him; most of which particulars we learn not only from our Author's Relation, [3] but also from R. Richard's own Letter to Philip Bp of Durham, which gave him an account of this Victory; wherein after he had related some of his own Exploits, he concludes with great modesty, that he does not ascribe this to himself, but to God who had supported his Right; yet says in Rallery, that he heard the King of France had fallen into the River, and drunk his Belly full before he could be got out. This Letter bears date from Dunstun the church of S. Dunstun, being two days after the Battle.

The King of France to be revenged of this shameful Defeat, after a little breathing time, recruited his Army, and again invaded Normandy, and burnt and destroyed all the Country as far as Baumeux to Roger, and then return'd home: after which there were no great Mischiefers done on either part, only Earl John burnt the Town of Newburgh, and took some Prisoners; and Sir John de Menteith with his Flandersmen fell upon a Fair which was near Middelburg, and spoiled the Merchants there, carrying away a great many Prisoners, with much rich Booty.

[4] Upon these and various Successes, both Kings growing weary of the War, began again to think of Peace, and Robert Archbishop of Canterbury was sent for out of England into Normandy, to treat on the behalf of King Richard; to whom the King of France offer'd for the procuring of Peace, to restore all the Territories and Castles which he had taken from him, except that of Gisors; and for this he was willing to refer it to six Barons of Normandy whom he himself should chuse, and to six Barons of France to be chosen by King Richard, to judge who had most Right to it: but the these Conditions were advantageous enough for the King of England, yet would he not agree to them unless the Earl of Flanders, and all other Princes and Lords who had quitted the King of France and adhered to him, were likewise comprised in it, which I suppose was at last agreed to, for in the Month of November there was a Truce clapt up between the two Kings, till the Feast of St. Hilary next ensuing; and so ended this Year's Action.

[1] As for Ecclesiastical matters there happen'd little, only we find Pope Innocent wrote a long Epistle to the Archbishops, Clergy, Nobility, and People of England, to contribute Men and Money for the Relief of the Holy Land, which was still in great Distress: but the Nation being much exhausted with the late heavy Taxes, I do not find any thing farther done in it. [2] The Pope also wrote a little before to King Richard, that he would be reconciled to his Brother the Archbishop of York, and restore him to his Archbishoprick, lest otherwise he should be forced to constrain him by Excommunication, and Interdict upon his Kingdom; at which the King being much concern'd,

consented, he sent to the Archbishop to let him know, that if he would confirm the Donation he had made in the Church of York, he would entirely restore him to the Archbishoprick: but he for some reason refused it, and went again to Rome to complain, and so continued in the same state during the King's Life; but that was not long, for he happened to die the next Year.

Anno Dom.
MCCXCVIII.

[3] As for foreign Affairs, the most memorable is, that Otto, Son of Henry Duke of Saxony, being by the mediation of his Uncle King Edward, with the Princes of the Empire, elected Emperor, was first crowned a King of the Romans, according to Custom, at Aix la Chapelle; but he was not long after firmly opposed by Philip Duke of Swabia, Son to Henry the late Emperor, who also claimed it by election of some other Princes of the Empire of the contrary Faction.

[3] Id. p. 444.
Otto, K. R.
Charles's Ne-
phew, crow-
ned K. of the
Romans.

[4] This being the tenth and last Year of King Richard's Reign, he kept his Christmas at Dover in Normandy, whilst King Philip kept his at Paris; and not long after the Festival King Philip finding himself like to be worried in this long War, became more earnest for Peace than ever, and made fresh Proposals to renew the Truce, which was now almost expired. For this end the two Kings agreed to meet at a place upon the River Seine, between Andely and Vernon, where they both met accordingly upon St. Andrew's Day as they had appointed: the King of France came up the River in a Boat, but not being willing to come on Shore, discoursed with the King of France on Horseback, near the Bank of the River.

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MCCXCIX.

[4] Id. p. 449.
K. Philip
makes fresh
Proposals of
Peace.

K. Richard
treats with
K. Philip on
Horseback.

But not coming to any conclusion then, they appointed another day of Treaty, and at last thro' the mediation of Peter of Capua, Cardinal Deacon of St. Andrew's, and the Pope's Legate, and by the Advice of all the great Men on each side, they agreed upon a Truce for five Years beginning from the Feast last past, upon this only condition, that Things and Possessions should remain as they then were on both sides; and so they confirmed the Agreement with their Oaths.

A Truce as
agreed on for
five Years.

[5] Matthew Paris gives us a more particular Account of this last Treaty, and tells us, that after the Battel of Carisles, (which happened towards the latter end of September, or beginning of October 1198, wherein the King of France's Forces were routed) he was at first glad to desire Peace; and therefore now sent to the Pope to request his Mediation, that a Peace, or at least a Truce for some time, should be made between him and the King of England, that so such as were willing to undertake the Crusade, might have better leisure to perform it; and that it might be accomplished with greater certainty, he desired to have a Cardinal Legate sent with so full a Commission, that (if need were) he might force either of them, upon proving obstinate, to Peace and Concord, by Excommunication. Whereupon Pope Innocent, who much affected the business of the Cross, (the interest thereof more by Money than Devotion) sent Peter of Capua Cardinal, to negotiate the matter between them; who, when he came to the King of France, by his Advice, took some Bishops of both Nations with him, and went to the King of England, and when he came, laid before him what Injuries, Damages and

[5] In hoc An-
no.
Matt. Paris's
Account of
the Treaty.

Anno Dom.
MGXCLX.

[1] *Id. ib.*
R. Richard
refuses to do
any thing up-
on the Pope's
Account.

[2] *Id. ib.*
The Cardi-
nal's Advice
to R. Richard.

[3] *Id. ib.*
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[4] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[5] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[6] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[7] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[8] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[9] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[10] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[11] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[12] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[13] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[14] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[15] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[16] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[17] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[18] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[19] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[20] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[21] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[22] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[23] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[24] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[25] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[26] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[27] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[28] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[29] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[30] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[31] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[32] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[33] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[34] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[35] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[36] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[37] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[38] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

[39] *R. H. p.*
449. A.
The Truce
like to be
broke again.

and Depredations had been, and might be done in both their Domini-
ons, if a firm Peace was not speedily established.

[1] King Richard answered with indignation, that he was not ob-
liged to do any thing of that kind upon the Pope's Account, espe-
cially seeing he had often requested him to compel the King of France
by Ecclesiastical Censures to restore him his Dominions and Castles
which he had so unjustly seized, in violation of the Oath he had
made, not to give him any trouble while he was in the Holy Land,
endeavouring to reduce it to the Obedience of the Christian Church.
So that by reason of the Pope's remissness, he was forced to spend a vast
Sum of Money to regain his Territories; when as the King of France
had not only been guilty of Perjury, but deserved to have had the
Sentence of Excommunication long since pronounced against him: nei-
ther did King Richard know whether he desired a Truce, or not.

[2] Then the Cardinal taking the King aside, and whispering him
Secretly, acknowledged, that he was sent from the Pope at the
special instance of the King of France, to compound the Differences
between them, and advised the King for that time to acquiesce in the
Pope's desires, and to be positively assured, that he would bear him
as well concerning the King of France, as concerning all his other
Affairs.

[3] King Richard was mightily pleased that his Nephew Otto had
been Crowned King of the Romans, and did hope, by the favour of the
Pope, to get him put into the possession of the Empire, and therefore,
being also pressed by the importunity of many Religious Persons, he
at last yielded, and so far confirmed it by his Oath, That for five Years
the Subjects and Traders of both his and King Philip's Dominions, should
have free intercourse so pass and repass peaceably in Fairs, and buy and
sell with one another.

But tho' [4] this Truce was so far concluded, yet was it like to
have been soon broke again on the King of France's part: for whilst
the Forces on both sides were returning on their Quarters, and Mar-
chade with his Flemings on their way home, four French Barls, whose
Territories he was to pass through, set upon him, and routing his
Party, kill'd many of his Men; and farther, whilst King Richard
went into Poitou to reduce some Rebels to their Obedience, the King
of France fortified a certain new Castle between Bourdeaux and Guilla,
and cut up the King of England's Herests about that place; wherefore
upon his return into Normandy, he sent Eustace Bishop of Ely, his
Chancellor, to the King of France, to let him know that the Truce
was broke, unless he would presently demolish that Castle; which
Message, so soon as the Ambassador had delivered to the King of
France, he promised him that rather than the Truce should be broken,
he would forthwith demolish it; but King Richard not being con-
tent with this, sent him further word, that if there were not a
full Agreement made between them, there should be no Peace at
all; so that at last they agreed upon new Articles, whereby the King
of France stood obliged to restore to the King of England all his Ter-
ritories by which way soever obtain'd, excepting the Castle of Gisors,
and in lieu thereof he granted to him the Donation of the Archbi-
shoprick of Tours; and covenanted that Lewis the French King's Son
should

But at last
they agreed
upon new Ar-
ticles.

should marry the Daughter of the King of *Castile*, King *Richard*'s Niece; and King *Philip* swore on his part, that he would assist *King Richard*'s Nephew, to obtain the *Roman Empire*; for tho he had been Crowned King of the *Romans*, yet could he not enjoy the Empire, by reason of the Opposition of the Duke of *Servia*, as has been said before. On the other side King *Richard* swore, that he would not only release the Castle of *Gisors*, but also bestow twenty thousand Marks in Silver, as a Portion with his Niece.

[5] Then the King of *France*, who was always a fower of Discord, gave King *Richard* to understand, that his Brother Earl *John* had come over to him, and pretended to shew him a Charter of his to that purpose; whereupon King *Richard* being highly incensed against his Brother, ordered him to be disseized of all his Territories; which when the Earl understood, and the reason of it, he presently sent two Knights to the *French Court*, who undertook on the Earl's behalf, to prove him innocent of this Crime by any means the King of *France*'s Court should adjudge: but when neither that King, nor any other would undertake the Proof thereof against Earl *John*, King *Richard* for the future put more confidence in his Brother, and gave less Credit to the King of *France*'s Messages.

[1] After this Truce King *Richard* going into *Aquitain*, to settle his Affairs there, *Pidomar*, the Viscount of *Limoges*, having found a great Treasure of Gold in his own Land, sent a good part of it to the King; but he not being content with that, demanded all of it by his Prerogative, as being, he said, *Treasure royal*: but when the Viscount would by no means yield to that, the King came to those parts with a great Army, and besieged his Castle of *Chalus* near *Limoges*, in which he supposed that Treasure was hid; but tho the Knights and others that were in the Castle went out to him, and offer'd to surrender it, provided they might have their Lives, Limbs, and Arms secured to them, yet the King would not accept of it, but swore he would take the Castle, and hang them all up; at which the Knights went back again much confounded, and resolved to defend themselves as well as they could.

[2] The same day whilst the King, being arm'd only with his *Corselet*, went after Dinner with *Marchade* (Captain of the *Brabanters*) about the Castle, to view what part lay most open for their Assault, a certain Cross-bow man shot at the King from the Wall, and gave him a desperate wound in his Shoulder, joining to the Neck; upon which presently mounting his Horse, he return'd to his Quarters, and then order'd *Marchade*, and all his Army, never to leave storming the Castle till they had took it; which being done, he commanded all within to be hanged, except that Man who had wounded him; and how he would have used him had he recovered, I will not determine.

But the King put himself into the hands of an unskilful Chirurgion of *Marchade*'s, who as he strove to pull out the Arrow, left the head of it in his Flesh, and could not tell how to get it out without grievously mangling that part, which at last turn'd to a Gangreen; and thus lying eleven days in great Torment, and finding there was no longer hopes of Life, he made his last Will and Testament, and in it bequeath'd the Kingdom of *England*, and all his other Dominions and

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[5] Id. ii. b.

The K. of Fr.
acquaints E.
Richard that
E. John was
come over
to him.
But the Earl
undertakes to
prove his in-
nocence.

[1] Id. ib.

[2] Id. ib.
Rad. CoggeshallK. Richard
wounded in
the Arm by an
Arrow.And dies of
the Wound.He devises the
Kingdom of
England, &c.
to his Brother
John.

His Generosity to his Servants and the Poor.

His Clemency to the Man that gave him his Death's wound.

How the King's Body, Heart, and Bowels were disposed of.

But Marston after his death caused him to be fled and hanged.

How the King's Body, Heart, and Bowels were disposed of.

Territories to Earl John his Brother, and caused all that were there present to swear Fealty to him, and commanded that they should deliver him up all his Castles. He also left him three parts of his Treasure, but the fourth part he ordered should be divided between his Servants and the Poor; he then devised his Jewels to Otto King of the Romans; and lastly, having caused *Bertram de Gordon*, the Person who had given him his death's Wound, to be brought before him, he said thus, *What harm have I done thee, that thou shouldst kill me?* to whom the young Fellow bluntly replied, *Thou hast killed my Father and my two Brothers with thine own Hand, and now thou wouldst have slain me; take therefore what revenge thou wilt, I shall willingly endure any Torment whatsoever thou shalt inflict upon me, since I have slain thee, who hast done so much mischief in the World.* The King, notwithstanding this rough and desperate Answer, caused him to be let loose, and not only forgave him his Death, but commanded a hundred Shillings to be given him: but *Marston*, after the King was dead, caused him to be fled alive, and hanged.

So the King deceasing on the sixth of April, his Body was Interred at *Fontevraud*, at the Feet of his Father, his Heart at *Rosen*, but his Bowels were buried at *Chartres* in *Posseps*, according as he himself had appointed before he died; the reason of which some French Authors relate thus: That after he had order'd how his Body, Heart, and Bowels should be disposed of, as you have heard, he said farther to those that stood by his Bed-side, that he had so disposed of the first to testify his true Repentance, for offending his Father, being willing to make satisfaction even to his Allies; that by the second he shew'd the Esteem he retain'd for his valiant and faithful Normans; and by the third, the small value he had for the *Poitevins*, whom he had always found inconstant and disaffected to him.

Thus fell this Valiant and Magnanimous Prince, in the forty second Year of his Age, and the tenth of his Reign, by the hand of a mean Fellow, having (according to *Rad. de Coggeshal's* Account) govern'd nine Years, seven Months, and twenty days, reckoning from the day of his Coronation.

[3] C. B.

And it is somewhat remarkable, that he [3] who had revived the use of that fatal Engine the Cross-bow, and had himself dispatched so many with it, should himself now perish by the same Instrument; and which was worse, that he should contribute so much to his own Death; first by a too great desire of Money, and then by his own willfulness, in not accepting the surrender of the Castle upon those reasonable terms proposed by the Besieged, unless he might put them all to Death; and lastly, by his too great carelessness of his own Person, not considering, that he who fears not to expose his own Life, may at any time be master of another Man's.

The various Accounts that Historians give of the Place, &c. of this King's death.

But before I dismiss this Subject, I cannot but take notice of the various Accounts Historians give us of the Place and other Circumstances of this King's Death; for tho *Radolphus de Diceto* was alive at that very time, and wrote his Chronicle, (which he called the *Images of History*) not long after, and agrees with *R. Howden* as to the Place, yet he differs from him in the Person that gave him his Death's Wound, for he calls him *Peter Bassle*; but *Gervase of Canterbury* (who lived likewise at, and wrote about the same time) tells us, that

that the King received this Wound at a Castle of the Earl of *Magnesium's*, called *Nantrum*, and that the name of the Person who shot him was *John Sabraz*; but *Walter of Hemingsford* (otherwise called *Walter of Gisborne*, from the place in which he was a Canon) in his Chronicle (lately published by the Learned and Reverend Dr. Gale, now Dean of York) makes it to have been at the Castle of *Galliard*, which King *Richard* had lately built in the Isle of *Andeli*; and that the French coming suddenly upon it, surprized and took it; and the King going to besiege and retake it, there received his death's Wound in the manner as has been already related; but without naming the Person that gave it him: and besides, he makes him not so much to die of the Wound, as by lying with his Wife, which was forbid him by his Chirurgeons.

He gives us also a Relation of the Discourse between the King and the Archbishop of *Rosen*, when he acquainted him that he could not live; as that he desired of the King to bestow his three Daughters before he died, which were *Pride*, *Covetousness*, and *Luxury*; and that the King replied to him, "Yes, I will; for my eldest Daughter *Pride*, I bestow to the Knights-Templars; my Daughter *Covetousness* to the *Cistercian* Monks; and my Daughter *Luxury* to the *Benedictines*. This, tho it be a severe Satire upon the chief Religious Orders of those times, yet it is not at all likely that the Archbishop would presume to talk so lightly and saucily to the King when he lay a dying; or that he should be in the humour to make so Sarcastical an Answer to him: but *R. Hoveden* supposes the King to have said this to one *Fulke*, a French Priest, who taxed him long before of his having those three Daughters abovementioned; only he so far differs from the Author last quoted, that he makes the King bestow his daughter *Luxury* upon the Prelates; which is indeed the more probable Relation, if the King ever said it at all.

I have given the Reader these different Readings, that he may see how variously the Place and Circumstances of this King's Death were related, even by them that lived so near that time; not but that I give most credit to *R. Hoveden* and *Radulphus de Diceto*, who both agree in the Relation of his receiving his Death's Wound at the Castle of *Chaluz*, tho they differ in the Man's name that did it.

I shall conclude this King's Reign with a Description of his Person and Character; as for the former, [4] *Geoffrey Vinsauf*, in his Relation of this King's Voyage to *Jerusalem*, describes him to have been very Tall, of a fair and comely Visage, his Eyes blew and sparkling; his Hair between Red and Yellow; his Limbs streight, of a noble and majestick Mein, that seemed worthy of Empire.

As for his Valour and Magnanimity, he equals him with all the Heroes of the Antients; and for Eloquence and Prudence, compares him to *Nestor* and *Ulysses*: which, tho a great Hyperbole, yet that he might have had both those Qualities in some degree I will not dispute, tho his Voyage to the *Holy-Land*, and his passing through an Enemy's Countrey in his return from thence, do not much confirm that Character. But as for his undaunted Courage, it is not to be denied, for it gave him the Surname of *Coeur de Lyon*; nor is his Wit to be disputed, since that sufficiently appears by his sharp and witty Replies upon all occasions; and I wish we had that Song or Ballad, which

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Inter Scrip-
tor. Ang. Edit.
Oxon. Vol. 4.

An Account
of the Dis-
course be-
tween the
Abp of Rosen
and the K. be-
fore his Death.

His Legacy to
his 3 Daugh-
ters, *Pride*, *Covetousness*, and
Luxury.

An Account
of the King's
Person.

[4] L. 2. cap. 5.

His Valour,
Eloquence,
and Prudence.

And thus this Author relates he made upon the French, who had began
 with him in the same manner, for then we might have the better
 judged of his Genius in writing, as well as in his Discourse. He
 was also Magnificent and Liberal to excess, and that made him like-
 wise as Covetous at other times when he wanted Money, which he
 sought not to get by all the means he could, how hard and unjust so-
 ever, as you may observe through the whole course of his Reign;
 especially after his return from his Imprisonment, when (as *Rad. de*
Cassan relates) he was so greedy of Money, that scarce any Man of
 an Estate could quietly enjoy his own Inheritance, unless he would
 pay for it almost as much as it was worth; and he then so much op-
 pressed his People, that he spared no Orders nor Degrees of Men, altho
 Archbishop *Hubert*, which he was his Justiciary, having some mercy on
 the afflicted People, did as much as he could to alleviate and mollify the
 King's severe Edicts; yet he adds this in his commendation, that he
 did not reap any Advantage to himself, by keeping Bishopricks and
 Abbeyes vacant in his hands, as his Predecessors had done.

His Covetous-
 ness.

In his Youth he was noted for too great Cruelty, which in his ri-
 per Years turn'd to a due severity towards Malefactors; yet the same
 Author represents him as very harsh and morose towards those that
 had any Business with him, unless they would mitigate his Passion,
 either by ready Money, or large Promises: nevertheless, when he
 was in private among his Confidants, he was affable and good hu-
 moured, unbending his Mind with Raillery, Jest, and pleasant
 Conversation; yet he was also very Cholerick, and Passionate, and
 soon provoked by little sudden Accidents than greater Injuries, as
 you may see by the story of his Rencontre with *Des Barres*. He
 was very severe to those against whom he had a Prejudice, and that
 even to cruelty; yet he had likewise a great stock of Generosity, Cle-
 mency, and (what might be then called) good nature, even to several
 that had most highly offended him, as appears by his dealing with the
Greek Emperor of Cyprus, as also with his Brother *Earl John*, after
 his Rebellion against him; and this is most conspicuous in the last Act
 of his Life, when he not only pardoned, but rewarded the man that
 had been the cause of his Death.

Affable in his
 private Con-
 versation.

But subject to
 Passion.

His Generosi-
 ty and good
 Nature.

He was also observed to be just and constant to his Word, and firm
 in his Resolutions, which are indeed the two Qualities that best become
 a Prince. He is likewise taken notice of for having been much given to
 Women, if not to other more unlawful Lusts; which is no great wonder
 for a Prince of his warm and vigorous Constitution: yet *Brompton's*
Chronicle tells us, that not long before his Marriage, in his Voyage
 to *Palestine*, he made a solemn Confession to the Bishops then with
 him, of his failings in that kind, and received Penance for it at their
 hands; tho we read in *R. Huchins*, that some Years after leaving his
 Wife, he returned to the same Vices as formerly; of which being ad-
 monished by a Hermit, and also by a severe fit of Sickness, he was again
 reclaimed to his Queen's Bed, and ever after continued constant to her.

To conclude, tho *England* suffer'd severely under his Government,
 through the constant occasions he had for Money, and the great Ra-
 pacity of his Justiciaries, during his almost constant absence out of
England, where he never spent above eight Months of his whole
 Reign; yet this Nation, as well as his other Dominions, soon found

the mis of him under his Brother *John*, who had all his Vices, but few or none of his Vertues. In short, we may say of him, what a Roman Author does of one of their Emperors, that it had been better he had never Reigned, or had Reigned longer; since his Subjects felt all the inconveniencies of his Courage, without being much the better either for that, or his other good Qualities in time of Peace; which he never enjoyed, except it were a very little while, at the beginning of his Reign. I have dwelt the longer on this Character, because he was not only one of the greatest and most generous Princes that this Nation ever bred, but perhaps any other whatsoever.

The Nation quickly felt a loss by his Death.

His Wives.

As for his Wives, we have already shewn you, that in his Infancy he was Contracted to a Daughter of *Raymond* Earl of *Barcelona*, and after that he was affianced to *Adela*, or *Alice*, the Daughter of *Leopold* King of *France*; yet was never married to either of them; but to *Berengere*, the Daughter of *Gaspie* King of *Navarre*, whom his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, brought to him into *Sicily*. She went also with him to the *Holy Land*, and returned before him into *France* (as you have already heard) after which we hear little of her; whither he was not very fond of her, or else so taken up with Martial Affairs, as that he could not consider her, I know not: only we find that in the third Year of King *John*, she compounded with him for her Dower.

His Issues.

Nor do we read that King *Richard* had any Children by her, nor any natural Issue by other Women, except one *Philip*, whose Mother is not mentioned any more than the place of his Birth. But yet he bestowed on him the Castle and Honour of *Guina* in *Aquitan*; nor do we find any more of him; which shews that he was not indued with many of his Father's noble Qualities, or else sure he would have made himself more remarkable.

Concerning Ireland during this King's Reign.

WE have but a dry Account of the Affairs of *Ireland* for nine Years and odd Months, that King *Richard* reigned; for who it must be acknowledged from the Testimony of [5] *William* of *Newburgh*, that Earl *John* was left by King *Henry* his Father Lord of all his Irish Acquisitions, which is also confirmed by [1] *Radulphus de Diceto*, under the Year 1190. when he relates, that the Pope then sent his Brief to *William* Bishop of *Ely*, appointing him his Legate over all *England* and *Wales*, as likewise over that part of *Ireland* which was under the Dominion of Earl *John*: yet notwithstanding his great Interest and Power in that Kingdom, I do not find he ever went over thither in his Brother's Reign, being (I suppose) taken up during his Absence in the *Holy Land*, either by Domestick Intrigues against the Bishop of *Ely*, or else in open Rebellion; or after this King's Return home and Reconciliation to him, he was otherwise

[5] L. 4. c. 3.

[1] Col. 655.

wife

wife so imploy'd in the War against France (which took up all the rest of this Reign) that he had no leisure to go over to settle the Affairs of Ireland, which by reason of his Absence and want of a good Government there, were in great Confusion; since through the negligence or deficiency of Power in his Justiciary, or Lieutenant, the English Nobility did not only destroy each other by their Civil Wars, but the Irish Princes thereby took Courage to rebel and cast off the English Yoke; so that I do not find Ireland more than twice mention'd by *Flodden* in all this Reign.

But that Earl John had ever any absolute independent Power in that Kingdom, without any relation to England, I cannot believe, notwithstanding what a late [2] ingenious Gentleman has wrote to the contrary; for first, it is certain, that tho he was by his Father King Henry made King of Ireland, in a Parliament at Oxon. (as you have already heard) yet that he was no more than his *Viceroy*, or Lieutenant, appears by the [3] Oath of Fealty which was at that time taken by all those great Men, upon whom that King bestow'd Estates in Ireland; the Oath being in these words, *That they should be true and faithful to King Henry, and to the Lord John his Son*: upon whose return out of that Kingdom with ill Success, it seems his Father revoked his Power. For the [4] same Author presently after tells us,

that King Henry obtain'd from Pope Urban, that which he could not get from Lucius his Predecessor, to wit, that he might make which of his Sons he pleased King of Ireland, and in token thereof the Pope then sent him a Crown of Peacock's Feathers interwoven with Gold, which had been needless, if Earl John had been already absolute King or Lord of Ireland, as the Author abovemention'd will needs have him. But indeed, tho it seems to have been once King Henry's Design to have had his Son John crown'd King of Ireland, and that this Pope's Legate came over to do it, as you will find in [5] *R. Hoveden*; yet it is also as certain, that when it was just going to be executed, the King himself put it off, and carried the Legate over with him into Normandy; so that Earl John never being crown'd, only contented himself with the Title of Lord of Ireland ever after.

And tho this Dominion was thus left him by his Father King Henry, yet that it was never independent from the Crown of England, further also appears from another Passage in the [1] same Author, where he relates, that John Archbishop of Dublin, having received divers great Injuries from *Hamo de Valoins*, and other of Earl John's Officers or Ministers in Ireland, the Archbishop thereupon went over into Normandy, to complain against them to King Richard and Earl John; and tho he could obtain no Relief from them, yet however his very complaining to the King shews, that his Brother had not then a sole and independent Authority in that Kingdom.

But as for this Prince's Charters, which are also urged as Testimonies to prove his being Lord of Ireland, I cannot but observe, that I never saw any of them before he was King, wherein he styles himself Lord of Ireland; and as for their Seals, tho the words *Domini Hibernie* are plain enough to be read, yet it is very doubtful to whom those words refer; for in two of his Charters now kept in the Office of the Dutchy of Lancaster, the Inscriptions run thus, * *Sigillum Johannis Filii Regis Anglia, Domini Hibernie*; and in another preserved in the

Cottonian

[2] Mr. Molyneux's Case of Ireland, p. 40, 41.

[3] R. Hov. p. 323. b. 324. a. Brompton's Chron. Col. 1127.

[4] R. H. p. 359. a.

[5] Id. p. 361. b.

[1] Id. p. 439. b.

* Vid. Sandford's Gen. Hist. p. 55, 81.

* *Cottonian Library*, (which I my self have seen) being a Grant of certain Lands to the Monastery of *Moutaune*, and is dated in his Brother's Reign, the Title on the Seal stands thus, *Sigillum Johannis Fratris Regis Richardi, Domini Hibernie*, which last words seem rather to refer to King *Henry* in the former, and to *K. Richard* in the latter Inscription, than to Earl *John* himself: but I leave this to the Judgment of the impartial Reader, having only thought fit fairly to represent the matter of Fact for his better Instruction.

Faintly

† Note, the Wax is here broke

Taxes and Money raised in this King's Reign.

I shall now give you an Account of the Taxes and Monies that were raised in this King's Reign, and shall then conclude with the Laws and judicial Proceedings that were ordained by him.

His Taxes were as follow.

1. A *Scutage* for *Wales* of ten Shillings of every Knight's Fee in the first Year of his Reign, which probably happen'd upon this Account: *Richard* was Crowned September the third; in October, *Rees Fitz-Griffin*, King of *South-Wales*, came into *England* as far as *Oxford*, conducted by Earl *John* of *Mortaigne*; and because King *Richard* would not meet him as his Father had done, he fell into a Passion, and returned into his own Country, and would not speak with the King; so that this might be taken for a good occasion to raise some Forces to reduce *Rees* into a better temper.

A *Scutage* of 10 s. for every Knight's Fee.

2. Next Year toward his Expedition to the *Holy Land*, two Saddle-Horses, and two Sumpter Horses were taken for an Aid of every City; also of every Abbey one Saddle Horse, and one Sumpter; and of each of the King's Mannors, as of the Abbays, for an Aid.

An Aid granted for the Expedition into the *Holy Land*.

3. For his Ransom, when Prisoner to the Emperor, of every Knights-Fee twenty Shillings; the fourth part of the Rents of all *Lords*, (that is, of the Husbandmen or Tenants) also a fourth part of the Rents of some Clerks, and a tenth of others; all the Gold and Silver the Churches had, and all the Wool of that Year of the *Cistercian* Monks, and the Order of *Seplingham*.

A Tax for the K's Ransom.

4. A *Carriage* of every Plough-land, two Shillings; also of the Husbandmen or Occupiers of every Knight's Fee a third part of the Service for his Expedition into *Normandy*. After his return the King demanded all the Wool of the *Cisterians* this Year also; for which they made a Fine or Composition in Money.

An Aid for his Expedition into *Normandy*.

5. For liberty of *Tournaments* or *Tilting*, every Earl was to give twenty Marks; every Baron ten Marks; every Landed Knight four Marks; every Knight of Fortune, or without Land, two Marks. So that eleven hundred thousand Marks were raised in two Years, (*viz.* in *Ann. Dom.* 1195, and 1196. but not said how) by *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the King's Justiciary, for his Master's Use.

For liberty of Tournament.

1100000 Marks raised by Hubert the K's Justiciary.

6. *Ann. Dom.* 1198. He had also an Aid of five Shillings of every *Carucate*, or Plough-land.

7. The Religious Orders this Year gave the King the same upon each Plough Land, as the Laity of the Kingdom had done before.

The

The occasion
of these
Taxes.

The Cause of this great Tax (besides the King's Exigencies abroad) might be two Expeditions into *Wales* this Year; one by *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, when he was Justiciary, about *Christmas*, when he turned out the Constables of the Castles of *Hereford*, *Bridgnorth*, and *Ludlow*, and put in others to keep them for the King's Use; the other by *Geoffrey Fitz-Peter*, for the Assistance of *William de Brause* an English Baron, whom *Gwenwynwyn*, Son of *Cadwallan*, had besieged in *Maud* Castle, where above three thousand *Welsh* were slain and put to flight.

Much Money was also raised by Seizures, Fines and Compositions, and the Sale of his Demesnes. *Radulphus de Coggeshal*, in his History of this King's Reign observes, that none of his Predecessors rais'd so much Money upon the People as he did in five Years after his Return, tho the same Author does in great part excuse him, in regard of his great Occasions for Money to maintain his Wars against the King of *France*, and to bring over the great Men of that Kingdom to his Interest, as also to promote his Nephew *Otto* to the *German* Empire.

Laws (properly so called) we find none made in this King's time, only some Edicts or Temporary Constitutions; and they were such as these that follow.

[2] R. H.
Itinerant or
Errant Justices
sent thro
England.

[2] In the Month of *September*, *An. Dom.* 1194. the King sent *Itinerant* Justices throughout all the Counties of *England*, who were to proceed in doing Justice, according to the underwritten Heads or Articles.

The Form of proceeding in Pleas of the Crown:

First, four Knights were to be chosen out of the whole County, who upon their Oath should choose two Legal Knights of every Hundred or Wapentach, and those two should choose upon their Oaths ten Knights in every Hundred or Wapentach; and if there were not Knights enough, then Free and Legal Men, so as those twelve together might answer to all the Articles, which concerned that Hundred or Wapentach.

Articles of the Pleas of the Crown.

[3] Id. ib.

[3] The Justices should enquire of, and determine new and old Pleas of the Crown, and all such as were not determined before the King's Justices; also all Pleas of *Novel Disseisins*, and all Pleas which were summoned and brought before the Justices by the Writ of the King, or Chief Justice, or sent to them from the King's * Capital Court. Also concerning *Escheats*, what they were, and had been since the King's Expedition to *Jerusalem*; and what were then in the King's hands, and whither they were now in the King's hands, or not: and if they were taken out of his hands, how, and by whom, and into whose hands they came, and in what manner, and who received the Issues and Profits of them, and what the Profits were, and what was, and now is their true Value; and if there be any *Escheats* which belong to the King, and were not in his possession: also of Churches which were in the King's Gift, as likewise of the Wardships of Boys (or Youths) that belong to the King; also of the Mariages of Maidens and

* Note, There was then but one Court; that of the *Common Pleas* being not at that time erected.

and all their Possessions and Goods: nor should it be lawful for any Jew to recover the Concealment (i. e. have it restored.) That six or seven Places should be allowed where the Jews should lend their Money, and take Pawns; and there should be two legal Christians, two legal Jews, and two legal Scribes appointed before whom and the Clerks of William of St. Mary's Church, and William de Chimelli, the Money (so lent upon the Pawns, and the Pawns taken) should be registred; and that the Charts of the Money lent, and Pawns taken, should be in form of a Chirograph; and one part to remain with the Jew, sealed with his Seal that borrowed the Money, and the other part to remain in a common Chest, to which there were to be three Locks, of which the two Christians were to have one Key, and the two Jews another, and the Clerks of William of St. Mary's Church, and William de Chimelli, the third; and besides those Locks, three Seals were to be affixed by those that kept the Keys: and that the Clerks of the two Williams should have a Transcript; and as the Charts were changed, the Roll was to be changed likewise: for every Charter three pence was to be paid, half from the Jew, and half from him that borrowed the Money, of which the Scribes were to have two pence, and the keeper of the Roll one penny; and for the future, no Security should be given, nor Pawns taken, nor any Payments to be made to the Jews, nor any changing of Charts, but before the aforesaid Persons, or the major part of them, if all could not be present: and that the two Christians should have one Roll of the payments of the Jews delivered to them for the future, and that the two Jews should likewise have one, and the keeper of the Rolls another; also that every Jew was to swear upon his * Rolle (if he did not believe the Gospel) that he would cause all his Debts, Pawns and Rents, and all his Things and Possessions to be inventoried, and that he would conceal nothing; and if he knew any thing another Jew concealed, he would reveal it to the Justices sent about that Affair; and that he would discover all Falsifiers or Forgers of Charts, and Clippers of Money wherever he knew them.

* i. e. the Law of Moses, then (as now) written in a Roll:

Furthermore, Inquisition was to be made what the King's Officers had taken, or exacted, as well his Justices, Sheriffs, Constables, and Foresters, as their Servants, after the first Coronation of the King; and why those prizes were taken, and by whom.

Here also follows another Article concerning the Chattels, Gifts, and Lands of Earl John, which having been already set down in the former Articles, need not be again repeated.

One Assize of Measures and Weights appointed over England.

In the year 1197. King Richard made an Assize of Measures, by which he appointed one Measure throughout England, for all sorts of Grain, as well within Cities, and Boroughs, as without; also that the Measures of Wine and Ale, and other Liquors should be the same over all the Kingdom, according to the diversity of Liquors; and the Weights to be the same, according to the diversity of things weighed; and all the Measures were to be so secured, as that they could not be falsified. He likewise ordered, that all woollen Clothes, wherever made, should be of the same breadth; that is, two Ells within the Liffe,

Id: ibi

Keepers of
the Assize in
Cities and
Boroughs.

and that the Ells should be made of Iron. He also ordered there should be four or six Persons, according to the largeness of the City or Borough, assigned in every City, or Borough, who should see and search that all things were sold according to these appointed Measures and Weights: and if they found any one that confessed, or was convicted of selling by other Weights and Measures, than by those appointed, he was to be imprisoned, and all his Goods seized into the King's hands. If the Keepers of the Assize were negligent, and convicted before the King's Justices, they were to be in the King's Mercy concerning their Goods. And he commanded that no Man in any Court, after the Feast of *Purification*, should sell any thing but by the Measure prescribed; nor that any Man after the Fair at *Stanford* in *Mid-Lent*, should sell any Cloth that was not two Yards within the Lists.

After the making of this Law or Assize concerning Measures, in the Year following the King's Justiciary sent forth new Justices *Itinerant*, who were to enquire concerning

Other Articles of Pleas of the Crown in this Form.

The Judges *Itinerant* were to hear and determine all Pleas of the Crown, new and old, which were not determined before the Justices, and all *Affizes* of the death of *Ancestors*, *Novel-Disseins*, and of *Great Affizes*, so far as ten Pounds by the Year of Land and downwards, and of Advowsons of Churches: the Actions of the great Assize (or a Writ of Right by which the Property was tryed) were brought by the King's Writ, or that of his Capital Justice. Also they were to enquire of vacant and full Churches which were in the King's Gift, who gave them, and who enjoy'd them, and what was their Value; also of the King's *Esehears*, their Value, who had them, and by whom. Of young Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, who were, or ought to be in the King's Wardship (that is, as to Marriage) what the value of their Lands, and whither they were married, and to whom, and how long. They were also to enquire what Widows had not fined or compounded for Licence to marry, and the Fine to be taken to the King's Use. Of the King's Serjeanties, who had them, and from whom, and their Value, and which of them had contributed towards an Aid to the King, and which not; the Fine or Composition for the Aid to be taken to the King's Use: Of the Usury of *Christians*, and of their Goods, and what Usurers were dead. Of those that were in the King's Mercy, and were not amerced or fined. Of *Purprestures*, or of the King's ways streightned: Of *Treasure-Trove*: Of *Malefactors* and their Receivers: Of *Fugitives*, who had been accused and were returned, since the last Assize: Of all Weights and Measures and Ells renewed; and whither four Men that were appointed to look after them in every Town, (that is, City, Burgh or Mercate Town) had done as the Statute required, and had attached or prosecuted the Transgressors or not; if not, they were to be punished as the Transgressors themselves. All Wine sold contrary to the Assize or Statute, was to be seized to the King's Use, and the Owners and Sellers of the Wine were to be in the King's Mercy (that is, to be fined by him): They were also to enquire how many Hydes or Plough-Lands there were in every County, and whither the Officers appointed

appointed to assess and collect the five Shillings upon every Plough Land, had done their Duty, and had received it of all, or concealed any part of it. Of the Officers of Sea-Ports, if they had received any thing they had not given an Account of, or taken any thing for concealing the King's Right; or if any one had received any thing, who was not appointed a Receiver. Lastly, they were to enquire if all appear'd as they ought, that were summoned by the King's Justices, and who they were that came not, and what their Names.

Before this *Iter*, or these Circuits of the Justices were over, the *Iter* or Circuit of the *Forests* began; and the King commanded *Hugh Neville*, chief Justice of all the Forests in England, *Hugh Wake*, and *Ernis Nevill*, that, in every County through which they went, they should summon to appear before them at the *Pleas of the Forest*, the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons, and all free Tenants, and the *Reeve*, and four Men of every Town, to hear the King's Commands.

Then follows the Affize it self.

This is the Affize of our Lord the King, and these are his Precepts concerning his Forests in England, made by the Assent and Advice of the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons, and Knights of the whole Kingdom.

The King declares, that if any one forfeits in any thing concerning his Venison, or his Forests, he is not to expect that he shall only be punished in his Goods, as hitherto; for if after that time any one should forfeit, and be convicted, he should have full Justice done upon him, as it was in King *Henry* his Grandfather's time; that is, he should lose his Eyes and Testicles: also the King forbids, that any one have Bows and Arrows, or Hounds, or Grey-hounds within his Forests, unless he had the King's Warrant, or the Warrant of any other that was of Right able to protect him: also the King forbids, that no Man give or sell any thing to the destruction of his Wood, nor do waste in his Forests; but he grants that any Man may take of his own Wood, as much as he shall have need of, without waste; and this by the oversight of his Forester and Verderers. Likewise the King commands, that they who have Woods within the bounds of the Forest, do set good Woodmen to look after them, and such as they will be answerable for; or such as can give Security to make satisfaction, if they offend in any thing that concerns the King. Also the King commands, that his Foresters shall swear, that according to their whole Power, they shall keep this his Affize, or Law, which he hath made concerning his Forests, and that they shall not vex or trouble the Knights, or worthy Men, about what he granted them concerning their Woods. Also he commands, that in every County wherein he hath Venison, there shall be twelve Men appointed to preserve his Venison, and *Green-Hue* in his Forests; and that there shall be four Knights appointed to agist his Woods, (that is, take in a certain number of Cattle to feed there a certain time, or to assign the number of Cattle to such as had Right to feed in the Forest) and to receive his *Pasnage* or *Pannage*, (that is, the Money due for such Feeding) and to preserve it, that it should not be diminished. Also he commanded, that no Man might agist his Woods (that is, put their Cattle into them) within the bounds of his Forest;

Forest, before their own Woods were agisted. And it is to be noted, that the King's Agistment (or Right of feeding Cattle in the Woods and Forests) begins fifteen days before *Michaelmas*, and continues fifteen days after; also the King commands, that if his Woods, that were in his own hands, or his Demesnes were destroyed, and his Forester could not tell by whom, his Body should be imprisoned. Also he commanded, that no Clerk should offend concerning his Venison or Forests, and that if his Foresters found them offending, they should take them, and he would warrant their so doing. Also the King commanded, that all *Effarts*, as well old as new (i. e. places where Underwood and Bushes had been stubbed up, and the Land ploughed and sown) which were within the Regard or View of the Forest, should be viewed once in three Years; and in like manner all *Porprestures*, and waste in Woods; and that every one of these should be inrolled by it self. And the King commanded, that the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons, Knights, and Free Tenants, and all Men of his Land, should come to his *Pleas of the Forest*, at the summons of his master-Foresters. It was also forbidden at the *Pleas of the Forest*, that any Cart or Waggon should go out of the way in the Forest, or any Hogs to be in the Forest at the time of *Foinisun*, that is to say, fifteen days before *St. John Baptist*, and fifteen days after; and 'tis to be noted, that he who takes Venison in the King's Forest, and shall be thereof attainted, shall be in the King's Mercy, as to the losing of his Eyes and Testicles; and he that offended in the King's Forest in the *Green-lane* of *Kert*, by cutting down Trees, or lopping of the Branches, or by digging Turfs, or slaying, (that is, raking the Green-sword of the Ground) or by cutting away the under part of Thickets, or by *Effarts*, or new *Purprestures*, or by Hedges or Ditches, or erecting Mills, making new Water-courses, and erecting steep Coates or Lodges, or other Houses, or by mowing Hay beyond the Hedges and Ditches, shall be all in the King's Mercy for his Goods, unless he hath the King's Verderers or Foresters to warrant him. In like manner, he that carried Bows and Arrows, or Dogs uncoupled, through the King's Forest, and was thereof attainted, was in the King's Mercy. It was also decreed, that once in three Years there should be a view of the Forest, and in the regard or view of the Forest these things were to be observed; what old or new *Effarts* were sown, since the last review, and with what Grain; the new *Effarts* were to be taken into the King's hand: if the old *Effarts* were sown with Wheat or Rye, every Acre was to yield the King twelve Pence for the Crop; and every Acre that was sown with Oats, Barley, Beans, or Pease, was to yield the King six pence for that Crop.

MUSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

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